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HESPERIA

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL
OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME XXIX

29
1960



AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

1960

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
BY J. H. FURST COMPANY, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

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GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

(PLATES 1-25)

THE inscriptions here published continue the systematic exploration of epigraphical texts discovered in the excavations of the Athenian Agora. The last such report appeared in *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 273-288.

1 (Plate 1). Fragment of Hymettian marble, with the left side preserved, found on February 15, 1935, in the wall of a modern house over the East Stoa (O 14).

Height, 0.079 m.; width, 0.105 m.; thickness, 0.038 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 2440.

This fragment joins the top of *I.G.*, II², 1176*a*, as follows:

ca. a. 360 *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

I 2440	[...]	σκηνήν προ[-----]
	[ε]	άν τι βο[ύ]λωντ[αι-----]
	ἐξείναι	δὲ αὐ[τοῖς-----]
	γῆι	ἐκ τοῦ τεμ[ένους-----]
5	ἐξίωσιν	παρὰ [-----έ]
	στηκότα	ἐὰ[ν-----]
	νει κε[...]	υ[-----]
<i>I.G.</i> , II ² ,	ηκ[^{ca.} ⁷]	λι[-----τῆς μι]
1176	σθώσεω[ς· Ἡ]	γῆσιās [εἶπεν· καταβάλλειν δὲ τοὺς ἥκον]
	etc.	

2 (Plate 1). Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, with the top and rough-picked back preserved, found in a late context southeast of the Market Square and east of the Late Roman Fortification Wall (U 21-22) on March 24, 1937.

Height, 0.17 m.; width, 0.11 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 4646.

There are remains of a moulding above the letters. The writing is stoichedon with a chequer pattern in which the units measure 0.015 m. horizontally by 0.0133 m. vertically. The character of the writing, particularly of the letter *sigma*, indicates a

date near the middle of the fourth century, but late rather than early because of the short central bar of *epsilon*.

ca. med. saec. IV a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[ἐπὶ ----- ἄρχον]τος ἐπὶ [τῆς -----]
 [πρυτανείας -----]ων Λεωσ[----- εἶπεν]
 [ἐπειδὴ ----- κατα]σταθεῖ[ς -----]
 [----- εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τ]ὸν ἐπὶ Θ[----- ἄρχοντος ἔθν]
 5 [σαν ἀπάσας τὰς θυσ]ίας ἀς ἔδ[ει -----]
 [----- ἱε]ρέως τοῦ [-----]
 [-----]ν Καλλεν[ίκου -----]
 [-----]ΥΚ[-----]

The restoration of the archon's name in line 4 (as well as in line 1) remains uncertain. There were a number of archons in the mid fourth century whose names began with *theta*.

3 (Plate 1). Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, with the right side preserved and with mouldings and a palmette ornament above the inscribed surface, found along the Panathenaic Way north of the Eleusinion (T 18) on April 23, 1958.

Height, 0.215 m.; width, 0.165 m.; thickness, 0.085 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.—0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 6804.

Soon after discovery, it was found by Eugene Vanderpool that this fragment makes a firm join above Inv. No. I 4439, which was published in *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 42, no. 10. The combined text now reads as follows:

ca. a. 334-326 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 18

[..... ¹⁰]ς εἶπεν· δε	[ὃ γένος τὸ Κ]ηρύκων ὑπ[έ]
[δόχθαι Κήρυν]ξιν· ἐπειδ	[ρ τε τοῦ δήμ]ον τοῦ Ἀθην
[ἡ Ξενοκλῆς Ξ]είνιδος Σ	[αίων καὶ ὑπ]ὲρ τοῦ γέν[ο]
[φήττιος ἀνή]ρ ἐσ[τ]ιν ἀ[γ]	15 [ς τοῦ Κηρύκ]ων· ἐπαινέ[σ]
5 [αθὸς περὶ τὸ] γέν[ος] τ[ὸ Κ]	[αι αὐτὸν κα]ὶ στεφανῶσ
[ηρύκων ποιῶ]ν [ἀεὶ ὁ] τ[ι ἀ]	[αι χρυσῶι στ]εφάνωι ἀπ
[ν δύννηται ἀ]γαθόν, κ<α>τ[α]	[ὃ χιλίων δ]ραχμῶν καὶ ε
[σταθεῖς δ' ἐ]πὶ τῇ διοι	[ῖναι πρόσο]δον αὐτῶι π
[κῆσει τῆς π]όλεως καλῶ	20 [ρὸς τὸ γένος τ]ὸ Κηρύκ[ω]
10 [ς καὶ εὐσεβ]ῶς ἐμέρισε	[ν -----] Λ[....]
[ν τὰ εἰς τὸ ἰ]ερά θύσαι [τ]	

Having joined the two fragments together, Vanderpool made a new study of the upper lines of I 4439, with some further cleaning of the marble. He reports the *theta* of [ἀ]γαθόν (now line 7) as being quite clear, preceded either by *alpha* or *lambda*, above which is perhaps the tip of a vertical stroke spaced slightly to left of center, as of *gamma*, *eta*, *kappa*, *nu*, or *pi* (the final *nu* in [ποιῶ]ν of our restoration in line 6). At the very edge of the stone in line 7 is perhaps also a tip of the horizontal stroke in the *gamma* of [ἀ]γαθόν. Toward the end of line 7 the letter following *kappa* was cut as *lambda*; I have taken it as intended for *alpha*, with the horizontal bar never cut.

In the first line of the new fragment the stonecutter inscribed ΕΠΕ as of εἶπεν, realized his mistake in time and erased ΠΕ (not beyond recognition, however), and then inscribed ΙΠΕΝ correctly.

In the earlier publication of the lower fragment, I restored [τὰ ἐ]πὶ τῇ διοικ[ήσει τῆς π]όλεως καλῶ[ς καὶ εὖσεβ]ῶς ἐμέρισε [ὅπως ἦι τὰ ἰ]ερὰ θύσαι [τὸ γένος τὸ Κ]ηρύκων. The money used in the government of Athens cannot, I think, be described as τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει; it must rather have been τὰ (perhaps) εἰς τὴν διοίκησιν. Fundamental to the reconstruction of this text is the conviction that [ἐ]πὶ τῇ διοικ[ήσει τῆς π]όλεως must refer not to the funds that were distributed but to the official whose duty it was to preside over the administration of the city. It was he who made the allocation of funds well and piously (καλῶς καὶ εὖσεβῶς) or perhaps well and justly (καλῶς καὶ δικαίως) so that the *genos* of the Kerykes might offer their sacrifices.

The new fragment teaches us who this important official was: Xenokles, son of Xeinis, of Sphettos. His career covered approximately the second half of the fourth century. Kirchner (*P.A.*, 11234) puts his *floruit* about 340 B.C. He was gymnasiarch of Akamantis (to which phyle his deme Sphettos belonged) in 346/5 (*I.G.*, II², 3019), victor with the *πυρριχισταί* at some time after the middle of the century (*I.G.*, II², 3026), trierarch in 335/4 (*I.G.*, II², 1623, line 298) [mentioned also in *I.G.*, II², 1628, lines 414 and 433, and *I.G.*, II², 1629, lines 934 and 955], epimeletes of the Mysteries at Eleusis in 321/0 (*I.G.*, II², 1191, 2840, 2841), agonothetes in 307/6 (*I.G.*, II², 3073, 3077), and finally, in 306/5, he was one of a commission of three who brought to Athens a gift of money from Antigonos (*I.G.*, II², 1492, line 100). His services to the state were numerous and extensive, and it is appropriate that he should now be discovered, through this inscription, as the man who, for a time at least, was in charge of directing the city's finances. The phrase ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει τῆς πόλεως can have no other meaning.

There was, at the end of the century, an official whose title, as it occurs in inscriptions, was ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει. He makes his first appearance in 307/6 (*I.G.*, II², 463, line 36)¹ and the official so named was Habron, son of Lykourgos, of Bou-

¹ For the date of the inscription and the naming of the official see W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 108-111.

tadai. But the present text is too well cut to fit comfortably into the last years of the century. Its writing and the elaborate ornamentation of the stele on which it was inscribed belong rather to the years before the hegemony of Demetrios of Phaleron. Judged on the basis of writing alone the date of this inscription ought to be close to 330 B.C., the date to which the lower fragment was tentatively assigned in its first publication.

Plutarch tells something of the financial reforms of Lykourgos, who held control of the moneys of the city for three quadrennia, from 338 to 326 B.C.:² “— — — he was also entrusted with the management of the finances of the State;³ for he was made treasurer for three periods of four years — — —. He was elected in his own person the first time, but afterwards he entered the name of one of his friends, though he himself administered the office,⁴ because a law had previously been introduced forbidding anyone elected treasurer of the public funds to hold office more than four years — — —.”

As Harold N. Fowler remarks, in his notes to the Loeb edition of Plutarch, the title of Lykourgos's office is not known. No regular office, such as that held by Lykourgos, is mentioned by Aristotle. Even though Hypereides (Frag. 118) says of Lykourgos *ταχθεὶς δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ διοίκησει τῶν χρημάτων εὗρε πόρους*, C. G. Brandis warns⁵ that the fixed title *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοίκησει* ought not to be posited earlier than Aristotle's treatise on the Athenian constitution.⁶ Yet, whatever the title, it is clear from the literary evidence that *διοίξεις* was what Lykourgos was concerned with, and that he was in fact *ἐπὶ τῇ διοίκησει*. His responsibilities were evidently quite broad, even if of special character, and there may well have been no fixed title until after the restoration of the democracy in 307/6. But the state had already experimented, under Lykourgos, with a single officer in charge of finances, and it is significant that when the title itself appears—after the restoration—the first incumbent was Lykourgos's son Habron.

The present text gives the first epigraphical support to the literary description of Lykourgos's duties. Xenokles must have been one of the “friends” named by Plutarch, and his tenure is to be dated at some time between 334 and 326 B.C. The situation has been described precisely by W. S. Ferguson, who traces the influence of Lykourgos down to 326 B.C., when Menesaichmos (*P.A.*, 9983) became treasurer, with the ascendancy of the more violent anti-Macedonians.⁷

² Plutarch, *Vitae X Oratorum*, 841 B-C (Loeb Classical Library).

³ *πιστευσάμενος τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν χρημάτων*.

⁴ *αὐτὸς ἐποιεῖτο τὴν διοίκησιν*.

⁵ In Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. *Διοίξεις*, p. 788.

⁶ In a mutilated passage in his speech *Against Demosthenes* Hypereides also refers to the election of Lykourgos by the Demos: [ἐ]πὶ τὴν δι[οίκησιν τῶ]ν αὐτοῦ ἅπασαν [ταμ]ίαν ἐχειροτόνησ[εν]. See G. Colin, *R.E.A.*, XXX, 1928, p. 191. Colin also warns against positing the title *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοίκησει* in the time of Lykourgos (he thinks it might have come in under Demetrios of Phaleron) and suggests that the title *ταμίης ἐπὶ τῇ διοίκησει* would have a better claim.

⁷ W. S. Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena*, p. 139, note 2.

4 (Plate 1). Fragment of Pentelic marble with part of the left edge preserved, found on April 13, 1935, in a context of early Byzantine date southwest of the Stoa of Attalos (P 13-14).

Height, 0.235 m.; width, 0.09 m.; thickness, 0.105 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 2767.

saec. IV a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[.] π [- - - - -]
 [. . . .] σ τ α [- - - - -]
 [. . . .] ι δ ι [- - - - -]
 [. . .] ι τ ο [- - - - -]
 5 [. .] δ ι δ ο [- - - - -]
 [.] α ν ι α σ [- - - - -] ε υ ε
 ρ γ έ τ η [ν - - - - -]
 ι τ ω ι λ ο [- - - - -]
 έ π ι μ ε [λ η θ ή ν α ι - - - τ ή ς π ο ι ή σ ε ω ς τ ο υ σ τ ε φ ά]
 10 ν ο υ κ α [ι τ ή ς α ν α γ ο ρ ε ύ σ ε ω ς - - - - -]
 [.] ι ε ι [ς - - - - -]
 [. .] τ η [- - - - -]

The lettering is stoichedon with a square chequer pattern in which the units measure *ca.* 0.0124 m. I have tried numerous supplements to achieve a more nearly complete restoration, but have found nothing which seems to me convincing. The text belongs to an honorary decree.

5 (Plate 1). Fragment of bluish marble, broken on all sides, found on June 7, 1935, in a late fill in the northeastern corner of the Market Square.

Height, 0.124 m.; width, 0.089 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 2995.

post med. saec. IV a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 32 (?)

[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -] ε ι π ε ν ε π [ε ι δ ή - - - - -]
 [. 'Α] λ ι κ α ρ ν α [σ σ ε ν δ ς κ α ι ν ū ν κ α ι ε ν τ ω ι]
 [π ρ ό σ θ ε ν] χ ρ ό ν ω [ι - - - - -]
 5 [.] Μ [.] Α [.] Ε [- - - - -]
 [.] Κ Ι [. .] Ι [- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]

The writing has a square stoichedon pattern in which the units measure 0.012 m. Other fourth-century decrees in praise of Halikarnassos or the Halikarnassians are preserved in *I.G.*, II², 136 (*a.* 354/3 *a.*) and *I.G.*, II², 142 (*ante med. saec.* IV *a.*).

6 (Plate 5). Splinter of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on April 16, 1935, in a context of the third or fourth century after Christ east of the central part of the Stoa of Zeus (I 6).

Height, 0.042 m.; width, 0.107 m., thickness, 0.024 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 2898.

saec. IV/III *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]ι[.....¹⁰.....]
 [-- τὸνς προέδρους οἱ ἄν λά]χωσιν προε[δρεύνειν]
 [εἰς τήν ---- ἐκκλησίαν προ]σαγαγεῖν τ[----]
 [-----]

7 (Plate 2). Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, with the smooth right side and the rough-picked back preserved, found in the wall of a Turkish pithos south of the Market Square (P 21) on April 20, 1938.

Height, 0.235 m.; width, 0.19 m.; thickness, 0.11 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 5415.

The writing is stoichedon with a square chequer pattern in which the units measure 0.015 m.

init. saec. III *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 37

[-----]Σ[...⁹...]
 [-----]ΣΠ[...⁵...]
 [-----]Σ[...⁵...]
 [... ἐπεμελήθησαν δὲ καὶ καλῶς καὶ δ]ικαίω[ς τῶ]
 5 [ν τε θυσιῶν ἀπασῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπά]ντων ὧν [αὐ]
 [τοῖς οἱ τε νόμοι καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα πρ]οσέταττ[ο]
 [ν· ἐπαινέσαι αὐτοὺς καὶ στεφανῶσαι χ]ρυσ<ῶ>ι σ[τ]
 [εφάνωι κατὰ τὸν νόμον φιλοτιμίας ἔν]εκα καὶ [ἐ]
 [πιμελείας τῆς περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθη]ναίων· ἂν
 10 [αγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμμ]ατέα τὸν
 [κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ κ]αὶ στήσα
 [ι ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου· εἰς δὲ τ]ὴν ἀνα[γ]
 [ραφήν -----]

The decree praises the prytaneis of one of the phylai (name not preserved) for their good performance while in office. This is one of the earliest of the so-called "prytany" decrees, and the formulae have not as yet become stereotyped. In line 12, for example, the place for the erection of the stele was probably ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου (cf. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 31, no. 1, line 6) rather than the usual ἐν τῷ πρυτανικῷ. Normally, the formula of resolution (δεδοχθαι τῷ δήμῳ) should have been expected in line 7 before ἐπαινέσαι; probably it was omitted altogether, though not unintentionally.⁸ In line 7 the letter *omikron* was written by mistake, I assume, for *omega*. It is improbable that the restoration should be made with [χ]ρυσοῖς [στεφάνοις].

8 (Plate 2). Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, with the right side and rough-picked back preserved, found in the wall of a modern house east of the Late Roman Fortification Wall southeast of the Market Square (U 22) on February 9, 1937.

Height, 0.18 m.; width, 0.17 m.; thickness, 0.089 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 4496.

init. saec. III a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 57

[-----]σ[-----]
 [----- δεδόχθαι]ι τεῖ βουλευί τοῦ[ς]
 [πρυτάνεις οἱ ἂν λάχῃσι προεδρεύειν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ χρημ]ατί[σα]ι περὶ το[ύ]
 [των γνώμην δὲ συμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δ]ῆμον ὅτι δοκ[εῖ τεῖ βου]
 5 [λεῖ ἐπαινέσαι ----- ^{ca. 21} ----- καὶ στεφ]ανῶσαι αὐτὸν χ[ρ]υ
 [σῶι στεφάνῳι κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ φι]λοτιμίας τῆ[ς] εἰ[ς] . . .
 [----- ^{ca. 15} -----]ε[-----]

For the phraseology in line 3, see *I.G.*, II², 676.

9 (Plate 2). Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble, with the right side and back preserved, found in a modern wall on the south slope of the Areopagus (M 18) on February 16, 1937.

Height, 0.11 m.; width, 0.175 m.; thickness, 0.068 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 4526.

⁸ Contrast the two decrees, for example, of 347/6, one of which has δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ (*I.G.*, II², 213, line 9), and the other of which omits it (*I.G.*, II², 212).

init. saec. III a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 54 (?)

[-----]
 [-----] ἐπαινέσ[αι . .]
 [-----] Ἀλωπ]εκῆθεν καὶ στεφ[ανῶ]
 [σαι -----] ἀ]ρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ εὖ^ο
 5 [νοίας ἦν ἔχων διατελεῖ εἰς τὴν βουλήν καὶ τὸν δ]ῆμον καὶ τὸ ναυτι^ο
 [κὸν -----] ἀναγ]ράψαι δὲ τόδε το ψή^ο
 [φισμα -----]ς τῶν τριηρ[άρχων^ο]
 [-----] εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀνάθεσ]ιν κα[ὶ τὴν ποίησιν^ο
 [τῆς στήλης δοῦναι τὸν ἑξεταστὴν καὶ τοὺς τριτ]υά[ρχους τὸ γενόμε]
 10 [νον ἀνάλωμα vacat]

There is no sure guide to the length of line, but the few letters in line 8 seem to refer to the making and setting up of the stele (whether [ἀνάθεσ]ιν or some other word be restored). If this is so, then the officer or officers who provided the funds should have been named in line 9. The letters there preserved are the upper stroke of *tau* (or at any rate an upper horizontal stroke), a clear *upsilon*, and the sloping left stroke of *alpha* (or *lambda* or *delta*). These traces require, among known formulae, the restoration [τὸν ἑξεταστὴν καὶ τοὺς τριτ]υά[ρχους] from the early third century,⁹ a date which is quite compatible with the general appearance of the script: stoichedon but with some careless overlapping of strokes and some careless placement of strokes that would not have been characteristic of the fourth century before Demetrios of Phaleron.

Whatever the office held or the service rendered by the honoree from Alopeke, his good deeds seem to have been directed particularly toward the Athenian navy (lines 5, 7).

10 (Plate 2). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found under the floor of the church of the Παναγία Βλασσαροῦ west of the Odeion (K 11) on March 2, 1936.

Height, 0.145 m.; width, 0.14 m.; thickness, 0.125 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 3676.

*ca. a. 286-263 a.*NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 50-56

[-----] ἐπεμελήθησαν δὲ κ]α[ὶ] τ[ῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ὧν αὐτοῖς προσ]
 [έταπτον οἱ τε νόμοι καὶ] τὰ [ψ]ηφί[σματα τοῦ δήμου· ἐπαινέσαι τοὺς πρυτά]

⁹ Cf., e.g., *I.G.*, II², 641, 643.

- [νεις τῆς — — — ἰδ]ος καὶ στεφαν[ῶσαι αὐτοὺς χρυσῶι στεφάνωι κατὰ τὸν]
 [νόμον εὐσεβεία]ς ἔνεκα τῆς εἰ[ς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῆς εἰς τὴν]
 5 [βουλὴν καὶ τ]ὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀ[θηναίων· ἀναγράφαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισ]
 [μα τὸν γραμμα]τέα τὸν κατὰ π[ρυτανείαν ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ]
 [στήσαι ἐν τῶι] πρυτανικῶι· [εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάθε]
 [σιν τῆς στήλης μερί]σαι τοὺς [ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα]

vacat

The payment by the plural board ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει shows that the date of the inscription lies within the period of freedom from Macedonia in the first half of the third century.¹⁰ I have ventured to restore the phrase [εὐσεβεία]ς ἔνεκα τῆς εἰ[ς τοὺς θεοὺς] in line 4 in spite of the fact that in other prytany decrees the normal phrase with εὐσέβεια is πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς rather than εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς.

11 (Plate 2). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in a modern wall in front of the east end of the Middle Stoa (O 11) on February 25, 1937.

Height, 0.115 m.; width, 0.098 m.; thickness, 0.065 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 4557.

saec. III *a.*

[-----] \ | [-----]
 [-----] ι καὶ [-----]
 [----- τὸ γενόμεν]ον ψήφισ[μα --]

[οἱ -----]οι

I

5 [-----]
 [-----]
 (Col. I lost)

II

Οἰνηίδος
 [---]ος Νικοδώρ[ον -]
 [Κεκρο]πί[δος]
 [-----]

The inscription contained a list of names, arranged beneath a decree under their own descriptive heading, apparently disposed in two columns under the respective names of their phylai. The text differs from a normal ephebic catalogue (cf., e.g., *I.G.*, II², 787), but I have no good suggestion for the restoration of line 4.

¹⁰ See Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, 1937, p. 12.

12 (Plate 2). Fragment from the left side of a stele of Pentelic marble, found in disturbed earth west of the Late Roman Fortification Wall (S 17) on May 28, 1936.

Height, 0.128 m.; width, 0.088 m.; thickness, 0.054 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 4185.

saec. III *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 40

[ἐπὶ — — — — — ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς — — — — —]
 πρυταν[είας ἥι — — — — — ἐ]
 γραμμά[τευεν — — — — —]
 εἰκοστ[εῖ τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ]
 5 [τῷ]ν πρ[οέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν — — — — —]
 [. . .] ἐν[ς καὶ συμπρόεδροι· ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλευὶ καὶ τῷ]
 [δῆ]μῳ· [— — — — —]
 [. . .] ΤΗ[— — — — —]
 [. . . .] Ο[— — — — —]

13 (Plate 3). Fragment of a stele of non-Hymettian, perhaps Pentelic, marble, with the right side preserved, found near the surface under Acropolis Street, west of the Late Roman Fortification Wall (S 25) on March 11, 1937.

Height, 0.108 m.; width, 0.073 m.; thickness, 0.025 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 4605.

ca. *a.* 267/6 *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 33-37

[— — — — — Καλ]λίστρα
 [τος Γλαύκωνος Κρωπίδης εἶπεν· ἐπεὶ]δῆ Φίλι[.]
 [— — — — — διατελεῖ τὴν πατρικὴν εὐνοί]αν ἀποδ[ει]
 [κνύμενος τῷ δῆμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων κ]αὶ τοῖς ἀ[φί]
 5 [κνουμένοις αὐτῶν εἰς — — — — —]ην καὶ κοιν[ῇ]
 [καὶ ἰδίαί ἐμ παντὶ καιρῷ παρέχ]ων ἑαυτὸν
 [χρήσιμον τῷ δῆμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων· ἀ]γαθὴ τύ
 [χει δεδόχθαι τεῖ βουλευὶ τοὺς προ]έδρου[ς]
 [οὔτινες ἂν λάχωσιν προεδρεύειν ἐν] τῷ[ι δῆ]
 10 [μῳ — — — — —]

The approximate length of line is given by the sure formula of lines 7-8. The inscription belongs in the third century, where it so happens that a text is already

known with the orator Kallistratos son of Glaukon of Kropidai.¹¹ He may well be the orator named here in lines 1-2, author of a motion to praise Phili[—] (a foreigner) for his goodwill and helpfulness to Athens and her people. The name of the orator is not beyond question, and I have no suggestion for a closer identification of Phili[—]. It is tempting to take this name as Φιλι[στίδης], since he was honored by a decree of approximately this same date (Inv. No. I 4606), the citation from which was published in *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 233. The stones were discovered almost at the same place and within a day of each other, but the writing of the citation is larger and looks earlier, and the character of the marble differs: that of I 4606 is clear Pentelic, that of I 4605 has pronounced streaks of gray and, according to John Travlos who has examined both pieces, cannot have come from the same stone.

In line 5 the first letter on the edge of the stone is now preserved only as an upright stroke: *iota* and *eta* are equally possible.

14 (Plate 3). Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble, with part of the smooth left side and rough-picked back preserved, found in the eastern boundary wall of a Roman road northeast of the Odeion (N 7-8) on May 6, 1938.

Height, 0.284 m.; width, 0.273 m.; thickness, 0.122 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5427.

fn. saec. III a.

PRYTANEIS OF OINEIS

I		II		III		IV
<i>ca.</i> 7 lines lost		<i>ca.</i> 7 lines lost				
[-----]		Ἴερ[-----]		[-----]		Column IV is lost
[^{<i>ca.</i> 5}]-ἰων		24 Τιμ[-----]		[-----]		
10	[Φ]υλάσιοι		Φιλ[-----]	35	[-----]	
	[Φ]ιλίσκος		Ἀπ[ο]λλωνίδης		[-----]	
	Πειθέας		Διοφάνη[ς]		! [-----]	
	Εὐαίνετος		Ἀχαρνεῖς		B[-----]	
	Ἀριστογένης		Μηνόφιλος		Π[-----]	
	Εὐκλείδης	30	Τιμαῖος	40	Μ[-----]	
55	ἡ βουλή		ἡ βουλή			Third citation is lost
	Ὀρθοκλήν		Σῶσον			
	Ἀλαιέα	60	Ἀλαιέα			

Other citations are lost

¹¹ *I.G.*, II², 661, of the archonship of Menekles; for the date see Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 314.

The writing is of the characteristic disjointed style of the late third century.¹² The names belong to the register of the prytaneis of Oineis which followed (on the stone) the honorary decrees and the citations of the treasurer and secretary of the prytaneis.¹³ The two citations preserved, therefore, belong probably to the priest of the Eponymos and to the secretary of the Council and Demos. It is hazardous to attempt identification for the prytaneis named in the register itself, but the Menophilos of Acharnai in the second column (line 29) was probably the same as the Μηνόφιλος Τιμοθέου Ἀχαρνεύς whose tombstone is published as *I.G.*, II², 5819.

15 (Plate 3). Fragment of Hymettian marble, with the right side and rough back preserved (thinning at the edges), found on February 7, 1935, in the wall of a modern house west of the Odeion (K 10).

Height, 0.24 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.14 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 2373.

The writing is characteristic of the late third or early second century B.C.

saec. III/II a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 52

- [-----] ρ[-----^{ca. 5}-----]
- [-----] τεχρ[-----^{ca. 3}-----]
- [-----] αι καὶ ν[. .]
- [----- ὅπως οὖν ἂν ----- πᾶ]σιν ἐφά
- 5 [μιλλον ἦι εὐεργετεῖν τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων εἰδόσιν ὅτι] τιμη
[θήσονται -----] ιητας εἴ[. .]
- [----- σ]τεφανῶ
[σαι χρυσῶι στεφάνωι εὐσεβείας ἔνεκεν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς] θεοὺς κ[αὶ]
[φιλοτιμίας τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ---- (?) ἔ]να ἐκηρύκ[ευ]
- 10 [εν (?) ----- τα]ύτας τὰς
[-----] Θέρσωνι
[----- στήσαι δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν δῆμον] ν εἰκόνα
[χαλκῇν ἐν ἀγορᾷ ----- ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφι] σμα τὸν
[γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλει λιθίνει καὶ] στήσαι ἐν
- 15 [ἀγορᾷ πρόσθεν τῆς εἰκόνης (?)· τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον τὸ ἀναλω] θέν εἰς ταῦ
[τα μερίσαι -----] vacat

¹² See Dow, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 426, and A. Wilhelm, *Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen*, p. 63.

¹³ For the disposition see Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 81-83, no. 36, of 222/1 B.C. [the date is given as in Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xxiv].

For the restoration of lines 4-6, cf. *I.G.*, II², 721, lines 2-5. The man honored by the decree and by the statue was Therson (line 11) who is not identifiable, in my opinion, with any other known man of that name. Line 9 remains a puzzle, which I trust that others may have better success in solving.

16 (Plate 3). Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found on January 24, 1934, in a modern wall southeast of the Southwest Fountain House (I 15).

Height, 0.10 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 1220.

saec. III/II *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 43

[----- ἀγα]θεῖ τ[ύχει δεδόχθαι τῶι δήμῳ]
 [τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθ]αι τὰ γεγ[ονότα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἷς]
 [ἔθνον ἐφ' ὑγίαιαι καὶ] σωτηρίαῖ [τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ]
 [δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἐπ]ειδὴ δὲ [οἱ πρυτάνεις -----]
 [-----]

The text belongs to a "first" decree in the well-known series of prytany-inscriptions.

17 (Plate 3). Part of a stele of Hymettian marble, with the right edge preserved, found on February 26, 1936, built into a late wall west of the northern part of the Stoa of Attalos (P-Q 7-8).

Height, 0.283 m.; width, 0.217 m.; thickness, 0.13 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 3642.

init. saec. II *a.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
[-----]	[-----]	[ῥ] βουλῇ	ῥ βουλῇ
[-----]	[-----]	[Σ]ίμαλον	Εὐκλήν
[-----]	[-----]	[ἐκ Μ]υρρινούτ	Βερενικί
[-----]	[-----]	[τ]ης	δην

The text consists of two citations from a prytany decree. There are traces of names at the upper right which seem to have belonged to a list of prytaneis. Eukles of Berenikidai was herald of the Council and Demos at the end of the third century (*Hesperia*, XXVI, p. 60, no. 14, lines 50-51) and at least as late as 178/7 (*Hesperia*,

Suppl. I, p. 121, no. 64, line 38).¹⁴ Simalos of Myrrhinoutta was a member of the commission for the restoration of *στρώματα* in the Skias in the archonship of Hippias.¹⁵ In the present text, Eukles must again have been the herald, and, if the disposition of *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 120-121, no. 72, may be taken as a guide, Simalos must have been the Undersecretary of the Council and Demos.

18 (Plate 4). Part of a stele of Hymettian marble, with the pebbled left side and the rough-picked back preserved, found on March 9, 1936, in a modern wall north of the Eleusinion (T 18).

Height, 0.255 m.; width, 0.163 m.; thickness, 0.105 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.—0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 3717.

init. saec. II a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 58-65

AIGEIS

[----- ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ]
 τοῦ δή[μον· ἐπιμεμελῆσθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως·]
 ἀγαθε[ὶ τύχει δεδόχθαι τεῖ βουλευὶ ἐπαινέσαι τὸν ταμίαν Σωγένην ----- Ἔρ]
 χιέα· ἐπ[αινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν γραμματέα ----- ^{ca. 30} -----]
 5 καὶ τὸν ἱε[ρέα τοῦ ἐπωνύμου ----- ^{ca. 15} ----- καὶ τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ]
 τοῦ δήμου Ἀ[----- ^{ca. 15} ----- καὶ τὸν ὑπογραμματέα ----- ^{ca. 15} ----- καὶ τὸν κή]
 ρυκα τῆς βουλ[ῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου Εὐκλῆν Βερενικίδην καὶ τὸν αὐλητὴν Νεοκλῆν Βερε]
 νικίδην· ἀναγρ[άψαι δὲ τότε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στή]
 λει λιθίνει καὶ σ[τήσαι ἐν τῷ πρυτανικῶν· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης καὶ]
 10 τὴν ἀνάθεσιν με[ρίσαι τὸν ἐπὶ τεῖ διοικήσει τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα *vacat*]

I	II	III	IV
Ἐρχιεῖς	Φ[-----]	lost	lost
Σωγένης	Εἰ[-----]		
[Κ]ηφισόδωρος 20	Νι[-----]		
[Ζ]ώϊλος	[-----]		
15 [Λ]ίβυς	Λ[-----]		
[Μο]σχίων	[-----]		
[-----]			
etc.	etc.		

¹⁴ Cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, 1937, p. 17.

¹⁵ *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, 1940, p. 145, line 20. I argue the date 181/0 for Hippias in my forthcoming volume on *The Athenian Year* in the Sather Classical Lectures series.

This is part of a prytany decree honoring the phyle Aigeis, to which the deme Erchia belonged. The treasurer of the prytaneis was named first in the register, and his name may be restored in lines 3-4. He and the secretary, as the more important officers, were named in the decree with patronymics as well as demotics, the other officers with demotics only. For the restorations generally see, for example, the similar decree published in *Hesperia*, XVI, 1948, pp. 15-16, no. 6, with an addition in *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 244, no. 96.

The treasurer Sogenes is probably the father of that Ἀριστοκλῆς Σωγέων Ἐρχιεύς who appears in a list of epimeletai from the second half of the century (*I.G.*, II², 1939, line 71). The name in line 15 can be restored only as [Λ]ίβυς. It has been found several times in Athens, but heretofore always as an alien. Here Libys must be a citizen, but the name indicates none the less his ethnic origin.

19 (Plate 5). Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in a late Roman context in the classical floor southeast of the Propylon (H 11) on May 19, 1937.

Height, 0.055 m.; width, 0.215 m.; thickness, 0.065 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 4875.

init. saec. II a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[— φιλοτιμίας ἔνεκα τῆς εἰς τὸ]ν δῆμον καὶ τοὺς ἀλειφομ[ένους — — —]

[— — — — — ἀνειπεῖν τὸν] στέφανον τοῦτον τοῖς γυμν[ικοῖς ἀγῶσιν — — —]

The text preserves two lines, in part, from a decree praising a gymnasiarch (?). See *I.G.*, II², 1227, lines 4-7, and, as a guide to the restorations, lines 29-32. In *I.G.*, II², 1028, lines 33-34, it is said of the epheboi: ἡλείφοντό τε ἐνδ[ελε]χῶς ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις ἀγόμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ κοσμητοῦ καὶ ἐσχόλασαν — — κτλ.

20 (Plate 5). Upper left corner of a stele of Hymettian marble, found in a late Roman foundation in the north room of the Hellenistic Metroon (G-H 8-9) on July 7, 1936.

Height, 0.11 m.; width, 0.05 m.; thickness, 0.093 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 4267.

a. 182/1 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 45

θ [ε ο ί]
 [ἐπὶ] Τι[μῆσιάνακτος ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς -----]
 [...] πρ[υτανείας ἥι Φιλο^{ca. 4.} Ἀριστομάχου Προβαλίσσιος]
 [ἐγ]ραμ[μάτευεν δῆμον ψηφίσματα ----- ἵσταμέ]
 5 νου, τε[τάρτει τῆς πρυτανείας ἐκκλησία κυρία ἐν τῷ θεά]
 [τρῶ]ι τ[ῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν -----]

For the date and for the secretary see *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 66, no. 18.

21 (Plate 3). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on May 27, 1947, in a fill of late date just over the Roman level above the Civic Offices (I 12).

Height, 0.13 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 5982.

ATTALIS

ca. a. 180-155 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[----- εὐσεβεί]ας ἔνε[κεν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ]
 [φιλοτιμίας τῆς εἰς τὴν β]ουλὴν κ[αὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων]
 [ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψή]φισμα τ[ὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυ]
 [τανείαν ἐν στήλει λιθ]ίνει καὶ [στήσαι ἐν τῷ πρυτανικῶι]
 5 [εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τ]ῆς στήλῃ[s καὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν μερίσαι]
 [τὸν ἐπὶ τεῖ διοικήσει τὸ] γενόμε[νον ἀνάλωμα]

I	II	III	IV
-----	Ἀθμ[ονεῖς]	-----	-----
-----	-----	-----	-----

The date is determined by the character of the lettering, which is quite like that of Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 148, no. 83. The formula of lines 1-2 is characteristic of the so-called first decree in which the Demos praises the prytaneis, and it is unusual that the register of prytaneis should follow immediately after this first decree, its normal position being after the second decree in which the various officials were praised by the Council. Yet the letters visible in line 7 seem to yield the demotic Ἀθμ[ονεῖς], which must belong to the register and which thus guarantees the arrangement. A similar example of this order may be seen in an earlier text (279/8 B.C.) published in *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 1-2, no. 1. The restorations here in lines 1-6 are like those of *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 109, no. 52, of nearly the same date.

22 (Plate 4). Small fragment of Pentelic marble, with the left edge preserved, found in a context of late Roman date north of the civic offices (J 11) on March 21, 1936.

Height, 0.094 m.; width, 0.06 m.; thickness, 0.018 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 3783.

PRYTANY DECREE

ca. a. 173-164 a.

NON ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 58

[----- καὶ τὸν κήρυ]
 [κ]α τ[ῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου Φιλοκλῆν Τρινεμέα καὶ τὸν αὐλητὴν Καλλι]
 κράτ[ην Καλλικράτου Θορίκιον καὶ τὸν ταμίαν τῆς βουλῆς -----^{ca. 12}-----]
 δον Κη[----- καὶ στεφανῶσαι ἕκαστον θαλλοῦ στεφάνων ἀναγράψαι]
 5 δὲ τόδ[ε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλει λιθί]
 νει καὶ σ[τήσαι ἐν τῷ πρυτανικῷ· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν]
 τῆς στή[λης μερίσαι τὸν ----- τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα]

Kallikrates was flutist, according to Dow (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 18), approximately from 178/7 to 158/7 B.C. The texts which gave the lower limit have now been dated in 164/3.¹⁶ The herald, with no room for patronymic, was probably Philokles,¹⁷ who now makes his first appearance in the archonship of Alexis in 173/2.¹⁸ The script of the present text is characteristic of this period.

The restoration of line 7 could be made with either τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν or τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει as the disbursing officer. Both appear in the prytany decree just cited from the archonship of Alexis.¹⁹

23 (Plate 5). Two fragments of Hymettian marble, both found in the original filling of the Late Roman Fortification Wall (T 21) on May 7, 1938. The upper fragment (a) preserves part of a moulding above the inscribed face; the lower fragment (b) is broken on all sides, but its rough-picked back is preserved. There is no join between the two pieces.

a: Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.09 m.; thickness, 0.077 m.

b: Height, 0.17 m.; width, 0.063 m.; thickness, 0.08 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5424.

¹⁶ *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, 1937, nos. 79 and 80. See *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 74-77.

¹⁷ Cf. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, 1937, p. 17.

¹⁸ *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 33-35, no. 6.

¹⁹ Cf. *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 35-36.

init. saec. II a.

NON-ΣΤΙΟΧ.

[----- εἰ] πέν· ἐπειδὴ [-----]
 [----- εἰς τὸ] ν ἐνιαυτὸν [τὸν ἐπὶ -----]
 [----- ἄρχοντος τὰς τε] θυσίας τ[ὰς καθηκού]
 [σας ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ τέθν] κε τοῖς θε[οῖς καλῶς]
 5 [καὶ εὖσεβῶς -----] νους του[-----]
 [-----] χην τῇν [-----]
 [-----] ΑΓΩΝ [-----]
 [-----] Ι [-----]
 lacuna
 [-----] αι ταμι [-----]
 10 [----- δι] καίως [-----]
 [-----] καὶ ἐτ[-----]
 [-----] ΩΝ [-----]
 [-----] ΕΒΘ [-----]

Style of lettering and surface treatment of the marble indicate the approximate date.

The decree was not a public decree of the Council and Demos, but probably a vote by some religious organization honoring an official for his services during an annual tenure. This official may have been a priest, for his principal duty was the offering of appointed sacrifices. But he may have been a treasurer (see line 9); treasurers too were closely concerned with the offering of sacrifices (see, for example, *I.G.*, II², 1327, of approximately the same date as the present text).

24 (Plate 4). Two joining fragments of a stele of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides but with the original back preserved, found near the Church of Christ southeast of the Market Square (T 17) on March 18 and 19, 1936.

Height, 0.24 m.; width, 0.21 m.; thickness, 0.20 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 3777.

PRAISE OF A MILESIAN

*saec. II a.*NON-ΣΤΙΟΧ. *ca.* 50

[ἐπὶ ----- ^{ca. 11} ----- ἄρχοντο]ς ἐπὶ [τῆς ----- ἔκτης πρυτα]
 [νείας ἦι ----- ^{ca. 8} ----- Α]γαθοδώρου [----- ἐγραμμάτευν]
 [δήμου ψηφίσματα· Π]οσιδεῶνος ὁ[γδοίε -----]
 [----- τῆς πρυταν]είας· ἐκκλησί[α κυρία ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ· τῶν προ]
 5 [έδρων ἐπεψήφισε]ν Δημήτριος [----- καὶ συμπρόεδροι]

[ἐπειδὴ — — — —]ς Ζηνοθέμιδ[ος Μιλήσιος προαγόμενος μάλιστα]
 [τῶν] Μιλησίων δ[ιὰ τὴν οἰκειό[τητα τὴν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον καὶ τὴν]
 [τῶν] προγόνων [φι]λίαν οὐ μόνο[ν κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν πρότερον αἰεὶ ἐ]
 [βοήθ]ει τε πᾶσιν Ἀθηναίοις πάν[τα ὅσα ἡιτοῦντο παρεχόμενος]
 10 [καὶ νῦν] διατελεῖ πράττων ἀγα[θὸν — — — — — — — — — —]
 [... ψη]φισθέντων ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα ἄλ[λα — — — — — — — — — —]
 [...⁷...] ΕΤΑΙ[...]ΝΑΣΚΑ[— — — — — — — — — —]
 [... μ]ήτε δαπάνης μήτε κινδύ[νον — — — — — — — — — —]
 [...⁵...] τινος μελ[— — — — — — — — — —]
 15 [...⁶...] ΛΙΟ[...]Ν[— — — — — — — — — —]
 [...⁵...] ΜΙ[...]ΑΝ καθότι [α]ὐτοῖ[— — — — — — — — — —]
 [— — — — — — — — — — traces — — — — — — — — — —]
 [...⁵...] ΕΝΟΙ τῶν πρ[ὸς] τὸν δ[ῆμον — — — — — — — — — —]
 [— — — — — — — — — — traces — — — — — — — — — —]
 20 [— — — — — — — — — — traces — — — — — — — — — —]

The surface of the stone is badly worn, especially in the center and in the later lines, but it is possible that more letters may in time yet be made out. The opening lines may be restored with characteristic formulae, though it is clear that the phrase *ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλευῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ* must have been omitted, as was not unusual in decrees of the late third and early second centuries (cf., e.g., *I.G.*, II², 832, 844, 850, 899). The name of the archon is lost, and of the name of the secretary only the patronymic has been preserved. Agathodoros is rare as an Athenian name before the Roman era. So far as is now known its earliest previous occurrence is as the name of an ephebos about 40 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 1961, line 7) whose father, however, bore the same name (*floruit* ca. 60 B.C.). The name has Anatolian connotations, as does the patronymic Zenothemis (line 6) of the Milesian honored by this Athenian decree.

25 (Plate 6). Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble, with part of the rough-picked back preserved but broken on all sides, found in a late context under Acropolis Street, west of the Late Roman Fortification Wall (S 24-25 to T 24) on March 13, 1937.

Height, 0.125 m.; width, 0.127 m.; thickness, 0.078 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 4609.

saec. II *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 50

[— — — — — — — — — —]ρ[— — — — — — — — — —]
 [— — — — — εἶναι δὲ καὶ] γῆς καὶ οἰκία[ς ἔγκτησιν αὐτῷ αἰτησαμένῳ]
 [κατὰ τὸν νόμον· εἶ]ναι δὲ αὐτῷ κ[αὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν ἀποδεικνυμέ]

[νῶι τὴν εὐνοίαν τῇ]ν πρὸς τὴν π[όλιν τὴν Ἀθηναίων εὐρέσθαι καὶ]
 5 [ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν ὅτου] ἂν δοκῇ[ι ἄξιος εἶναι, ἵνα τούτων συντελουμένων]
 [καὶ ἄλλοι ζηλ]ωταὶ γίνω[νται τῆς αὐτῆς αἰρέσεως (?) vacat]

For the restorations of lines 2-5 see *I.G.*, II², 907, and for lines 5-6 see *I.G.*, II², 1046 (lines 30-32) and *I.G.*, VII, 411 (lines 27-28).

26 (Plate 6). Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble with the left side (dressed with a toothed chisel) and the rough-picked back preserved, found in the wall of a modern house over the southern part of the Eleusinion (T-U 20) on December 18, 1936.

Height, 0.17 m.; width, 0.201 m.; thickness, 0.14 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m. (lines 5-9) and 0.005 m. (lines 2-4).

Inv. No. I 4377.

saec. II *a.*

[----- καὶ στεφά]
 [νῶ]σαι ἐκά[τερον αὐτῶν -----]
 [τῶ]ν τελεσθέντω[ν -----]
 [...] τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας *vacat* [-----]

In an olive wreath

5 ἡ βουλὴ
 ὁ δῆμος
 Θάρσυντ[ον]
 Ὑπεράν[θους]
 Ἀπτε[ρέα]

This is part of an honorary decree, with the names of the men honored inscribed in olive wreaths below the text of the inscription. One citation has been preserved: in line 7 the name is restored as from Θάρσυντος (*I.G.*, II², 896, line 48) rather than Θαρσύτας (*I.G.*, II², 6757, of later date). Presumably he was one of the initiates (line 3). The place of finding links this text to the Eleusinion and the text in turn becomes an additional bit of evidence for the site of that shrine.²⁰ Tharsytos was from Aptera, probably from the city of that name in Crete, though there was also a city named Aptera in Lykia. The name of the father Hyperanthes is already known from Crete;²¹ it was cut here in an erasure.

One notes olives as well as olive leaves in the wreath around the citation.

²⁰ See R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, III, *Testimonia*, pp. 74-84.

²¹ M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae*, III, p. 71, no. III, 50, and note.

27 (Plate 6). Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble, with the right side and back preserved, found in a Byzantine foundation wall in the northwest corner of the Market Square north of the railway (G 4) on May 14, 1936.

Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.24 m.; thickness, 0.063 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 4143.

saec. II/I *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----] ιων[-----^{ca. 6}-----]
 [-----] πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς *vacat*
vacat
 [-----] ι τεῖ Βενδίδι καὶ τῶι Δηλόπτε[ι . . .]
 [-----] Θρᾶκες ἐπειδὴ ἡ βουλὴ κ[αὶ ὁ δῆ]
 5 [μος-----ἐμίσ]θωσαν Ἀθηναίοις [-----^{ca. 6}-----]
 [-----] τοις [-----]

The text belongs to a decree of the orgeones of Bendis, with whose worship was associated that of the god Deloptes (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1324, lines 14-16, of the early second century: τῆς τε πρὸς τὴν Βένδιν καὶ τὸν Δηλόπτην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς εὐσεβείας). See now the discussion by W. S. Ferguson in *Har. Th. Rev.*, XXXVII, 1944, pp. 96-107.

28 (Plate 4). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with the rough-picked back preserved but otherwise broken, found on February 21, 1936, in a context of late Roman date (K 15).

Height, 0.215 m.; width, 0.10 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 3451.

saec. I *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 55

[ἐπειδὴ οἱ πρυτὰ] νεύσαντε[ς τῆς ----- φυλῆς οἱ ἐπὶ ----- ἄρ]
 [χοντος καὶ οἱ αἰ] σιτοι ἐπαι[νέσαντες καὶ στεφανώσαντες ἀποφαίνου]
 [σιν τὸν ταμίαν Ἀρτ] εμίδ[ωρον ----- τὰς τε θυσί]
 [ας ἅς πάτριον ἦν] τεθν[κέναι -----]

There are mouldings above the text of the inscription, and above them is decoration in low relief. For a somewhat similar stele, see Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, 1937, pp. 185-186, no. 115.

29 (Plate 6). Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, but with the original back probably preserved, found on October 25, 1934, in the wall of a modern house east of the northern part of the Odeion (N-O 10).

Height, 0.26 m.; width, 0.16 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.—0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 2138.

The fragment joins *I.G.*, II², 1112 (E.M. 9494 + 9497), as shown in the photograph. The text, recently given by J. H. Oliver in *Hesperia*, Suppl. VI, 1941, pp. 122-123, no. 26, may now be supplemented for lines 16-27 (Oliver). It confirms the restorations proposed by A. E. Raubitschek for the imperial title of Commodus in lines 8-11 (and, by analogy, in lines 16-19) of the same inscription.²²

AN IMPERIAL LETTER

ante. a. 184 *p.*

- 16 [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Θεοῦ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀ]ντωνίνου Εὐσ[εβοῦς υἱός, Θεοῦ Τ.
Αἰλίου Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ]
[υἱωνός, Θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἔκγον]ος, [θεοῦ Τρα]ιανοῦ Παρθικο[ῦ καὶ Θεοῦ Νέρουα
ἀπόγονος, Μ. Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος Ἀντωνίνος]
[Εὐσεβῆς Σεβαστὸς Σαρμ]ατικὸς [Γερμ]ανικὸς Μέγιστ[ος, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος,
δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ -', αὐτο]
[κράτωρ τὸ -', ὑπατος τὸ -', π]ατὴρ πα[τρίδ]ος Ἀθηναίων
χ[ερουσία χαίρειν]
- 20 [-----]θαι τὰ πά[τρι]α τῆς πόλεως τ[-----]
[-----]ηκην ἔχει[ν τ]οῦ τοιούτου πεφ[-----]
[-----]ᾶ γῶνι τὸ μέ[ν εἰ]ν ἐγκωιμίῳ τ[-----]
[-----]π]αρ' ὑ[μ]ῶν κα[ὶ τ]ὸ προκείμεν[ον -----]
[-----]ΥΜ[...] Ο[^{ca. 4} -----] οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς ηρ[-----]
- traces*
- 25 [-----]υσιν συνκεχ[ώρηκα -----]
traces
[-----]ιπατρος κ[-----]
traces
[-----]ονχ[-----]
traces

30 (Plate 6). Fragment of Pentelic marble with the original rough back and left side preserved, found on January 29, 1936, in modern fill near the surface near the

²² See *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, pp. 285-286.

center of the Market Square (K 11). This fragment (I 3240) joins that earlier published in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 42, no. 30 (I 429) with overall measurements as follows:

Height, 0.215 m.; width, 0.20 m.; thickness, 0.047 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.01 m.

Inv. Nos. I 429 + 3240.

The marble is more like normal Pentelic than it is like Hymettian, as reported for Inv. No. I 429.

AN IMPERIAL LETTER

saec. II/III *p.*

[— — — —] κ[.] ω[— — — — — — — —]	15	θεν ἐφύλαξα τὴν πόλιν δυ[— — — — —]
καὶ Αὐρ Θε[— — — — — — — —]		νηθέντων ὑπομνημάτων[ν — — — — —]
μότερον πο[— — — — — — — —]		νητη ὕ λέπρα ὕ κελαδαία ὕ εἰ[— — — — —]
ριον καὶ πα[— — — — — — — —]		ωρὰ μου τῶν τε χωρίων[— — — — —]
5 τελεῖ τῇ πόλ[ει — — — — — — — —]		γώνου πολλοῦ λόγου νομιζο[— — — — —]
πρόσοδον ἐτα[— — — — — — — —]	20	ρον εἰς γνῶσιν ὄψις ἀκοῇ σ[— — — — —]
ΑΒΤ νῦν εἰ[— — — — — — — — ἐ]		τοῦτο παρασκευῇν θεσπισ[μάτων — — —]
τέλουν Ἀττικ[ὰς δραχμάς — — — —]		μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο κεῖνται παρ[— — — — —]
εὔρον τελου[— — — — — — — —]		πισκαρίου κατασκευῇν[— — — — — ὁ]
10 σκηνῇν ν[— — — — — — — — —]		λίγου χρόνου τὰς ὑπο[— — — — — — —]
τησίας α[— — — — — — — — —]	25	ἐμποδῶν ΑΓ[— — — — — — — — —]
την ἐξ α[— — — — — — — — —]		τω παντ[— — — — — — — — — —]
πᾶσ[αν ὑ] πὸ πυρὸς ἐξαίφν[ης — — —]		των Ϙ[— — — — — — — — — —]
φης τῶν τότε γεννηθέντων[ν — — — — —]		ΛΥ[— — — — — — — — — —]

Several changes in readings have been here suggested by way of improvement on those of the earlier publication (lines 1, 5, 6, 7, 12, 13). In line 7, the alphabetic numeral must stand for 12,300,²³ an interpretation which was communicated to me by letter by M. N. Tod and A. M. Woodward. The new fragment apparently expresses imperial concern for disease (line 17) and the recognition of symptoms (line 20), though I have no consecutive text to offer and do not know the significance of *νητη* or of *κελαδαία* in line 17.

I owe to M. N. Tod a query whether, if one is dealing with medical terms, the reading in line 13 might not be, e.g., *πᾶσ[αν ὑ] πόπυρος ἐξαίφν[ης — — —]* *vel sim.* and whether the text of line 19 might not be <τ>ὼν οὐ πολλοῦ λόγου νομιζο[μένων — — — — —]. He has suggested to me also that *πισκαρίου* in line 23 is from the Latin *piscarius* (cf. *apud forum piscarium* from Plautus, *Curculio*, 474).

²³ See now also M. N. Tod, *B.S.A.*, XLV, 1950, p. 128.

[α -----] Ἱμεραῖος Σκα[μ]
 [βωνίδης -----(?)προ]άστια καὶ ο[ικί]
 10 [αν -----]ντος τῇ ἀγ[ορᾷ]
 [-----]σιο δισχιλ[. . .⁵. . .]
 [-----]αὶ τῶν ^Λ [. . .⁷. . .]
 [-----]σ[-----^{ca. 9}-----]

The document seems to be part of a record of the poletai of the early fourth century B.C. Lines 3-6 may be restored with formulae much like those of a later poletai-record published in *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 157, no. 51 (lines 46-49), but the character of lettering and the genitives in ο, rather than ον, argue the early date for the present text. Moreover Ἱμεραῖος Σκα[μβωνίδης] of lines 8-9 is probably to be identified with that Himeraios who was father of Aristeides of Skambonidai (*I.G.*, II², 1742, lines 30-31), a prytanis of Leontis before the middle of the fourth century. The name Παντάρκης (cf. line 5) occurs at the beginning of the century as that of an attendant (θεράπων) in a naval catalogue: Παντάρκης Δημοφίλο (*I.G.*, II², 1951, lines 127-128).

33 (Plate 7). Stele of Pentelic marble, with both sides (smooth-picked) preserved, found in a mixed context of Turkish date in the center of the Market Square (K 9) on February 6, 1937. The back is preserved, showing deep marks of the pointed chisel. The top and bottom are broken away, but trace of a moulding is preserved above the inscription. The surface is badly eroded: many letters in lines 11-49 are uncertain, and there are traces on the stone which have not been here included in the transcript.

Height, 0.476 m.; width, 0.352 m.; thickness, 0.099 m.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.—0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 4478.

SALES OF PROPERTY

a. 370/69 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 40

[ἐπὶ Δν]ν[ικ]ήτο ἄρχ[ο]ντος ἐννέ' ἄρχοντε[ς ἔφηναν κυ]
 [ρώσα]ντε[ς ἐ]ν τῇ βουλῇ τοῖς πεντακοσ[ίοις· Δυννί]
 [κητο]ς [Φ]λ[υ]εύς, Φίλων Χολληίδης, Μένανδρ[ος . . .⁷. . .]
 [. . .]όδοτος Λαμπρεύς, Εὐβολος Προβαλ[ίσιος, . . .]
 5 [. . .]ίδης Εἰρεσίδης, Εὐθυκράτης Φυλάσ[ιος, . . .⁵. . .]
 [. . ἐξ] Οἷο, Κτησ[ί]ας Βησαιεύς· Μέδων Θορίκι[ος . . .⁵. . .]
 [τῆς Ὀ]μφαλ[ί]ας τῆς ἄνω ἀπέγραψεν ἐν Λήμνω[ι Διοδώρ]
 [ο το]ῦ Θεοφ[ί]λο Ἀλαιῶς χωρίον ἐν Ὀμφαλῇ [ἐν ᾧ ἀμπ]
 [έλο]ν ὄρχοι καὶ συστὰς καὶ αὐλὴ καὶ ἐσχατ[ιὰ . . .⁵. . .]

- 10 [.] οἷς γ[εί]των βορρά[θεν] ποταμὸ[ς] καὶ Κ[.]
 [. . .] Ξ ἔξ Οὔο: [. . .] ΑΛΑΡ[. . .] ΕΑ[. . .] ΙΑΞΙΜ[. . .] ΟΛΩ[.]
 [. . .] ὁδὸς ἀστ[ί]α [. . .] Μ[. . .] Ο[. . .] ΔΕΜΙ[. . .] Ε[. . .] ΕΜΠΙΓΤ[.]
 [. . .] εως ΚΛΙ[.] Ο[.] π[ρὸς ἡλίο] [ἀ]νιόν[τος . . .]
 [. . .] ο Καλλι[.]²⁰] Ρ[. . .] ΤΙΕΙΟ[.]
- 15 [.] ΛΟΛ[.]
 [.] ΠΡΟ[.] ἡ[λίου] [.]
 [.] ὄρχο[ι]
 [.] ΑΘ[.]¹²] Θ[.]
 [.] ΟΝΑ[.]⁸] Ο[.]
- 20 [.] ΝΕΩΞ[.]
 [.] ΚΑ[.]
 [.] τὸ χωρί[ον] νοτόθεν [.]
 [.] ἀνιόντος [.]
 [.] ΝΟΞΠΡΟ[.] πρὸς ἡ[λίου]
- 25 [λί]ο ἀνιόντο[ς] [.]
 [.] τοῖς νο[τοῖς] [.]
 [.] π[ρὸς] οταμὸς [.]
 [.] τὸ χωρί[ον] [.]
 [.] ο[.] τῆς χ[ωρὸς] [.]
- 30 [.] ΗΞ:ΙΙΛΟ[.]
 [.] ΡΑΤΟΓ[.]
 [.] ΛΟΧΛΙ[.]
 [.] ΞΤΗΘΙΟ[.]
 [.] ΕΥΞΑΜΙΑΞ[.]
- 35 [.] ο Ἀλαιῶς ΑΜ[.]
 [.] ΛΛΟ[.] ΤΟΙ[.]⁵] νοτ[ό]θ[εν] [.]
 [.] ΕΑΥΤΗΙ[.] ΒΑ[.] Υ[.] Ο[.] Ο[.]
 [.] ΛΙΚΑΙΟΜΟΜΗ[.] Ι[.] ΩΟ[.] Ο[.] Ω[.]⁷] Υ[.]⁷]
 [.] ΥΤΗ[.] Λ[.] ΟΙΚΑ[.]
- 40 [.] ΙΑΕΚΔΙΟΟ[.] ΙΚ[.] ΟΞΔ[.]
 [οἰ]κίαν ΟΚΑ[.] ΙΤΑΞ[.]
 [πο]ταμὸς καὶ ὁδὸς ἀστ[ί]α [.]
 [.] ΟΠ[.] Ο[.] νοτόθεν Ο[.]⁹] ΟΕ[.]
 [.] Ν[.]
- 45 [.] ἀνιόντος [.] ΤΗΝΛ[.]
 [.] Π[.]
 [.] ΙΑΝΟ[.]
 [.] οἰκίαν [.]
 [.] ΟΞΙΩΞ[.]

The text deals with the registration of certain properties on Lemnos with a view to their confiscation and public sale by the poletai. The nine archons of the year of Dysniketos, in the presence of the Council of the Five Hundred, gave their ratification. Aristotle (*Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 47, 2) says of the poletai: καὶ τὰς οὐσίας τῶν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου φευγόντων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕναν[τίον τῆς] βουλῆς πωλοῦσιν, and then adds κατακυροῦσι δ' οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες. Since the space in lines 1-2 is hardly ample for any restoration with κατεκύρωσαν²⁴ or κατακυρώσαντες, I have used the simple verb κυρώσαντες,²⁵ restoring also the finite verb ἔφηναν to give the desired meaning of "declared public domain." The nine archons are called ἐννέ' ἄρχοντες, which is the reading also in Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 62, 2, and in the inscriptions now published by A. G. Woodhead in *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 226, no. 85, line 5²⁶ and p. 229, no. 86, line 9. This contraction now appears, with the support of the epigraphical evidence, to have been the standard practice.

The nine archons were all named in lines 2-6. The eponymous archon, of course, is already known: Δυσνίκητος or Δυννίκητος; the spelling of his name again appears (in line 1) with double *nu*, as also in *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 284, no. 16A, line 31, in *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 151, no. 41, line 10, and in *I.G.*, II² 1436, line 13.²⁷ The nine archons are named in their official order: Dynniketos as eponymous first (Kekropis VII), then Philon the polemarch second (Leontis IV) and Menandros (by elimination Aigeis or Aiantis, II or IX) as basileus third, followed by the remaining six in the order of their phylai, [- -]odotos (Erechtheis I), Euboulos (Pandionis III), [- - -]ides (Akamantis V), Euthykrates (Oineis VI), [- - - - -] (Hippothontis VIII), and Ktesias (Antiochis X). Euboulos of Probalinthos was undoubtedly the famous politician (*P.A.*, 5369) of the fourth century, and Ktesias of Besa may well have been identical with him named by Isaïos (*P.A.*, 8841).

Medon of Thorikos (line 6), who registered the first property, is otherwise unknown. Even though he registered a χωρίον, this is not enough, without further evidence, to identify him with the Medon who figures in the title of one of Isaïos's speeches (Frag. XXIX: πρὸς Μέδοντα περὶ χωρίου).

Diodoros, son of Theophilos, of Halai, belongs to a distinguished family, whose members have so far been better known in the later centuries.²⁸ But the name occurs

²⁴ [κατεκύρωσαν ὅ]ντε[ς] is not satisfactory.

²⁵ It has the same meaning as κατακυρώσαντες; see Thuc., VIII, 69, 1.

²⁶ Woodhead suggests the same phrase in *I.G.*, II², 46, A50 and B4. The text in *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 266, no. 85 is discussed and some additional restorations are made by Al. N. Oikonomides in the Greek Λεξικὸ Κοινωνικῶν Ἐπιστημῶν, pp. 2101-2102.

²⁷ The third letter of the name in *I.G.*, II², 1425, line 117, was *sigma* (confirmed by Mitsos) as published, and probably *sigma* also in lines 122 and 127, but the surface of the stone is now there damaged.

²⁸ Cf. *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 86-88, no. 17 and pp. 93-94; *I.G.*, II², 1012, 1013 line 39, 1935, 1961, 2452 line 56, 2464, 2877 (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 192, no. 117), 3177 note, 3492, 3883, 3884, 5477.

also in the third century (*P.A.*, 3934), and Ktesibios of Halai (*P.A.*, 8852) and Sosistratos of Halai (*I.G.*, II², 5520),²⁹ of the early fourth century, whose fathers were Diodoros, may have been close relatives.

The topographical indications on Lemnos refer, among others, to a place called Ὀμφαλία and to a place called Ὀμφαλία ἡ ἄνω, presumably descriptive of an omphalos-like hill or of an area in which such a hill was a notable landmark.

34 (Plate 8). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with the right side preserved, discovered in the foundation of a late Roman house southeast of the Tholos (G-H 12) on May 10, 1937.

Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.042 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 4834.

saec. III *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

	[-----]	<i>vacat</i>
	[-----]ἐνης	<i>vacat</i>
	[-----νο]τόθεν	<i>vacat</i>
	<i>vacat</i>	
5	[----- ἐπὶ τῆς -----]της πρυτα[νείας]	
	[-----τ]ὸν γραμματ[έα -----]	
	[-----] Σμίκυθος [-----]	
	[-----]ωι ἐν τῶι [-----]	
	[-----]ι δνομέν[ου -----]	
10	[----- ἀν]ιόν[τος -----]	
	[-----]	

This text belongs to the records of the poletai, giving descriptions of property sold by them and naming the bounds. The sales apparently were recorded prytany by prytany.³⁰

35 (Plate 5). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, discovered in the foundation of a late Roman house southeast of the Tholos (G-H 12) on May 10, 1937.

Height, 0.097 m.; width, 0.165 m.; thickness, 0.04 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 4833.

²⁹ See *S.E.G.*, XIII, 82, for the reading.

³⁰ See also the successive records by prytany in *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 15-17, no. 1.

cover slab for a drain under the late Roman road at the northwest corner of the Odeion (*ca.* K 9); the smaller fragment (*b*, Agora Inv. No. I 2423) was found on February 15, 1935, also in a Byzantine context west of the northern part of the Odeion (K 10). They were joined by E. Vanderpool. A cyma reversa moulding surrounds the panel in which the inscription was cut.

Height, 0.615 m.; width, 0.50 m.; thickness, 0.07 m. in the panel and 0.10 m. at the border. The width of the tenon is 0.325 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.—0.013 m.

ca. a. 170-190 *p.*

traces of letters in first line

	Σεκουνδίλλης ὀπισθόδ[ομος	<i>vacat</i>	* ---]
	·Μεμ· Νεικοστράτου ἂ ἔχο[υσιν] [— — —		* ---]
	·Κλ· Χρυσίππου ὀπισθόδ[ομο]ς	<i>vacat</i>	[* ---]
5	Ἰουψανίας Ἀθηνίου τὸ χω[ρίο]ν	<i>vacat</i>	[* ---]
	Ἰουλίου Ζηνοβίου π[αρά] τῶν πε[ρὶ] Ἐ[π]άγαθον καὶ Εὐφίλ[ητον]		* ---]
	Εὐκαρπίδου ὁ πυθόχρηστος ἐ[ξ]ηγ[η]τῆς Ἀὐρ· Φίλων		[* ---]
	Φιλιστείδου) Ἀθήνα[ις] κ[α]ὶ ἔγ[γ]ονοι αὐτοῦ	<i>vacat</i>	[* ---]
	Ἰουλίου Σεκούνδου Ἰούλιος [ίερ]οφάντης	<i>vacat</i>	[* ---]
10	Ἀπφί<α>ς τὸ χωρίον	<i>vacat</i>	[* ---]
	Ἰουλίου Πολυδεύκουσ οἱ κληρο[νό]μοι	<i>vacat</i>	* [—]
	Ἰουλίου Κανδίτου	<i>vacat</i>	* K [—]
	Μουνατίου Οὐοπέ<σ>κου	<i>vacat</i>	* ΝΓ [—]
	Νουμμίου Μόθωνος· καὶ Ἀ[λε]ξάνδρου τοῦ)		* ΡΙ [—]
15	Παραμόνας ὀπισθόδομος	<i>vacat</i>	* ΜϚ
	καὶ ἀπὸ τιμῆς οἰκίας Παραμόν[ας] κεφαλαίου *	ΕΦ	* ΚΕ
	καὶ ἂ ἡ πόλις ἐκ τοῦ ὀ[π]ισθοδόμου	<i>vacat</i>	* ΣΟΗ
	καὶ ἀπὸ ιερᾶς διατάξεω[ς]	<i>vacat</i>	* ΤΒ
	<i>vacat</i>		

Line 5: Ἰουψανίας (= Οὐψανίας). Line 10: ΑΠΦΙΑΣ lapis.

Line 13: ΟΥΟΠΕΙΤΚΟΥ lapis.

The preserved stones have the lower part of a list of contributions, some private and some public, which range in amount from about 20 denarii (line 12) to 302 denarii (line 18). The larger contributions were made from the public treasuries. Of these the city made from the opisthodomos a grant of 278 denarii (line 17); the text indicates that the opisthodomos was the official bank or repository of the funds of the city. The sacred moneys were in a different category, but they too must have been under the control of the state. A ταμίας τῆς ιερᾶς διατάξεως is known (cf. *I.G.*,

II², 3503) as early as the end of the first century B.C. He was praised in a decree honoring prytaneis and officials of state (of whom he was one),³¹ and it is clear that he too was subject to governmental control.

Among the private individuals, Julius Candidus (line 12) and Munatius Vopiscus (line 13) serve to date the inscription. The former was a friend of the emperor Commodus, and is named in an Athenian text of A.D. 186/7;³² the latter was archon in Athens in 174/5, Herald of the Council and Demos in 184/5, and hoplite-general in A.D. 190/1-191/2.³³ It is quite probable also that the Julius, son of Julius Secundus, who was hierophant (line 9), is to be identified with that Julius who was hierophant from 168/9 to 187/8³⁴ and archon either in A.D. 187/8 or 192/3,³⁵ and that the Julius Zenobios named in line 6 was that *Ἰούλιος Ζηνόβιος Μαραθώνιος* who was *ἐπὶ Σκιάδος* in A.D. 168/9 and 169/70.³⁶

The name of *Αὐρήλιος Φίλων* (line 7) may now be added to the list of known *πυθόχρηστοι ἐξηγηταί* at Athens.³⁷ Evidently the contributors were men and women of distinction, but I have been unable to identify Mothon and Alexandros (line 14), Julius Polydeukes (line 11), Memmios Neikostratos (line 3), Philisteides (line 8), Sekoundilla (line 2), Vipsania Athenion (line 5), Appia (line 10), and Paramona (lines 15-16). Claudius Chrysippos (line 4) was probably a descendant of *Τῦ Κλ. Χρύσιππος*, archon about the middle of the first century after Christ.³⁸

Sometimes the name of the donor appears alone in the genitive case, as in the grant made by Julius Candidus (line 12). Sometimes the donor appears in the nominative, as in the grant made by the heirs of Julius Polydeukes (line 11). Both these grants were outright gifts of denarii, the amounts appearing in the numeral column at the right. Appia's gift (line 10) was a piece of property (real-estate), but undoubtedly the value of this was recorded in denarii. The remarkable feature of the catalogue is the appearance of the word *ὀπισθόδομος* after the names in lines 2, 4, and 15. This cannot, of course, be the state bank on the acropolis, but a definition given by Hesychios implies that there was a generic as well as a specific usage of

³¹ This decree was included by Dow in his collection of prytany-decrees; cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 176, no. 108. I am informed by S. N. Koumanoudes that an unpublished text naming a *ταμίης τῆς ἱερᾶς διατάξεως* is in the Roman Agora in Athens.

³² A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, pp. 288-289 (cf. J. H. Oliver, *A.J.P.*, LXXI, 1950, pp. 177-179).

³³ For the dates and references see *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 87, and XVIII, 1949, pp. 16, 22 (with Table 1), 28-29, 52, 55, 56; *I.G.*, II², 1801.

³⁴ For the dates see J. A. Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 22 (Table 1).

³⁵ A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, p. 284, dates the archonship in 187/8; J. H. Oliver, *A.J.P.*, LXXI, 1950, pp. 174-176, prefers 192/3.

³⁶ See J. A. Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 22 (Table 1).

³⁷ See J. H. Oliver, *The Athenian Expounders*, Baltimore, 1950, pp. 139-164.

³⁸ See *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 37, No. 7, line 1, and p. 84.

the word.³⁹ Even with this there are difficulties, for (a) one finds it hard to believe that individuals generally maintained rear annexes for their valuables and (b) the value assigned to the opisthodomos belonging to Paramona (the only one where the value is shown) is ridiculously low for real property that could be so described. It is a possible way out of both dilemmas to assume that one may go even farther than Hesychios in his generalization, and that the *ὀπισθοδομοί* of this inscription need not be real property at all, but simply private banks, treasure boxes, strong-boxes perhaps, in which small savings were kept. An individual might have donated his or her private cache (*ὀπισθοδόμος*) of coin or valuables to a common cause, and this is the interpretation that I give, tentatively, to the word in lines 2, 4, and 15.

I have no suggestion for the occasion which elicited the donations recorded on the stele. The evidence for it has been lost with the loss of the upper part of the stone.

38 (Plate 8). Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, but with the original rough-picked back preserved, found on March 7, 1936, in a wall of Byzantine date west of the Odeion (K 11).

Height, 0.295 m.; width, 0.24 m.; thickness, 0.076 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.005 m.

Inv.No. I 3685.

ca. med. saec. IV a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Col. I

Col. II

Col. III

(lost)

[— — — — —] Ξ [— — — — —]
 [...⁶...]ιος Ἀπο[— — — — —]
 [...⁶...]δρος Σωσιγέν[ου: — — — — —]
 [...⁶...]ας Ἀντικράτου: [— — — — —]
 5 [...⁶...]προς Κτησιάδου: [— — — — —]
 [...⁶...]δημος Νεοκλέου: Π[— — — — —]
 [...⁶...]μ]ήδης Νεοκλέου: Π[— — — — —]
 [Νικ]όστρατος Νικοκλέου: Πρ[ασ]ιε
 [Ἀλ]κιδάμας Ἀλκιβιάδου: [Χ]ολλ
 10 [Φίλ]ιππος Φιλίππου: Ἀχαρνε
 [Μ]νησίδημος Μηνσιστράτο: Λαμ[— — — — —]
 [Δ]ημόφιλος Δη[...⁶...]δου: Λαμπ[— — — — —]
 [Θ]εόπομπος [— — — — —^{ca.}—⁹— — — — —:] Λαμπτ
 [...⁶...]Δ[— — — — —]δου: Σου[νιεύς]
 15 [...⁷...]εν[.]ς Διο[μ]έδοντ[ος: — — — — —]

25 [— — — — —]
 Ἀρ[— — — — —]
 Δι[— — — — —]
 [— — — — —]

³⁹ Ὀπισθοδόμοις· τόποι ὀπισθεν τῶν οἰκῶν ἐν ᾗ τὰ κειμήλια ἀπόκειται.

20 [.⁸ Φ] ιλοστράτον: Ἀ [- - - - -]
 [.⁸] δης Δημ[α]ινέ[του: - - - - -]
 [Λυσίμ] αχος Λυσι[μα]χί[δον: - - - - -]
 [- - -^{ca. 6}- -]ς Φιλ[- - - - ο]υ [: - - - - -]
 [- - -^{ca. 9}- - - -] ΕΩΚ [- - - - -]
 [- - -^{ca. 8}- - - - Λ]υσικ[- - - - -]
 [- - - -^{ca. 10}- - - -] Λ [- - - - -]
 [- - - - -] Ε [- - - - -]
 [- - - - -] Μ [- - - - -]
 traces

Many of the names, though not combined with patronymic, can be found in the mid fourth century, but attempts at identification are hazardous.

39 (Plate 5). A base of Pentelic marble, broken at both sides and at the back, but with the top and bottom surfaces preserved, found on June 5, 1933, in a modern wall north of the Temple of Ares (K 7). The bottom surface is fine-picked; the top is smooth.

Height, 0.356 m.; width, 0.312 m.; thickness, 0.37 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 946.

a. 347/6 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[- - - - - τῶ]ι ἀναθήμα[τι - - - - -]
 [- - - - - ἐπ]ίγραμμα εἰν[αι - - - - -]
 [- - - - - ο]ντα δὲ τὸν ἱερεῖ<α> [- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]μων· ἐπιγράψαι δὲ το[- - - - -]
 5 [- - - εἰς τὸ ἀνάθη]μα τόδε ἐπὶ Θεμιστο[κλέους ἄρχοντος]
 vacat

In line 3 the cross-bar in the final *alpha* was not cut, but although the letter is epigraphically *lambda* I interpret ἱερεῖ<α> as equivalent to ἱερέα (acc. of ἱερεύς) and so read it.⁴⁰

40 (Plate 9). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides and at the back, found in a late context over the northern corner of the Eleusinion (U 18-19) on March 17, 1936.

Height, 0.153 m.; width, 0.227 m.; thickness, 0.127 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. 3375.

⁴⁰ For the use of *ει* for *ε* before *alpha*, especially in the second half of the fourth century, see Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften*³, p. 45.

saec. IV-III a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

CATALGUE OF FOREIGNERS

I		II	
	[-----]	10	[-----]
	[-----]		Τιμοσ[-----]
	[-----]		Ἑστιαῖος Ἡρακ[λεώτης]
	[-----]		Λυσίστρατος Λαμ[ψακηνός]
5	[-----] εὐς		Εὐ[. .]λος Λαμψακ[ηνός]
	[-----]ς	15	Ἀστέας Ἡρακλε[ώτης]
	[-----]		Δημήτριος [-----]
	[-----]		Ἴππομ[ή]δ[ης] [-----]
	[-----]		[-----]

41 (Plate 9). Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, with its flat top and right side preserved, found on November 16, 1935, in the wall of a modern house northeast of the Odeion (N 7). The cavetto-crowned cyma reversa moulding returns across the lateral face.

Height, 0.25 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.092 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 3075.

saec. I a./p.

	[ἐπειδὴ οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς -- ^{ca. 8-9} -- καὶ οἱ ἀείσιτοι
	[οἱ ἐπὶ -- ^{ca. 16} -- ἄρχοντος ἐπαινέσαν]τες
	[καὶ στεφανώσαντες ἀποφαίνουσιν τεῖ βουλευτὸν] τα
	[μίαν -----]
5	[-----]σπ[.]
	[-----]νε
	[-----]ον
	[-----]με
	[-----]ων
10	[-----] trace

For this type of prytany inscription, see, e.g., *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, 1937, pp. 185-186, no. 115.

42 (Plate 10). An opisthographic stele of Pentelic marble, with one side preserved, found in a late wall east of the Late Roman Fortification Wall and south of the Eleusinion (U 22) on April 16, 1937.

Height, 0.31 m.; width, 0.162 m.; thickness, 0.072 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.-0.02 m. on Face A, 0.008 m.-0.021 m. on Face B.

Inv. No. I 4736.

ΚΕΚΡΟΠΙΣ

ante fin. saec. II p.

Face A		Face B	
	[-----ε]ῖς		[-----]
	[.] Δυσιάδ[ης ---]		[-----] ΗΞ Μ
	[Ἀγ]αθοκλή[ς -----]		[-----] <i>vacat</i>
	[Δ]ερκύλος [-----]		[-----] δωρος
5	Ἀγαθοκλή[ς -----]	5	[-----]ς
	[Φί]λιππος Με[-----]		[-----] οκλῆς πρ(εσ)
	[Μ]ολόσσιος [-----]		[-----] <i>vacat</i>
	[Μέν]ανδρος)		[---] Ἀσκληπιά νε(ώτερ)
	[Διο]νύσιος) π[ρ(εσβ)]		[-----]
10	[Ἰπ]ποκράτης Ἀν[---]	10	[-----] κλῆς νε(ώτερ)
	[Δι]οσκονρίδη[ς -----]		[-----]ι
	[...]υμος ὁ κ[αὶ -----]		[-----]ος)
	[Ἀπο]λλών[ιος -----]		[-----]
	[Σ]ωσικ[-----]		[Αἰξωνεῖς]
15	[.]κ[-----]	15	[-----] Ἑρμείου
	[-----]		[Συπαλήτ]τιοι
	[-----]		[-----] <i>vacat</i>
	[-----]		[-----] ΛΟ[---]

The text is a catalogue of prytaneis, arranged by demes, similar to others of nearly the same date (e.g., *I.G.*, II², 1775). The inscription on Face A is part of a different list from that on Face B. They are not necessarily of the same phyle (though they may have been) or even of the same year.⁴¹

One Hermeias of Aixone was councillor of Kekropis in A.D. 177/8.⁴² The names from Aixone in that year were followed by those of Sypalettos. Similarly here in this text (Face B) the demotic Αἰξωνεῖς may have been inscribed in line 14, and the demotic in line 16 may again have been [Συπαλήτ]τιοι. The name Ἑρμείας under these circumstances is probably too short for line 15, but the councillor in line 15 may have been a brother.⁴³ In this particular text the spelling out of the patronymic in full argues against the same name as the nomen. Had father and son had the same name

⁴¹ See, for example, the texts of *I.G.*, II², 1781-1784.

⁴² *I.G.*, II², 1782, line 43, as dated by J. A. Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 52.

⁴³ See *I.G.*, II², 1788, line 25.

the symbol) for the patronymic would have been used. I count the names of Face B as belonging to Kekropis, and those of Face A as doubtfully so.

43 (Plate 9). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in a modern context west of the Stoa of Attalos (N 7) on May 27, 1936.

Height, 0.364 m.; width, 0.331 m.; thickness, 0.206 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 4213.

aet. Rom.

	[-----]	<i>vacat</i>
	[-----]	άτης έ[ξ Οἶον]
	[-----]	
	[-----]	ς 'Α[-----]
5	[-----]	υ[-----]
	[-----]	υ[-----]
	έξ] Οἶον	
		<i>vacat</i>
		<i>vacat</i>
		<i>vacat</i>
10	[Ἄττα]λίδος	
	[Σεκο]ῦνδος Ἀκτίου	ΙΞ[---]
	[---]ης Φ[-----]	
	[-----]	

The text belongs apparently to a catalogue of epheboi. If so, the epheboi (?) of lines 2-6 in the first column must have been of Leontis, to which phyle one of the demes Oion belonged after 200 B.C. The epheboi of Attalis begin with line 11. The first preserved letter in the name of the phyle in line 10 was clearly *lambda*; so that unless a mistake be assumed there is no possibility of restoring [Πτολεμ]αῖδος, the name of the phyle which follows Leontis in official order.

The earlier phylai may have been recorded *seriatim* in columns above the uninscribed band in the center of the fragment, leaving Attalis till the last to be inscribed below the first of these columns. In line 4 the lone *alpha*, projecting to the left beyond any margin of names, may belong to the phyle Α[ιαντίδος] or 'Α[ντιοχίδος]. But the nature and disposition of the monument are uncertain.

44 (Plate 9). A rectangular base of Pentelic marble, completely preserved except for minor damage, recently used as a bench along the west wall of the narthex of the church of Παναγία Βλασσαροῦ (J 10-11), and taken into the Agora museum on June 2, 1936. There is a cutting in the top of the block (0.265 m. by 0.33 m. and 0.047 m.

deep), roughly symmetrical with the sides of the block, and presumably made to receive a herm. The front inscribed surface was the seat of the bench, and is much worn.

Height, 0.375 m.; width, 0.71 m.; thickness, 0.39 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 4226.

a. 393/2 a.

[᾿Α]ντιοχὺς ἐνὶ κα [πρυ]τανεύουσα· Δημόστρατο[ς ἡρχε]

The stone belongs to that class of dedications represented by, e.g., *I.G.*, II², 1741, though in the present instance the names of the prytaneis, if inscribed, have been lost by the wearing smooth of the stone.

45 (Plate 10). Block of Pentelic marble, with the top and rough back preserved, found in a modern context west of the south end of the Stoa of Attalos (P 12) on January 26, 1937.

Height, 0.158 m.; width, 0.229 m.; thickness, 0.069 m.

Height of letters, 0.021 m.

Inv. No. I 4456.

saec. IV a.

[οἱ — — — —]ι καὶ οἱ στ[ρατηγοὶ — — — —]
[Δήμητρ]ι καὶ Κόρη[ι — — — — — — — — — —]
[ᾱ] ν έ [θ η κ α ν]

The restoration of the last line is uncertain, for the cross-bar of the *epsilon*, if cut at all, must have been very low. There is no doubt, however, that the text belongs to a dedication to Demeter and Kore.

46. Statue base of Pentelic marble, with mouldings at top and bottom, much chipped, found lying face up in a Byzantine wall south of the Eleusinion and east of the Late Roman Fortification Wall (U 22) on March 6, 1937. A photograph and some comment on the base were published in *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 330.

Height, 0.735 m.; width, 0.050 m. at the top and 0.52 m. at the middle; thickness, 0.49 m. at the top.

Height of letters, 0.018 m. in lines 1-5 and 0.015 m. in line 6.

Inv. No. I 4568.

post med. saec. IV a.

[᾿Α]ρχίππην Κ[λεο]γένου[ς]
 [Α]ἰξωνέως [θ]υγατέρα
 μήτηρ ᾿Α[ρ]χίππη
 [Κ]ουφαγόρου Αἰξωνέως
 5 ἀνέθ[η]κεν
 Πραξιτέλης ἐπόησεν

The Greek text is printed here, as a matter of record, supplementing the publication made by Shear in *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 330. There is some question whether line 3 should be restored [ῆ] μήτηρ ᾿Α[ρ]χίππη; there was room at the left of the break for the definite article, but considerations of symmetry are against it.

47 (Plate 8). Statue base of Pentelic marble, with mouldings at top and bottom, much chipped, found in the east face of the Late Roman Fortification Wall south of the Eleusinion (T 21) on May 7, 1938.

Height, 0.80 m.; width, *ca.* 0.535 m. at the top; thickness (without mouldings), 0.39 m.

Height of letters, 0.016 m.

Inv. No. I 5423.

ca. med. saec. IV a.

[᾿Α]ριστ[---]
 Μεν[-----]
 ᾿Αχαρ[νέως]
 θυγάτηρ
 [-----]

There is no trace of an artist's signature, though the base is very much like that published above as No. 46. The inscribed surface has suffered severely, apparently from fire.

48 (Plate 11). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with part of the rough-picked top preserved, found on February 2, 1935, in the wall of a modern well south of the Tholos (G 12).

Height, 0.26 m.; width, 0.10 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 2363.

post med. saec. IV a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

space for 5 lines lost in fracture
vacat

- [Ξυπετ]αιόνες
 [—^{ca. 7}—]ος Θρασυμή[δους]
 [—^{ca. 6}—]τος Πανσίδο[υ]
 10 [—^{ca. 6}—]λεως Ἱππων[ος]
 [—^{ca. 6}—]ιος Ἀνδροκλ[—]
 [—^{ca. 6}—]ης Φιλιστίδ[ου]
 [—^{ca. 8}—]ης Ἀρισταί[ου] (or Ἀριστάρ[χου])
 [—^{ca. 7}—]Ε]ὑξιθέου
 15 [demotic]
 [—^{ca. 8}—]ς Νικοδήμ[ου]
 [—^{ca. 9}—]υσίππου
 [—^{ca. 9}—]θυκλ[—]
 [—^{ca. 10}—]υφίλο[υ]
 20 [—^{ca. 10}—]σίου
 [—^{ca. 10}—]ωνος
vacat

This is part of a catalogue of prytaneis of the phyle Kekropis, of a type represented, for example, by *I.G.*, II², 1750-1752. Its principal interest is in the new name Πανσίδης of line 9, a variant of Πανσιάδης (as I believe) derived from Πανσίας as the form Νικίδης, as well as Νικιάδης, was derived from Νικίας.

49 (Plate 10). Two fragments from the base of a choregic monument of Pentelic marble, the first of which was found in the wall of a modern house south of the Church of the Holy Apostles (Q 19) on November 8, 1937. The smaller fragment was discovered later among uncatalogued marbles from the same area.

a: Height, 0.08 m.; width, 0.255 m.; thickness, 0.075 m.

b: Height, 0.09 m.; width, 0.13 m.; thickness, 0.12 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 5100.

a. 334/3 *a.*

a *b*

[— — — — —]
 [— — — —] ηὔλει· Κτ[ησικλῆς ἡρ]χε

The bottom surface of both fragments is preserved, but they are otherwise broken. The name of the archon gives the date. See, for example, *I.G.*, II², 3053.

50 (Plate 11). Fragment from a stele of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides but with part of the smooth-picked top preserved above a moulding, found on February 3, 1936, among marbles collected above the Church of Christ (T 18).

Height, 0.103 m.; width, 0.155 m.; thickness, 0.055 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 3310.

ante med. saec. III *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[ἐπὶ -----] οὐ ἄρχοντος^{vv} [-----]
 [-----.] περὶ τῷ θεῷ ἄρ[-----]
 [-----.] υἱ Ἀσκληπιαδ[-----]
 [-----] ...] νίων [-----]
 5 [-----] ΙΑ [-----]

The writing is in a square stoichedon pattern, in which the units measure 0.038 m. Faint lines, both horizontal and vertical, were used as guides in the spacing of the letters. The reference in line 2 to Demeter and Kore shows the association of this fragment with Eleusinion, near the site of which it was found.⁴⁴

51 (Plate 12). Twenty fragments of Pentelic marble (13 inscribed, 7 not) from the capping course of a large monument. On the top are cuttings for the feet of bronze statues. The front face is slightly concave, the back face convex. On both faces and at the ends are mouldings (from bottom to top): two fasciae, dentils, and an overhanging cornice. The inscription is in two lines on the two fasciae of the front, or concave, face. There were at least three separate inscriptions, each referring to a statue set up by Kleopatra of one of her male relatives.

Some of the fragments are in the museum in the Agora (in the basement of the Stoa of Attalos) and some are in the Epigraphical Museum on Tositsa Street. Of the Agora fragments, some were found built into the Late Roman Fortification in or near the Middle Tower in the Stoa of Attalos (*ca.* Q 10), and others came from marbles collected in the area of the Stoa. There is no record of the provenience of the pieces in the Epigraphical Museum, but as some of them join pieces now at the Agora there can be no doubt that they were found in earlier excavations in the Stoa of Attalos and that they too were once built into the Late Roman Fortification.

The fragments in the Epigraphical Museum were assembled by J. Kirchner and

⁴⁴ See R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, III, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, 1957, pp. 74-85, for the Eleusinion.

G. Klaffenbach and published in *I.G.*, II², 3894. Some were incorrectly placed and others wrongly combined: *f* and *g*, for example, do not join, but *f* joins *d* (not at the left corner, uninscribed) with *a* to the right to give the name Θεοφραστί[δ]ην. All the pieces from both museums were assembled in the court of the Epigraphical Museum in March of 1950 by Eugene Vanderpool, tried for joins, and then returned to their respective places.

The following is Vanderpool's catalogue of the fragments, with observations made by him on the joins, and with measurements and descriptions which I have added from the records of the excavations:

1. Agora Inv. No. I 4675. Bottom preserved, but otherwise broken, found on April 1, 1937. This piece joins fragment 2 at the right.

Height, 0.199 m.; width, 0.228 m.; thickness, 0.095 m.

Height of letters, 0.023 m.

2. Agora Inv. No. I 3464*a*. The top and bottom are both smooth, and the right side has anathyrosis. This piece was brought into the museum from the Stoa of Attalos in 1936 and joins fragment 1 at the left.

Height, 0.19 m.; width, 0.421 m.; thickness, 0.225 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.-0.021 m.

Fragments 1 and 2 make up the preserved part of the first dedication.

3. *I.G.*, II², 3894*g* (EM 4088*δ*).

Fragment 3 is all that remains of the second dedication.

4. *I.G.*, II², 3894*b* (EM 4088*ε*). This fragment joins fragments 5 and 6 on the right, and has anathyrosis on its left face.

5. Agora Inv. No. I 2177. The bottom surface is preserved, but the stone is otherwise broken. This fragment lies between fragments 4 and 6 and joins them both.

Height, 0.11 m.; width, 0.06 m.; thickness, 0.22 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

6. *I.G.*, II², 3894*c* (EM 3314). This fragment joins fragments 4 and 5 on the left and fragment 7 on the right.

7. Agora Inv. No. I 3464*c*.

Height, 0.095 m.; width, 0.08 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

This fragment was found on October 15, 1949, and joins fragment 6 on the left.

8. Agora Inv. No. I 3464*d*.

Height, 0.075 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.045 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

This fragment was found on October 15, 1949, and joins fragment 9 on the right.

9. *I.G.*, II², 3894*e* (EM 3820, not 4088).

This fragment joins fragment 8 on the left and fragment 10 on the right.

10. Agora Inv. No. I 3464*b*. The bottom surface is preserved. This stone was brought into the museum from the Stoa of Attalos in 1936. It joins fragment 9 on the left, fragment 12 on the right, and fragment 17 behind.

Height, 0.19 m.; width, 0.096 m.; thickness, 0.24 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.-0.021 m.

11. Agora Inv. No. I 3464*g* (uninscribed). This fragment contains part of the cornice only. It was found on October 15, 1949.

Height, 0.09 m.; width, 0.21 m.; thickness, 0.145 m.

The stone joins above fragment 12.

12. *I.G.*, II², 3894*f* (EM 4088*γ*). This fragment joins fragment 10 on the left, fragment 11 above, and fragment 13 on the right.

13. *I.G.*, II², 3894*d* (EM 4088*β*). This fragment joins fragment 12 on the left.

14. *I.G.*, II², 3894*a* (EM 4088*α*). This fragment preserves the front right corner of the monument.

15. Agora Inv. No. I 3464*e*. Fragment of uninscribed cornice, with anathyrosis on its right face, and five dentils below, perhaps joins fragment 16 at the joint surface. It was found on October 15, 1949.

Height, 0.13 m.; width, 0.25 m.; thickness, 0.20 m.

16. Agora Inv. No. I 3464*f*. Fragment of uninscribed cornice with anathyrosis on its left face and four dentils below, perhaps joins fragment 15 at the joint surface. It was found on October 15, 1949.

Height, 0.135 m.; width, 0.33 m.; thickness, 0.21 m.

17. Agora Inv. No. I 3464*h*. An uninscribed fragment from the back of the monument, found in March of 1950, joining behind fragment 10.

Height, 0.185 m.; width, 0.11 m.; thickness, 0.23 m.

18. Agora Inv. No. I 3464*i*. An uninscribed fragment from the back of the monument, found in March of 1950.

Height, 0.235 m.; width, 0.40 m.; thickness, 0.15 m.

19. Agora Inv. No. I 3464*j*. Left rear corner of the monument, uninscribed, found in March of 1950.

Height, 0.235 m.; width, 0.31 m.; thickness, 0.115 m.

20. Agora Inv. No. I 3464*k*. Fragment from the back of the monument (uninscribed), with anathyrosis at the right, found in March of 1950.

Height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.21 m.; thickness, 0.26 m.

In the following text, the dedications are to be envisaged in sequence, horizontally, on the two taeniae of the crowning member. Vertical lines have been added where the preserved anathyrosis, either right or left, indicates joints between blocks of the monument.

ca. a. 130 a.

I

1 2

vac. Κλεοπάτρα Θεοδώρο[υ ἐγ Μυρρινούττης θυγάτηρ]
vacat τὸν ἑαυτῆς [πατέρα Θεόδωρον]

II

3

[Κλεοπάτρα Θεο]δῶρον ἐγ Μυρρινο[ύττης θυγάτηρ τὸν ἑαυτῆς]
[ἀδελφὸν] Θεοφραστίδην Θεοδῶρου ἐγ Μυρρινούττης]

III

4 5 6 7 8 9 10 12 13 14

[Κ]λεοπάτρα Θεοδώρου ἐγ Μυρρινούττης θυγάτηρ Θεοφρασί[δ]ην
< Ἀπολλων[ί — — — —]σιον τὸν ἑατῆ[ς] θέλον κα[ὶ ᾗ]νδρα <

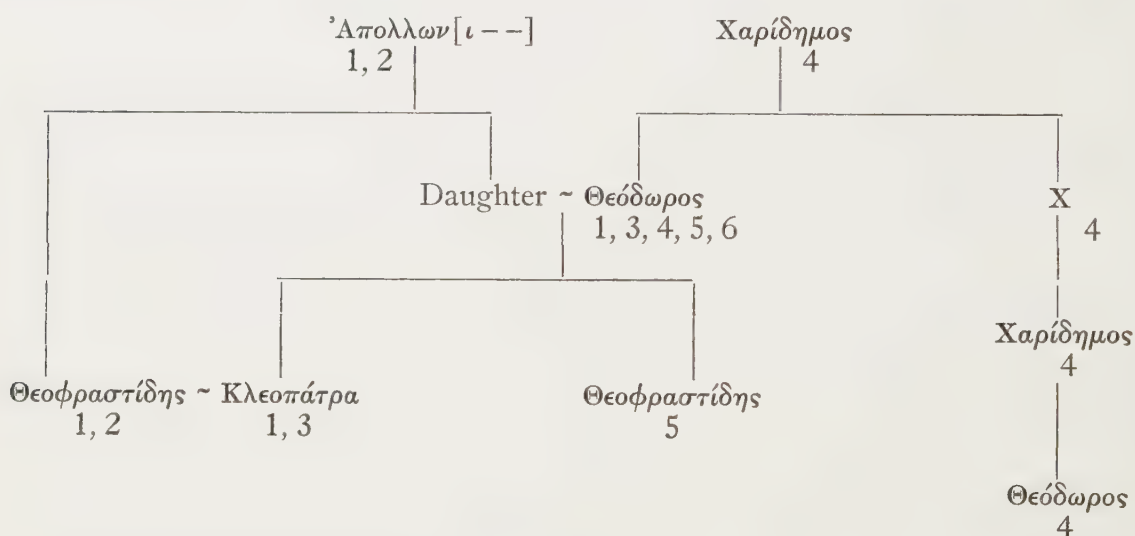
It is clear that Kleopatra, who described herself always as Κλεοπάτρα Θεοδώρου ἐγ Μυρρινούττης θυγάτηρ, made at least three dedications of male members of her family. That on the right was of her uncle and husband Theophrastides, son of Apollon[i—], with a demotic ending in — — — σιος. He was not of Myrrhinounte, as was Kleopatra by birth and inheritance from her father. Kleopatra's father, therefore, had married the sister of Theophrastides, and the name came into the family through her relationship. The second dedication, as we have restored it, was of Theophrastides son of Theodoros of Myrrhinounte, who must have been a brother of Kleopatra—the designation ἀδελφόν may be confidently restored.

The first dedication may have been either of Kleopatra's father or brother. If he was a brother, it is reasonable to assume that his name was Θεόδωρος, for patronymic and demotic were apparently omitted (the brother being homonymous with and of

the same deme as the father already named in line 1). Yet one should note that patronymic and demotic were added for the name of Kleopatra's brother in the second dedication, and this argues rather for the father in the first dedication.

In the third dedication, the second line begins with a mark of punctuation (I believe) and not with the letter *sigma*, and the following word 'Απολλων[---] is to be restored not as 'Απόλλων[ι] but either as 'Απολλων[ίου] or as 'Απολλων[ίδου], patronymic of Theophrastides rather than the name of the god.⁴⁵ If the mark of punctuation should turn out really to have been a sigma, then it should be interpreted as final sigma of the demotic ἐγ Μυρρινούττης of the second dedication, with a readjustment of the lines there to allow this extreme extension to the right in the second line.

The name Θεοφραστίδης 'Απολλων[ί--] is already known from Delos as one of the *pompostoloi* of Dionysos in the archonship of Aristophantos, who has been dated tentatively in my latest table of archons in 151/0 B.C.⁴⁶ The various known members of the family may now be represented by the following stemma, which is intended to replace that in *I.G.*, II², 3894.⁴⁷ A numerous and collateral branch of the family is represented by Roussel in a stemma which he publishes in *Inscriptions de Délos*, under No. 1975. G. A. Stamires observes that in Roussel's stemma two daughters of Dioskourides ('Ανν[ίχη] and Θεοδότῃ) should be added from *Insc. Délos*, 1508, lines 16-19.



⁴⁵ For the earlier restoration see *I.G.*, II², 3894.

⁴⁶ For the names see *Insc. Délos*, 2609, line 20, and for the date see *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 95. The date 150/49 will be suggested in my forthcoming volume on *The Athenian Year* in the Sather Classical Lectures series.

⁴⁷ See also *B.C.H.*, XXXII, 1908, p. 328.

1. The present text (Dedication III) shows that Θεοφρασί[δ]ης Ἀπολλων[ί - - - -]σιος was both uncle and husband of [Κ]λεοπάτρα Θεοδώρου ἐγ Μυρρινούττης θυγάτηρ.

2. Θεοφραστίδης Ἀπολλων[ί - - - -] was pompostolos of Dionysos at Delos in the archonship of Aristophantos (150/49 ?). Cf. *Insc. Délos*, 2609, line 20.

3. Kleopatra appears as Κλεοπάτρα Θεοδώρου ἐγ Μυρρινούττης θυγάτηρ (the name variously preserved) in three dedications of the present text.

4. [Θ]εόδωρος Χαριδήμου ἐγ Μυρρινούττης was pompostolos of Dionysos in the archonship of Aristophantos (150/49 ?). Cf. *Insc. Délos*, 2609, line 29. Roussel (*B.C.H.*, XXXII, 1908, p. 342, no. 310) suggests that he may have been the ancestor of the priest of the same name from the archonship of Aristaios (62/1). We prefer to reconstruct the stemma to show the descent of the priest from a brother of Θεόδωρος (name unknown to us) so that the generations appear as follows:

a. Χαρίδημος (I); b. (Unknown); c. Χαρίδημος (II); d. Θεόδωρος Χαριδήμου ἐγ Μυρρινούττης, priest of Asklepios in 62/1 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 1944, lines 28-29).

5. The name appears as Θεοφραστίδης Θ[εοδώρου ἐγ Μυρρινούττης] in the second dedication of the present text. He was a brother of Kleopatra.

6. The name is restored in the first dedication of the present text.

52 (Plate 13). Upper left corner of a base of Pentelic marble, found on September 29, 1933, in the wall of a modern house southwest of the Tholos (E-F 13). The stone is broken away at the back, bottom, and right. There were mouldings below the inscribed face of the base.

Height, 0.179 m.; width, 0.227 m.; thickness, 0.182 m.

Height of letters, 0.022 m.

Inv. No. I 1101.

saec. I *a./p.*

Πο[μπωνία Ζωσίμου]
Γναίου Πομ[πωνίου Ἀπολλοδώρου γυνή]
Γναίου Πομπ[ώνιον Γναίου υἱὸν - - - -]
Παμβωτάδ[ην ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν ἀνέθηκεν]

The Greek name of the son (?) must have appeared in line 3. The restoration is made on the assumption that Pomponia (line 1) may be identified with the Pomponia named in *I.G.*, II², 12501, a grave monument of approximately the same date. The son had evidently achieved Athenian, as well as Roman, citizenship. Perhaps this fact, directly or indirectly, was connected with the present dedication.

53. The discovery was made by A. E. Raubitschek that the dedication by the emperor Claudius published in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 57-58, no. 20, is part of the same inscription with *I.G.*, II², 5176. The combined text reads:

a. 41-54 p.

Τιβέριο[ς Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Γ]ερμανικὸς ε[ὕερ]
γέτης τ[ῆς πόλεως ἐχαρίσατο καὶ ἀποκα]τέστησ[εν].

54 (Plate 10). A fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found on June 7, 1935, in mixed fill over the northern part of the Odeion (M 10).

Height, 0.09 m.; width, 0.127 m.; thickness, 0.025 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 2977.

saec. I p.

[ἡ ἐξ Ἀρεί]ον πάγο[ν βουλὴ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ]
[τῶν ἐξακ]οσίων κ[αὶ ὁ δῆμος]

For similar dedications, see *I.G.*, II², 2803-2807.

55 (Plate 11). Three fragments of Hymettian marble. The largest fragment (*a*) was found on March 12, 1935, in a late context west of the East Stoa (N 13-14). It preserves its rough-picked bottom and part of a base moulding. Fragment *b* was found among collected marbles near the east end of the Middle Stoa on May 24, 1951; it is broken on all sides but joins fragment *c*. Fragment *c* was found in the wall of a modern house over the south end of the East Stoa (O 15) on December 20, 1935; it has its bottom surface and the base moulding preserved and joins fragment *b*.

a: Height, 0.15 m.; width, 0.312 m.; thickness, 0.335 m.

Height of letters, in line 2, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 2615a.

b: Height, 0.11 m.; width, 0.13 m.; thickness, 0.14 m.

Height of letters, in line 2, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 6376.

c: Height, 0.111 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.159 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 2615b.

Letters in the first line are larger, and have an estimated height of *ca.* 0.035 m.

saec. I/II p.

a [---τ]ὸν Ε ὕ ε [ρ γ έ τ η ν]
 [----]Λ· Φλαβίου Φλάμμα Κ[νδαθηναίεωσ--]
b & c [-----] ε ἰ ς [-----]
 [-----]· Τι Κλ Φλαβιαρ[οὐ-----]

The relation between fragment *a* and fragments *b* & *c* is not clear. Δ· Φλάβιος Φλάμματος Κυδαθηναίεύς is known to have been archon at Athens between A.D. 70/1 and 110/1.⁴⁸ The present text seems to have been a dedication to some benefactor of Athens, but the grammatical connection of the names in line 2 is obscure.

56 (Plate 11). Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides but with the original back (rough-picked) preserved, found on April 12, 1935, as part of a mediaeval storage basin just south of the Metroon (H 10).

Height, 0.15 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.067 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.-0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 2953.

saec. I/II *p.*

	[ἐπειδὴ οἱ πρυ]τάνε[ις τῆς - - - - -]
	[ἀποφαίνο]υσιν τὸν τα[μίαν - - - - -]
	[----- ᾱ]ξία φρονοῦν[τα - - - - -]
	[----- ᾱκ]ελεύστωι χρη[-----]
5	[----- λα]μπρῶς καὶ μεγαλ[οπρεπῶς - - -]
	[-----] γείνεσθαι θυσίας [-----]
	[-----] αὐτοῦ γραπτῶν [εἰκόνων - - -]
	[-----] τῶι προγονικῶι [-----]
	[-----] ἐν τῶι [-----]
10	[-----] ΟΓ [-----]

The lettering gives an indication of the date. This is one of the latest of the known decrees honoring the treasurer of the prytaneis, being approximately contemporaneous with or later than that published by Dow in *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, 1937, pp. 193-197, no. 121.⁴⁹

57 (Plate 10). An honorary monument of Pentelic marble, of which numerous pieces are preserved, found between May 1, 1933, and Feb. 12, 1934, in the south-eastern area of the Agora. Five fragments with parts of the inscription join to form the left half of the monument (Inv. Nos. I 1165, 1166, 1287, 1321*a*, 1321*d*), and six fragments unite to make the right half, as preserved (Inv. Nos. I 781, 1321*c*, 1321*b*, 1337, and two uninscribed pieces with mouldings and part of the top surface). A small fragment (Inv. No. I 956*b*) belongs in the second line of the inscription, but

⁴⁸ *I.G.*, II², 3114 2-3, 3543, (3544). Cf. *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 84, and XVIII, 1949, pp. 26, 54.

⁴⁹ I note here that a small fragment of this inscription (D) not located by Kirchner or Dow has been found, after long search, by G. A. Stamires. It bears the Epigraphical Museum inventory number 5431.

does not join other fragments; another small fragment (Inv. No. I 956a) belongs near the end of the first line but makes no join. There are a number of other uninscribed pieces, one of which preserves the mouldings of the upper left corner, not shown in the photograph on Plate 10.

The top and bottom of this inscribed part of the monument are both preserved, rough-picked. The left side is surely preserved, and probably the right side, later reworked, much damaged, and with the return of the mouldings lost.

Height, 0.43 m.; original width (estimated), *ca.* 1.65 m.; thickness (as preserved), 0.43 m. (not original).

Height of letters, 0.042 m.

post a. 126/7 *p.*

ἡ ἐξ Ἀρε[ίω]ν Π[ά]γου βουλὴ καὶ ἡ [β]ου[λὴ]
[τῶν] Φ' κ[α]ὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθ[ηναί]ων.

The recipient of the honors symbolized in this monument must have been named on a crowning block above the mouldings. The date falls after the constitutional reform which established the Council of Five Hundred. A number of similar dedications of earlier date are known from discoveries in or near the Stoa of Attalos (*I.G.*, II², 2803-2807; above, No. 54). For the date see J. A. Notopoulos, *T.A.P.A.*, LXXVII, 1946, pp. 53-56.

58 (Plate 10). Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides but with the rough-picked back preserved, found in a modern wall outside the Market Square in the area south of the southeast corner (O 20) on February 11, 1938. The inscribed face is bounded at the top by a frame marked by two deep horizontal grooves.

Height, 0.18 m.; width, 0.105 m.; thickness, 0.077 m.

Height of letters, 0.014 m.

Inv. No. I 5222.

a. 198-212 *p.*

[Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ τῶν Σεβα]στῶν Ἀ [Σεπτιμίου]
[Σεουήρου Περτίνακος] καὶ Μ. Ἀν[ρ. Ἀντωνεί]
[νου Σεουήρου Αὐτοκρατ]όρων Κα[ισάρων Εὐ]
[σεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν ἡ ἐξ Ἀρήου π]άγου βο[υλὴ καὶ ἡ βου]
5 [λὴ τῶν Φ' καὶ Ἀθηναίων ὁ δῆμ]ος Φλ>[— — — —]

The emperors' names in the genitive probably depended on some such introductory phrase as ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.⁵⁰ Here the praenomen Ἀ(ούκιος) in line 1 suggests that

⁵⁰ See G. A. Stamires, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 251 with note 63.

the two emperors were Septimius Severus and Caracalla; the restoration has been made somewhat on the analogy of *I.G.*, II², 3414, and dated accordingly. The text records a dedication(?) to one Φλ(άουιος) [— — — —], whose nomen, in abbreviated form, appears in line 5.

59 (Plate 10). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with the smooth right side preserved, but otherwise broken, found on May 10, 1934, in a late fill west of the Tholos (G 11). There is an irregularly worked surface at the top which slopes back beginning just above a horizontal line scratched across the face of the stone 0.05 m. above the letters.

Height, 0.102 m.; width, 0.072 m.; thickness, 0.031 m.

Height of letters, 0.014 m.

Inv. No. I 1952.

A. E. Raubitschek discovered that this stone belongs with the two fragments most recently published as *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 183, no. 88. The text now reads as follows:

ca. a. 227/8-230/1 p.

Ἀγαθ[ῇ Τύχῃ]
ἐπὶ ἄρχο[ντος — — — — τοῦ — — — — Μ]αραθω
νίου νεω[τέρου, πανηγυριαρχοῦντος —] λρ[υ]
Σαρα[π]ιᾶ[κοῦ — — — —, στρατηγοῦντος ἐπὶ]
5 τὰ ὅπλα Π[— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —]
οἱ πρυτᾶ[νεις τῆς — — — — — φυλῆς ἑαυτοῦς]
[καὶ τοὺς αἰσίτους ἀνέγραψαν]

At the end of line 2 the final *omega* is cursive (ω), and crowded close between the *theta* and the edge of the stone; the normal *omega* in line 3 is of the older style (Ω).

For the date see J. A. Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 56.

60 (Plate 13). Part of an inscribed block of Pentelic marble, found in the wall of a modern house (R 13) early in 1933. Parts of the left side and of the rough-picked back are preserved.

Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.23 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m. (lines 1-2) and 0.006 m. (lines 3-4).

Inv. No. I 363.

saec. I *a./p.*

[^α]μφω τὴν ἀδιάλυνον [ὁδὸν ~ — ~ — —]
 [^γ]λυθον ἀκμαίηισι Γ [— — — — —]
 [— ²⁻³ —]τέτης ᾧδ' ἐπεμητ[— — — — —]
 [— ³⁻⁴ —]|| καλλ[— — — — —]

This is a funerary epigram, apparently for two persons, though in lines 3-4 the reference seems to be to only one of the two. The first letter of line 3 is either *gamma* or *tau*, the first letter of line 4 either *eta* or *nu*. The penultimate letter in line 3 has only the two upright strokes. Whatever one restores at the beginning of line 3 (*πεντέτης* or *ἐπτέτης* could give the age of the deceased) there is difficulty with the meter.

61 (Plate 13). Two joining fragments of Pentelic marble, found on May 8 and 10, 1935, in disturbed modern context in Section O. The fragment at the left was found among collected marbles near the southwestern part of the Odeion; the fragment at the right was found in débris of late Roman date, disturbed, in the southeastern part of the Odeion (M 11).

Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.22 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.

Inv. Nos. I 2860 and 2863.

aet. Rom.

[— — — — —] ἐβδομάδες τρεῖς
 [— — — — —] ἀρμονίας
 [— — — — —] εἰ τὸν ἀπ[— — —]
 [— — — — —] βηνο[— — —]

62 (Plate 13). An archaic base of Pentelic marble, found on November 2, 1933, in the wall of a modern house over the northwest part of the Odeion (M-N 10). The stone is broken at both sides and at the back; part of a circular cutting is preserved in the top, but the original surface which enclosed the circle is broken away. The cutting itself was evidently made as setting for an inset dedicatory shaft.

Height, 0.157 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.345 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 1203.

saec. VI *a.*

[— — —] κεδ[— — —]
 [— — —] ἥιν' αὖ[— — —]
 [— — —] θεν χα[— — —]

63 (Plate 13). Fragment from the left side of a stele of Pentelic marble, broken at the top, bottom, and right, found on May 2, 1933, just below the surface of modern Poseidon St. (I 7). The left side is smooth, with the back edge beveled to the rough-picked back; the front edge is much chipped.

The writing is stoichedon, with five lines measuring 0.061 m. and three columns measur-

ing 0.037 m. (practically a square chequer pattern). The letters were made with two chisels of 0.009 m. and 0.005 m. respectively.

Height, 0.145 m.; width, 0.077 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 779.

ca. a. 450 a.

[.]ο[-----]
 αι τδι λ[-----]
 [.] τδι δέ[μοι ----]
 [.]καχρ[-----]
 5 [π]ερί δ[ε-----]
 τον Σο[-----]
 [.]εκε[-----]
 [.]νδε[-----]
 [.]οφ[-----]
vacat

64 (Plate 13). Fragment from a stele of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found on April 18, 1935, in a context of late Roman date over the auditorium of the Odeion (M 10).

Height, 0.085 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.037 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 2777.

saec. IV a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]ων π[-----]
 [-----]α Φορμίωνα[ε-----]
 [-----]Α]θηναίων υς[-----]
 [-----]ιν τῆς [-----]

The lettering is in a square stoichedon pattern in which each unit measures *ca.* 0.012 m.

65 (Plate 13). Upper left corner of a stele of Pentelic marble, with a flat top and with mouldings above the inscribed face, found in a modern wall in the area west of the north end of the Stoa of Attalos (P 7) on March 23, 1938.

Height, 0.115 m.; width, 0.174 m.; thickness, 0.14 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 5354.

a. 347/6 a.

ἐπὶ Θεμ[ιστοκλέους ἄρχοντος -- --]
 [-----]

The lettering assures a date near the middle of the fourth century; the *epsilons* in particular, with thickening at the free ends of the strokes, are like those of the main body of *I.G.*, II², 212, of the same year.

66 (Plate 14). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on April 1, 1935, in the destruction débris of a late Roman gymnasium west of the East Stoa (O 14).

Height, 0.065 m.; width, 0.20 m.; thickness, 0.113 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 2719.

post med. saec. IV a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]
 [-----]ε δραχμ[-----]
 [---τῇ]ν βουλὴν κ[αὶ ----]
 [---τὰς] εὐθύνας [-----]
 5 [---τ]ῶι δικα[στηρίωι --]
 [---δ]ῆμος ο[-----]
 [-----]

The lettering is stoichedon, with a square chequer pattern in which the units measure *ca.* 0.014 m. The text, for which I have found no satisfactory supplements, belongs to a decree.

67 (Plate 14). Small fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found on February 12, 1936, in a modern context outside the Market Square toward the southeast (T 17).

Height, 0.089 m.; width, 0.074 m.; thickness, 0.048 m.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.

Inv. No. I 3371.

The inscription is stoichedon, with an almost square chequer pattern; five lines measure 0.037 m. and five columns measure 0.035 m.

post med. saec. IV a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]
 [-----]ο[-----]
 [---]ὀνόματα τ[-----]
 [---]ήν]ενκαν Θηβ[---]
 5 [---σ]τήλη κληρ[---]
 [---]μα τῶν πρ[---]
 [---]δους τη[---]
 [---]ίας μηδ[---]
 [---]αν ὀρκο[---]
 10 [-----]

The writing is like that of some poletai records and Laureion mine inscriptions of the same period.

68 (Plate 14). Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found on May 17, 1935, in a modern wall over the eastern end of the Middle Stoa (O 13).

Height, 0.14 m.; width, 0.09 m.; thickness, 0.076 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.-0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 2895.

saec. IV/III a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]ο[-----]
 [---]ἄπερ καὶ [-----]
 [---το]ὺς ἡγωνισμέ[νους] ---
 [---]ς αὐτοὺς γε[---]
 5 [---πλεί]ω χρόνον καὶ [---]
 [---]αν δὲ καὶ ἐν[---]
 [---]ύτων ἔθυ[---]
 [---]αι ἐποιή[---]
 [---]ἐντὸς [---]
 10 [---]ς ὁπω[ς] ---

The text seems to come from an honorary decree. In line 5 there may be mention of extended residence in Athens of the man (or men) honored (cf., e.g., Dittenberger, *Sylloge*², 576, line 6).

69 (Plate 15). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with smooth-finished back and rough-picked bottom preserved, but otherwise broken, found on February 29, 1936, in a modern wall north-east of the Odeion (N 7).

Height, 0.34 m.; width, 0.165 m.; thickness, 0.171 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.-0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 3632.

The writing is stoichedon, with a square chequer pattern (0.0095 m. vertical by 0.0096 m. horizontal).

imit. saec. III a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[---.....]ιτ[-----]
 [---...Θ]ορικιο[-----]
 [---.....]ΟΝΟΥΚ[-----]
 [---ὅπως] ἀν ἅπασιν [-----]
 5 [---.....]ΜΕΝΕΙΝΑΙ[-----]
 [---.ἐπα]ινέσαι δὲ [-----]
 [---.....]ων καὶ στεφ[ανῶσαι] ---
 [---.....]τῶν μεγάλων[ν] ---
 [---.....]ΣΝΙ.ΑΓΓΑΙ[-----]
 10 [---.....]ΙΟΝΤΕΣ[-----]
 [---...]δῶσιν ἀν[-----]
 [---.....]Σ.ΟΣ[-----]
 [---.....]τοῦ Ἀθην[αίων] ---
 [---.....]τῶν Ἀθην[αίων] ---
 15 [---.....]τα προσα[-----]
 [---.....]σαν εἰς α[-----]
 [---...Ἀθ]ηναίων Π[-----]
 [---.....]λον πρεσ[-----]
 [---.....]ἄριστα Ν[-----]
 20 [---...]ἵππος Εὐξείνου[-----]
 vacat

The lettering is of the careless style of the early third century, with cruciform *phi* (line 7). Fragmentary though the text is, it can be interpreted as part of an honorary decree (lines 6-7) with a statement of motivation perhaps included in the preamble (line 4).

70 (Plate 15). Part of a stele of Hymettian marble, with the left side (pebble-picked) and

the back (rough-picked) preserved, found on January 8, 1936, in the wall of a modern house over the central part of South Stoa I and II (M 15-16).

Height, 0.175 m.; width, 0.107 m.; thickness, 0.117 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 3144.

a. 275/4 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[.] ΤΩ [-----]
 [.] ΓΕ [.] Ν ----- ἐπὶ
 Ὀλβίου ἀ[ρχοντος] ---
 [.] ΔΔ [.] Υ [---]
 [.] Μ [.] ΘΕΙΣ [---]
 Δ [.] ΕΡΡΥΧ [-----]
 ΤΟΣΙ [.] Ε [-----]
 [.] ΑΛΛΙ [-----]
 [.] ΟΝΙΔ [-----]
 [.] . . . Ο [-----]

The surface of the inscription is badly worn and scarred. For the date of the archon Olbios see Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 314.

71 (Plate 14). Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found in a late context northeast of the Odeion and just south of the railway (N 7) on February 21, 1938.

Height, 0.172 m.; width, 0.108 m.; thickness, 0.078 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 5258.

saec. III a.

[Ἀ φ ι δ] ν α ῖ [ο ι] (?)
 [...⁶...] φάνης Φιλ[-----]
 [Πανα]ίσχης Ἀγαθ[-----]
 [......] νις Ἀρχαγά[θου]
 5 [...⁶...] κος Ἐπικ[-----]

[...⁵...] μος Νανσ[-----]
 [...⁶...] ος Λυσ[-----]
 [...⁷...] ος Π[-----]
 [-----] ρα[-----]

The names in this text were recorded (*nomen* and *nomen patris*) under a heading in which the more widely spaced letters suggest a demotic. The arrangement is characteristic of the register in the so-called prytany decrees.

The face of the column of names is determined by the unique restoration [Πανα]ίσχης in line 3. Above them the demotic can be restored with probability but not with certainty. Only the lower tip of the right vertical is preserved in the *nu* of [Ἀφιδ]ναί[οι].⁵¹ It could be the *rho* of [Πει]ραί[εῖς] except that *rho* would then probably lie too close to the following *alpha*.⁵² The demotic [Κυδαθη]ναί[εῖς] would extend too far to the left; the demes of Hestiaia, Xypete, and Phegaia were too small to supply eight or more councillors, and the same is true of Thorai.⁵³ The restoration [Οἰ]ναί[οι] remains a possibility, but would have to be heavily indented. The more likely restoration for the demotic is [Ἀφιδ]ναί[οι].

72 (Plate 14). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with the left side preserved but otherwise broken, found on May 28, 1935, among collected marbles in the southeastern part of the Market Square.

Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.116 m.; thickness, 0.047 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 2944.

fin. saec. III a.

ἡ βουλὴ
 ὁ δ[ῆμος]
 Ἐό[ρτιο]ν
 Ἀχα[ρ]νέ[α]

⁵¹ Aphidna had at least eight councillors in the first century (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1755).

⁵² The same objection applies to [Θο]ραί[εῖς].

⁵³ See A. W. Gomme, *The Population of Athens*, pp. 57, 65; Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 177, no. 109, line 13.

This is a citation from a decree honoring epheboi and their teachers. Heortios of Acharnai, of the well-known family of paidotribai, is probably that Heortios (II) of the stemma as published in *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 302. The lettering of the inscription is characteristic of the late third century before Christ.

73 (Plate 15). Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble, with the right side and rough-picked back preserved, found on December 13, 1935, in the wall of a modern house west of the north end of the Stoa of Attalos (O 8).

Height, 0.141 m.; width, 0.096 m.; thickness, 0.077 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m. (omikron very small).

Inv. No. I 3087.

post init. saec. II a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----] ισ
[-----] κρυ
[-----] ἐν τῶι
[-----] κ] ατὰ τῇν
5 [-----] ἐπιμελε[ί]
[ται (οἱ σθαι) -] τὰ πάντ[α]
[-----] ον οὐκ ὁ[λί]
[γα -----] ωι λυσ[. . .]
[-----] ΗΧ[. ca. 8. .]

74 (Plate 15). Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in the wall of a modern house outside the Market Square south of the Church of the Holy Apostles (O 19) on March 10, 1938.

Height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.25 m.; thickness, 0.085 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 5310.

saec. II a.

wreath

wreath

Θεογέν[ην]
Φώκου [Κη]
φι[σ]ιέ[α]

The name cut inside the left-hand wreath has been entirely lost. Theogenes was probably the brother of Myrrhine of *I.G.*, II², 6432, a text which may also be dated in the second century. The stone must have carried an honorary decree (now lost) above the two (or more) citations.

75 (Plate 16). Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, with part of the left side preserved but otherwise broken, found on June 19, 1935, in a context of the third and fourth centuries after Christ over the foundations of the interior north wall of the Odeion (L 10).

Height, 0.135 m.; width, 0.067 m.; thickness, 0.032 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 3028.

saec. II a. (?)

[-----] | [.] L [-----]
[τῶι] δῆμω[ι -----]
ἐτιμύθη[-----]
παρὰ τῶι [-----]
5 ὅτι ἀνδρ[ν -----]
τρεπετ[-----]
λειν κα[-----]
διατε[λ -----]
ὑπὲρ [-----]
[-----]

The text belongs to an honorary decree.

76 (Plate 16). Fragment of bluish marble with a vertical grain, broken on all sides, found on May 7, 1937, in the foundations of a late Roman house southeast of the Tholos (G-H 12).

Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.235 m.; thickness (not original), 0.04 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 4784.

init. saec. IV a.

[-----]
Γῆρυν[ς -----]

Δέπτωγ [-----]
 Θρασυμήδης ἐμ Μ [οἶκ ---]
 5 Ἀσπάσιο[ς] ἐμ Πει ο[ἶκ ---]
 Φίλων ἐ[μ Πει ο]ἶκ Γ[-----]
 [.] γ[-----]

The inscription gives names of metics, arranged in columns, of which part of one has been preserved. The letter *pi* at the end of line 6 may belong to a numeral.

77 (Plate 17). Fragment of Hymettian marble, with smooth right side preserved but otherwise broken, found in a late wall northeast of the Odeion (N 8) on May 11, 1938.

Height, 0.272 m.; width, 0.206 m.; thickness, 0.065 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 5438.

saec. IV *a.*

[-----] VII
 [----- Πειρ] αἰεὺ[ς] VIII
 [----- Μαρά] θώνιος IX
 [----- Ἀ] τηνεύς X
 [in wreath] in wreath
 [ἡ βουλῇ] ὁ δῆμος

The inscription honored members of a college chosen one from each phyle and with names arranged in the official order. No names, but only parts of the last three demotics, have been preserved, together with the citation by the Demos. The balancing (and symmetrically placed) citation by the Council has been lost.

78 (Plate 16). Fragment of a columnar stele of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found south of the Stoa of Attalos (Q 15) on June 8, 1936.

Height, 0.175 m.; width, 0.106 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.; original diameter, 0.33 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 4244.

ca. med. saec. IV *a.*

[-----] ρο Φηγούσ[ιος] I
 [-----] ο Διομειεύ[ς] II
 [-----] Κυδαθην[αίεύς] III
 [-----] ος ἐξ Οἶο IV
 5 [-----] άτους Κεφαλῇ[θεν] V
 [-----] Φυ] λάσιος VI
 [-----] VII

The stone carried a catalogue of names arranged, one for each, in the order of the phylai. Like the names in *I.G.*, II², 2825, they represent, apparently, a college of magistrates, not at present to be more closely defined, who together made the dedication.

79 (Plate 14). Fragment of a dedicatory monument of Hymettian marble, with part of the right side preserved, found near the surface of Eponymon Street (K-L 7-9) in July of 1936. The back is much worn, but may be original.

Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.173 m.; thickness, 0.073 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.011 m.

Inv. No. I 4343.

paullo ante a. 200 *a.*

[-----] ἐκλέους
 [Σκαμβω] νίδης
 [ἱπογραμματεὺ]ς τεῖ βουλε[ῖ]
 [καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τ]ὸν ἐνιαυτὸ[ν]
 5 [τὸν ἐπὶ - ^{ca.} 8 - ᾗ] ρχον[τ]ος

The writing is characteristic of the late third century. For the secretary, see W. S. Ferguson, *The Athenian Secretaries*, pp. 66-70. The Assistant Secretary appears in the so-called prytany decrees of this date immediately after the name of the secretary (cf. e.g., *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 34, lines 57-59).

Epigraphically, the demotic in line 2 can be read [---] πίδης, but the reading as given is quite possible, and the long demotic helps in a symmetrical arrangement of the text (i.e., Σκαμβωνίδης as against Κρωπίδης).

80 (Plate 16). The upper right corner of a stele of Pentelic marble, with original rough-picked back preserved, found in a modern wall near the center of the Market Square on April 7, 1936.

Height, 0.129 m.; width, 0.163 m.; thickness, 0.039 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 3988.

init. saec. II a.

[-----]τίον Λεωνίδης
[-----] ὑπογραμματεὺς
[-----] στρατηγῶι ὅ
[-----] vacat
5 [-----] Αἰγυλίως [---]
[-----]ει vacat
[-----]ρ[---]

81 (Plate 17). Fragment of a dedicatory base of Hymettian marble, from the upper right corner of the original monument, found in May of 1953 among marbles collected in the south-eastern part of the Market Square. This fragment joins the fragment published by Sterling Dow, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 81-90 (38c), confirming Dow's restoration and showing that the upper mouldings returned across the right end of the base.⁵⁴ In the top surface is a rectangular cutting, *ca.* 0.19 m. from the side of the base and about midway between front and rear; a pour channel leads to it from the front; the cutting itself is 0.07 m. from front to back, 0.05 m. wide, and 0.028 m. deep.

Height, 0.25 m.; width, 0.39 m.; thickness, 0.27 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 382e.

The new fragment now makes it possible to

read Dow's citation no. 11 (see *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 84) as follows:

ca. a. 130 a.

Ἡράκλεια
τὰ ἐν Θήβαις
Olive wreath
ἄνδρας
[παγκράτιο]ν

It is a suggestion of G. A. Stamires that this piece may be identified as that once seen by Pittakys and published by him in *L'Ancienne Athènes*, p. 94 (now *I.G.*, II², 3154). Pittakys saw his fragment somewhere near the church of Παναγία Βλασσαροῦ, and while the exact place of finding of the present stone is not known it must have been very close by. The difficulty of interpretation is that Pittakys shows a second line ἄνδρας under the heading Νέμεα to the left of the Theban citation. But this is perhaps an error due to his copying or to the type-setting of his book. I believe that what Pittakys saw was in reality

Νέμεα
Ἡράκλεια
τὰ ἐν Θήβαις
ἄνδρας

and that our piece has suffered since his day only by the loss of the word Νέμεα at the left, which now may be read as part of Dow's citation no. 10 (see *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 84). One may see in the photograph the scar where this heading has been lost. Dow's text for citation no. 10 stands, but the brackets may be removed from its first line.

82. The statue base (Agora Inv. No. I 8) published in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 151 (2) carries the name Ἰέρων Ἰερωνύμο Μελιτεὺς, whom I identified with that [Ἰέ]ρων Ἰερωνύμου known from a sepulchral monument of the fourth century B.C. (*I.G.*, II, 3804b; *P.A.*, 7524a).⁵⁵ The

⁵⁴ See also S. Dow, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 351-360; for the artists see also Jeanne Robert, *Rev. de Phil.*, XIV, 1940, pp. 233-234.

⁵⁵ See also *I.G.*, II², 3826 for the Agora text.

identification cannot be made, because the name in *I.G.*, II, 3804*b*, now also published as *I.G.*, II², 11709, is incorrectly read. The name on the sepulchral base is [— — —] φων Ἱερωνύμου. G. A. Stamires has called this to my attention,⁵⁶ and he also identifies *I.G.*, II², 11709 with *I.G.*, II², 11711, in which the reading was correctly made by K. S. Pittakys in 1835.⁵⁷ Nor is it legitimate to describe the monument recorded by Pittakys (*I.G.*, II², 11711) as a columella; Pittakys called it a στήλη ἐπιτύμβιος, which is in fact a good description of *I.G.*, II², 11709.

83 (Plate 16). Fragment of Pentelic marble, much battered, with part of the original top preserved, found on February 16, 1933, in the northwestern part of the Market Square.

Height, 0.135 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.385 m.

Height of letters, 0.047 m.

Inv. No. I 473.

saec. IV *a.*

[— — — —] ἐνί[κα]
[— — — —] ἐ|χορ|ήγει

This is part of a choregic dedication.

84 (Plate 12). Fragment of Hymettian marble from a dedicatory base, broken on both sides and at the top, but with part of the original bottom preserved, found on May 23, 1935, in a context of early Byzantine date east of the Middle Stoa (P 13).

Height, 0.085 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.135 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m.

Inv. No. I 2920.

⁵⁶ The name is quite clear on the squeeze at the Institute for Advanced Study.

⁵⁷ Published in 1854 in Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική, no. 2173.

⁵⁸ *I.G.*, II², 844, lines 39-41: δεδóσθαι Εὐμαρίδαι τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τῆς εἰκόνης ἧς πρότερον ἐψήφισται ὁ δῆμος ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Δήμου καὶ τῶν Χαρίτων — — —. The honor was granted in the archonship of Archelaos (or earlier) for whom Dinsmoor now suggests the date 222/1 B.C. (*Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 316); cf. also Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xxiv.

saec. IV *a.*

Almost ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[— — — — —] δ[— — — — —]
[— — — — —] — Διον] υσοδώρου [— — — — —]
[ψηφισαμένοι] υ τοῦ δήμ[ου — — — — —]
[Ἀρτέμει Μον] νιχία[ι ἀνέθηκ — — — — —]

Presumably the dedication was a statue, erected after a vote of privilege (and other honors?) by the Demos. One Eumaridas of Kydonia, for example, was voted a statue by the Demos in the second half of the third century and then given permission to erect it in the sanctuary of Demos and the Graces.⁵⁸ The statue here was apparently offered to Artemis Mounichia. Lines 3 and 4, as restored, determine the left margin of the inscription.

85 (Plate 16). Block of Pentelic marble, with the top and both sides preserved, found in the wall of a modern house south of the Eleusinion (T-U 20-21) on December 30, 1936.

Height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.201 m.; thickness, 0.065 m.

Height of letters, 0.013 m.

Inv. No. I 4374.

saec. IV *a.*

Μέλιττα Σίμω[νος]
[ἀν]έθηκεν
vacat

The last three letters of line 1 must have been inscribed in the space of two.

86 (Plate 17). An opisthographic fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on February 20, 1935, in a modern context east of the southern part of the Odeion (N 11).

Height, 0.178 m.; width, 0.194 m.; thickness,
0.08 m.
Height of letters, 0.007 m.
Inv. No. I 2464.

saec. IV/III *a.*

A	B
πάρι[εδρος]	[πάρι]δρος
Φείδ[ιππος]	[---] <i>vac.</i>
[Φ]ειδ[ίππου]	[----]ους
[----]	[---]

The name on each face was surrounded by a wreath. The paredros (there may have been more than one) on each face may have belonged to one of the three principal archons. Cf. *I.G.*, II², 2811 (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 150, no. 1).

87 (Plate 12). Fragment of Hymettian marble, from the upper part of the face of a dedicatory base, found on February 9, 1934, in a late Roman context under the floor of a Byzantine building north of the Temple of Ares (K 6). The top is finished with a toothed chisel, and preserves part of the curved sinking for the plinth proper.

Height, 0.095 m.; width, 0.16 m.; thickness,
0.16 m.
Height of letters, 0.016 m.
Inv. No. I 1307.

a. 242/1 *a.* (?)

[-----ε]πὶ Φανομ[άχου ἀρχοντος ---]
[-----ἀνέ]θηκ[εν -----]
[-----]

For the archon Phanomachos, Dinsmoor has most recently suggested the date 230/29 B.C. (*Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 315). An earlier suggestion of Pritchett and Meritt was for 260/59 B.C. (*Chronology*, p. xx). I have advocated the date 242/1 B.C. in my forthcoming volume on *The Athenian Year* in the Sather Classical Lectures series.

88 (Plate 17). Block of Hymettian marble, with the face, top, and left side partly preserved, found on May 29, 1935, among collected marbles in the southeastern corner of the Market Square. The top preserves a section of a large circular bedding (0.06 m. deep) for a dedication.

Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.36 m.; thickness,
ca. 0.30 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.016 m.
Inv. No. I 2946.

a. 240/39 *a.*

ἐπ' Ἀθηνῶν[ου -----^{ca. 12}---]
νικήσαντες ε[-----]
vacat τ[-----]
Εὐστροφο[ς] Ὀλ[-----]
[-----]

If the circular bedding was centered in the top surface of the block, there may have been about twelve letters to be restored (as shown above) at the end of line 1. But this would leave a very short restoration (about four letters) in line 3, if that too was symmetrically spaced.

89 (Plate 16). Small dedicatory base of Island marble, found near the surface in the area of the Church of the Holy Apostles (O-P 15-16) on May 28, 1937. Parts of the top, left side, and bottom (all smooth) are preserved, and in the top is a corner of the cutting (0.04 m. deep) for the offering.

Height, 0.08 m.; width, 0.095 m.; thickness,
0.14 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.
Inv. No. I 4926.

saec. II *a.*

[Κ]τησωνί[δης -----]
[ἀν]έθηκεν [-----]

90 (Plate 18). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with the left edge and part of the upper edge

(with fillet) preserved, found on May 29, 1935, in a mixed context of Hellenistic and Roman date in a cistern southwest of the Market Square (E 15:3).

Height, 0.165 m.; width, 0.10 m.; thickness, 0.063 m.

Height of letters, 0.107 m.

Inv. No. I 2928.

saec. I *a.* (?)

[ἐ]πὶ [--- ἄρ]
 χοντ[ος ---]
 ἰας 'Ο[---]
 θεν λ[αμπαδαρ]
 5 χήσα[s ἀνέθηκε]

The restoration was made by Raubitschek.

91 (Plate 18). Fragment of Hymettian marble, found on April 25, 1935, in a modern wall (O 13). The top (?) and bottom are preserved, with the inscription on the upper fascia of what seems to be the top moulding of a dedicatory base.

Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.325 m.; thickness, 0.215 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 2840.

saec. I *p.*

[ῆ βου]λῆ ῆ ἐ[ξ 'Αρείου Πάγου]

92 (Plate 19). Fragment of a herm of Pentelic marble, broken at the top and bottom but with both sides and the back preserved, found on January 4, 1936, in a modern house over the east end of South Stoa II (N 15).

Height, 0.223 m.; width, 0.147 m.; thickness, 0.105 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.013 m.

Inv. No. I 3178.

In the right side is a cut (0.025 m. deep) extending the full thickness of the block. On both sides are shallow rectangular cuttings near

the top. The left side (B) has a crude inscription not here reproduced except in the photograph. At the top of the inscribed face (A) the surface is beveled, sloping inward; at the bottom of the face is a circular hole (0.029 m. deep).

med. saec. I *p.*

ἔφηβοι
 φίλοι
 [Φ]ιλοκλῆς
 Εὐνοστίδης
 5 Εὐπολῖς

For similar texts see *I.G.*, II², 1982-1987. The readings here were made with the help of a latex squeeze.

93 (Plate 18). Fragment of a base of Hymettian marble, with parts of the top and of both sides preserved, found on October 9, 1935, in the wall of a modern house over the east end of South Stoa I (N 15). In the top is a circular depression (0.175 m. in diameter and 0.075 m. deep) for some kind of dedication, perhaps a small column, for the diameter is too small for the plinth of a statue. The single row of letters now preserved was cut between two horizontal lines. A third line, equidistant below the second, occurs above the lower fracture of the stone, but there is no trace of letters beneath it.

Height, 0.15 m.; width (original), 0.642 m.; thickness, 0.402 m.

Height of letters, 0.028 m.

Inv. No. I 3105.

saec. I/II *p.*

< Π < Σάτριος 'Αττικό[s]

Lunate *sigma*, as in this inscription, would be the exception rather than the rule in a dedication of the first century before Christ. The stone is probably later. But perhaps the Satrius here named was related, none the less, to that Satrius (P. W., *R. E.*, *s.v.*, no. 1) who was active in Greece in 43 B.C.

94 (Plate 18). Dedicatory base of Hymettian marble, broken at the back, bottom, and right, found on March 27, 1934, in a modern wall over the central part of the Middle Stoa (L 13).

Height, 0.082 m.; width, 0.063 m.; thickness, 0.059 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 1737.

saec. I/II *p.*

Μοσχίων[ν-----]
 Φιλάδης[ς-----]
 ἄρχοντ[ος-----]
 ἀνέθ[ηκεν]

Lost are the patronymic, the deity to whom the dedication was made, and the name of the archon. But Moschion may be the same as that Μοσχίων Φιλάδης of *I.G.*, II², 4760, whose wife Polynike made a dedication to the Mother of the Gods. The lettering is too late to permit his identification with Μοσχίων Μενάνδρου Φιλάδης, the ephebos of 117/6 B.C. and the thesmothetes of 88/7 B.C. (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1009 88 and 1714 6; see also Sterling Dow, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 144).

95 (Plate 17). Fragment of an athletic victor's monument of Pentelic marble with part of the right side preserved, but otherwise broken, found on November 16, 1935, in the wall of a modern house northeast of the Odeion (N 7). Around the single word of the inscription is a laurel wreath. The lower part of another laurel wreath is preserved at the upper edge of the stone.

Height, 0.255 m.; width, 0.185 m.; thickness, 0.158 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 3076.

aet. Rom.

in corona
 παλτόν

96 (Plate 12). Part of a statue base of Hymettian marble, found on March 6, 1934, built into a wall of Byzantine date in the northwest part of the Market Square. Only the crowning member of the pedestal is here preserved. In its top are cuttings for the feet of a bronze statue. Beneath the plinth proper is a cyma recta moulding above an ovolo moulding; this returns across both sides, while on the back is a single large ovolo. The block has been re-used as a threshold, and shows a socket for a door-pivot in its top.

Height, 0.27 m.; width, 0.69 m.; thickness, 0.64 m.

Height of letters, 0.04 m.-0.055 m.

Inv. No. I 1511.

aet. Rom.

ἡ πόλις

97 (Plate 12). Block of Pentelic marble, broken at both sides, bottom, and back, but with part of the top preserved, found in a fill of late Roman date west of the Stoa of Attalos (O 8) on May 25, 1936. The top was rough-picked, with a reserve band about 0.015 m. wide along the front of the top surface.

Height, 0.046 m.; width, 0.204 m.; thickness, 0.058 m.

Height of letters, 0.029 m.

Inv. No. I 4205.

aet. Rom.

DEDICATION TO APOLLO LYKEIOS

[Ἀπόλ]λωνι Λυκί[ωι]
 [-----]

98 (Plate 18). Fragment from a block of Pentelic marble, with part of the top preserved, found in the wall of a modern house (J-K 9) early in 1933. The sides and bottom are broken, but the left side may be original.

Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.125 m.; thickness, 0.13 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 305.

aet. Rom.

Σωτᾶς ο [-----]
οἴκοθεν [-----]

The addition of οἴκοθεν shows that Sotas made the dedication at his own expense.⁵⁹

99 (Plate 18). Block of Pentelic marble, with the top, back, and right side preserved, found on January 13, 1936, in the wall of a modern house (N-O 16). The right side has been re-cut. At the top of the face (badly worn) are mouldings 0.111 m. high and projecting about 0.035 m.

Height, 0.658 m.; width, 0.486 m.; thickness, 0.19 m.

Height of letters, 0.065 m.

Inv. No. I 3277.

aet. Rom.

Κλανδι [----- 'A]
θηνოდ [-----]
[-----]

100 (Plate 18). Fragment of gray marble, with the right side and rough-picked back preserved (both perhaps not original), but otherwise broken, found on May 24, 1935, in the wall of a modern bothros in the eastern end of the Middle Stoa (O 13).

Height, 0.097 m.; width, 0.11 m.; thickness, 0.04 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.029 m.

Inv. No. I 2922.

ca. a. 132 p.

[Σωτήρι καὶ κτί]
[στην Αὐτοκράτο]
[ρι Ἀδριανῶι] Ὀλυμ
[πίωι] *vacat*

For the type of dedication, see also *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, p. 263, no. 16; XV, 1946, p. 237, no. 69 (with references there cited); XXI, 1952, p. 369, nos. 11 and 12, and p. 378, no. 34; XXIII, 1954, p. 257, no. 43 and p. 258, nos. 44, 45.

101 (Plate 18). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on April 20, 1934, in fill of Turkish date over the central part of the Middle Stoa (L 13). The original back, rough-picked and worn, may be preserved.

Height, 0.08 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.-0.011 m.

Inv. No. I 1841.

saec. II p.

[-----]
[Δ]ωρόθεο[s-----]
Εὐπρέπη[s-----]
vacat

The names seem to have been part of a catalogue, perhaps of councillors or of epheboi.

102 (Plate 19). Two small fragments of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in a well outside the Market Square on the southwest (E 14:2) on June 7, 1937.

a. Height, 0.042 m.; width, 0.10 m.; thickness, 0.103 m.

b. Height, 0.05 m.; width, 0.095 m.; thickness, 0.02 m.

Height of letters (except *phi*), *ca.* 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 4939.

saec. II p.

a [---] Φ[-----]
Φλ> Σα[-----]
'Αβίλλ[ιος-----]
'Ασ[-----]

⁵⁹ See *I.G.*, II², 3669, lines 5-6, and *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 87-88, no. 26.

Iacuna

5 b ['Απολλ]ών[ιος - - -]
 Φλυ[είς]
 Εὐφρόνιο[ς - - - - -]
 [- - - - -]

The names belong to a catalogue of the pry-
 taneis of Ptolemais, and come from the left
 column of the inscription. There are remains of
 a raised band along the left side of both chips.

103 (Plate 18). Fragment of Pentelic marble,
 broken on all sides, found on February 6, 1935,
 in a modern wall over the west foundation of
 the Odeion (L 11).

Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.16 m.; thickness,
 0.08 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 2369.

saec. II *p.*

[- - - - -]
 Φιλο[- - - - -]
 [- -] *traces* [- -]
 [- - - - -] *os*
 5 Δημήτριος)
 Ἰσθμός
 ['Ε]παφρόδειτος
 ['Ε]πίκτητος
 [- - - - -] *εικος*
 10 [- - - - -]

The nature of the catalogue is uncertain, but
 it may belong to a panel of epheboi.

104 (Plate 19). Upper left corner of a base of
 grayish marble, with three lines of text on the
 broad band above the mouldings, found in the
 east wall of the Church of the Hypapanti (T
 21) on March 14, 1938.

Height, 0.213 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness,
 0.179 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 5320.

⁶⁰ A similar disposition is evidenced in *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 175, no. 77 (see the photograph,
ibid., plate XXXIV).

saec. II *p.*

[^o] ἡ βουλῇ [καὶ ὁ δῆμος ^o]
 ['Α]θήναι[ον Εὐτ - - - - -]
 ['Α]θμον[έα ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα]
vacat

The man honored in this dedication is prob-
 ably the same as the ephebos of *I.G.*, II², 2020,
 line 36 (*ca. a.* 110 *p.*) and quite possibly also
 identical with Athenaios, the father of Euporos
 of Athmonon, named in *I.G.*, II², 1791, line 12,
 and in *I.G.*, II², 1794, line 5 (*a.* 180/1 *p.*; for
 the date see *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 15, 19-
 20, 52 and Table 1). He is also probably to
 be identified with the father of ['Αθή]ναιος
 Ἀθ[ῆν - - - Ἀ]θμον[εύς] of *I.G.*, II², 5320.
 I would restore the text on this funeral monu-
 ment to show the patronymic Ἀθ[ῆναίων].

The inscription of the present text is of the
 type represented, for example, by *I.G.*, II², 3885.

105 (Plate 20). Block of Pentelic marble,
 found in November of 1934 among stones col-
 lected in the south-central part of the Market
 Square. Parts of the face and right side are
 preserved, but the stone is otherwise broken.
 There is a trace of moulding above the inscrip-
 tion.

Height, 0.197 m.; width, 0.19 m.; thickness,
 0.082 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m.

Inv. No. I 2035.

ca. a. 146-165 *p.*

[ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος] Τιβ[?] Κλ[?] Δημ[οστρά]
 [του Μελιτέ]ως· ὧς π[ρὸς] ρυττανεί]
 [α - - - - -]

The inscription belongs to the same year as
 the similar text published in *Hesperia*, XVI,
 1947, p. 175, no. 77. The right edge of the
 stone, if restored, would leave room for an
 uninscribed margin after the letters, to be bal-
 anced presumably by a margin on the left.⁶⁰

The text dates from the sixth prytany of the year.

106 (Plate 18). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in a context of Byzantine date south of the Eleusinion and east of the Late Roman Fortification Wall (U 22) on March 11, 1937.

Height, 0.175 m.; width, 0.24 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.-0.014 m.

Inv. No. I 4595.

saec. II/III *p.*

[-----]ς)
 [----- Διον]ύσιος Στ[ειριεύς]
 Λεωντίδος
 [---]ς Λευκίου Δειρα[διώτης]
 5 [----- Δειρ]αδιώτη[ς]
 [----- Λε]υκογο[εύς]
 [-----]

The text belongs to a catalogue of epheboi, arranged by phylai. The demotic in line 2 belongs to Pandionis; those in lines 4-6 belong to Leontis. There has been some uncertainty about the affiliation of the deme Deiradiotai in the period of the thirteen phylai,⁶¹ but the demotic has been known in Leontis at least since Graindor's text of *I.G.*, II², 2103, line 98. I have verified his reading ΔΕΙ on the excellent squeeze at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton.

107 (Plate 20). Fragment of a small dedicatory plaque of Pentelic marble, broken at the top, found in the wall of a modern house at the north foot of the Areopagus (L-M 17-18) on October 9, 1936.

⁶¹ Von Schoeffler in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. Δῆμοι, for example, says "Phyle nicht bezeugt."

⁶² See James A. Notopoulos, *A.J.P.*, LXIX, 1948, pp. 417-418; Demetrius J. Georgacas, *Cl. Phil.*, XLIII, 1948, pp. 243-260.

⁶³ See the altar to Zeus Hypsistos published in *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 43, no. 34; and for similar monuments see the notes on the inscription published in *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 90, no. 35.

Height, 0.098 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.043 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 4294.

saec. II/III *p.*

Χρυσάριν ὑψίσ
 τω εὐχῆν

There are letters at the sides of the central decoration, which resembles two cylinders; the principal text is in two lines at the bottom. For similar dedications, see *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 90, no. 35 with references there cited. The name Χρυσάριν is, of course, equivalent to Χρυσάριον.⁶²

108 (Plate 20). Small dedicatory altar of Pentelic marble, found on March 18, 1936, in a late context west of the Odeion (J 11). The stone is broken at the bottom, but the roughly finished surface of a depression in the top is preserved.⁶³ A boukranion in relief appears on the front and another on the back; there are sheaves of wheat on the sides.

Height, 0.105 m.; width, 0.085 m.; thickness, 0.08 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 3794.

saec. II/III *p.*

Γράτ<α> Ὑψί<σ>τ
 ω εὐχῆν

The inscription is illiterate, but however restored shows, I believe, a dedication to Zeus Hypsistos. The first five letters are probably the feminine of the Latin name Gratus. The cross-bar was not cut in the second *alpha*.

109 (Plate 20). Small inscribed base of Pentelic marble, found on February 4, 1936, near the surface west of the Odeion. Portions of the top, bottom, and of all four sides are preserved. The back is rough-picked; the left side is plain; the front and right sides each show a large bird in low relief. There is a slight depression in the top of the base.

Height, 0.182 m.; width, 0.092 m.; thickness, 0.08 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 3328.

ca. a. 200 p.

Λεύκιος
Εὐπορία(ι)
εὐχῆν

110 (Plate 20). Fragment of Hymettian marble, with rough-picked surface and rough-picked top preserved, but otherwise broken, found among stones from the center of the Market Square on June 11, 1936.

Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.33 m.; thickness, 0.325 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 4249.

saec. III p.

[-----]ς κράτιστ[ος-----]
[-----]

The letters are carelessly cut; possibly a dedication.

111 (Plate 20). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with the left side preserved (smooth) but otherwise broken, found among stones collected in the area of the Tholos in the summer of 1935.

Height, 0.108 m.; width, 0.067 m.; thickness, 0.024 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 3092.

saec. III p.

Ἐπιτυγχά[νων-----]
Εὐβουλίδ[ης-----]
Λεύκιος Εὐ[-----]
Λεωνίδης Τ[-----]
5 Δημήτριος [-----]
[Ε]ὐφρημος Α[-----]
[Ἀσ]κληπιά[δης-----]
[Ἡρ]οδιανὸ[ς-----]
[Ἡλ]ιδωρο[ς-----]
10 [Αἰ]μίλ·¹ [-----]

The stone resembles the ephebic lists of the third century after Christ (notably, in its lettering, *I.G.*, II², 2239 and 2245), but I have so far not associated it with any known catalogue.

112 (Plate 20). Part of a boundary stone of Pentelic marble, with the rough-picked top and right side preserved, found in the wall of a modern house at the north foot of the Areopagus (M 16-17) on December 2, 1936. A moulding 0.105 m. high across the top of the face has been chiseled away.

Height, 0.46 m.; width, 0.19 m.; thickness, 0.175 m.

Height of letters, 0.05 m.

Inv. No. I 4309.

saec. V a.

[ἡ ό ρ] ο ς

113 (Plate 21). Four fragments of a stele of Pentelic marble, which contained a catalogue of names, apparently of the phyle Pandionis. There is no join between any of the fragments.

a. A small area of the right lateral face is preserved (smooth-picked) but the stone is otherwise broken; found on May 23, 1933, in a late Roman context east of the Tholos (H 11).

Height, 0.126 m.; width, 0.195 m.; thickness, 0.075 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 852.

b. Broken on all sides; found on May 30, 1933, in a late Roman context east of the Tholos (H 11).

Height, 0.08 m.; width, 0.14 m.; thickness, 0.045 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 897.

c. Part of the right side is preserved, but the stone is otherwise broken; found on June 11, 1937, in the Long Late Roman Wall northeast of the Odeion (N 7).

Height, 0.155 m.; width, 0.235 m.; thickness, 0.379 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 4965.

d. Part of the bottom surface is preserved; found on June 10, 1935, in a late pit outside the Market Square to the southwest (E 14).

Height, 0.065 m.; width, 0.152 m.; thickness, 0.078 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 2997.

The stone is so preserved to the right of the text in fragment *d* that this cannot be placed in the same column of names with fragments *a* and *c*. The inscription must, therefore, have had at least two columns of names. The demotic [*O]αθεν in fragment *c* belongs to the phyle Pandionis. Assuming that the catalogue contained names of this phyle arranged by demes, we must restore a demotic also for the letters [- - - -]ιοι in fragment *d*. Whether the second line of fragment *b* represents a name or a demotic remains uncertain; in any case the appearance of *eta* in this mid fifth-century text is notable. The inscription is stoichedon with an almost square chequer pattern in which the units measure 0.015 m.

ca. a. 450 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Col. I
d [- - - - -]ιοι
[- - - - -]ον
vacat

Col. II

a [. . . .]ν
[. . . .]ας
5 [Θρα]σονίδες
[Χα]ιριμέν<ε>ς
[.]ρι[- - - -]
lacuna
b [- - -]ίμαχος
[- - -]ης
10 [- - -]ς Φιλι[- -]
lacuna
c Κομίας
Λ[ύ]κισ
Δ[ε]ισίθεος
[*Ο]αθεν
15 [Ἀν]θεμίον
[Σ]ιβ[ύ]ρτιο[ς]
[.]ΦΟΠΙ[- -]
lacuna

114 (Plate 21). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken away at the top and bottom, found on March 13, 1935, in a modern context west of the Stoa of Attalos (O 11). The right side is smooth; at the left is a channel hacked when the original stone was split in two. The back shows traces of rough picking, though the surface has been smoothed by use as a threshold block.

Height, 0.385 m.; width, 0.325 m.; thickness, 0.158 m.

Height of letters, 0.014 m.

Inv. No. I 2608.

med. saec. V a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[. . .]ανδ[ρος]
Παρθένιος
Ἑκατ[αί]ο[ς]
Νυ[μ]φ[όδο]το[ς]
5 ν[- - - -]
Νοθι[- - -]
Πανθοίδης
Ἀλνάτης
Μελάμππος
10 Μενόιτης
[Ἀ]λκμεωνίδης

[E] ὑμῶδης
 [Ἀρα] σίμανδρος
 [...⁶...] κράτης
 15 [- - - - -]

The late cutting of the stone shows that at least one other column of names stood at the left of the present text. The use of Ionic lettering, which can only be dated here near the middle of the fifth century B.C., and the Ionic (Aeolic) connotation of the names proclaim this to be a register of non-Athenians. In general appearance it resembles the public funeral monuments, many fragments of which have come from the cemetery of the Kerameikos, and it is tempting to associate this stone with one of the known monuments. Pausanias mentions graves in the Kerameikos commemorating men who fought with Kimon in eastern waters (Eurymedon and Kypros),⁶⁴ for either one of which the writing of this stone is permissible. Their burial at Athens is perhaps no more remarkable than the burial in Athens of the Argives who fell at Tanagra.⁶⁵ The names of the Argives were inscribed in Argive letters; for allies from Chios, from Lesbos, and the Lesbian peraia, and from Ionia, Ionic letters would be correspondingly appropriate. The existence of this stele, if our interpretation is correct, implies that the names of the allies were recorded separately from the names of the fallen Athenians.

I.G., I², 16, a decree concerning Phaselis of about the same date as the present text, is also written in Ionic letters. A comparison of these two documents has led me to no sure opinion about their relative dates, but in spite of the angular *rho* in the funeral list some of the letters in the Phaselis decree seem to me earlier in type, notably the wide *mu*, the *nu* with high right stroke, and the *upsilon* with its two curved and merging strokes which make it resemble more the shape of V than of Y.

⁶⁴ Pausanias, I, 29, 11 and 13-14.

⁶⁵ See *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 351-355, no. 4.

115 (Plate 22). Three fragments of Pentelic marble found in the Agora (*a*, *b*, and *c*) belong with a small piece already known (*d*) to make part of a catalogue of names from the fifth century B.C.

a. Broken on all sides; found on May 31, 1933, in a late wall in a tower of the Late Roman Fortification, at the southwest corner of the Library of Pantainos (R 15).

Height, 0.18 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.08 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.01 m.-0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 920.

b. Broken on all sides; found on June 7, 1933, in the wall of a late bothros southwest of the Library of Pantainos (Q 15).

Height, 0.39 m.; width, 0.09 m.; thickness, 0.11 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.014 m.

Inv. No. I 955.

c. Broken on all sides; found on June 18, 1935, in modern context west of the Stoa of Attalos (P 12).

Height, 0.095 m.; width, 0.042 m.; thickness, 0.035 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 3047.

d. *I.G.*, I, Suppl., p. 55, no. 555 *h*. (not in *I.G.*, I²). The stone is now in the Epigraphical Museum, where it bears the inventory number 6719β. The attribution to this inscription was made by A. E. Raubitschek.

The inscription is stoichedon, with a chequer pattern in which the units measure horizontally 0.027 m. and vertically 0.019 m.

ca. a. 440 *a*.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

a [- - . .] ι [- - - -]
 [- - . .] τ ο τ [- - - -]

- 5 [- - .] φον[- - - -]
 [- - .] δε[- - - -]
 [- - .] γ[- - - -]
 [- - .] Ν[- - - -]
 [- - .] \ [- - - -]
 lacuna
b [. . . .] α[- - - -]
 [. . . .] ι[- - - -]
 10 [. . . .] ο[- - - -]
 [. . . .] χσ[- - - -]
 [. . . .] ον[- ? - -]
 [. . .] όμα[χος]
 [. . .] ποδ[- - - -]
 15 [. . .] ον^v
 [. . .] παι[- - - -]
 [. . .] δοσ[- - - -]
 [. . .] ισο[- - - -]
 [. . .] ιπο[- - - -]
 20 [. . .] σα[- - - -]
 [. . .] κλ[- - - -]
 [. . .] γο[- - - -]
 [. . .] οπ[- - - -]
 lacuna
c [- - - -] ν
 25 [- - - -] ας
 [- - -] *vacat*
 [- - -] *vacat*
 lacuna
d [- - -] \Ο [- - -]
 [- - -] ΝΟ [- - -]
 30 [- - -] ΜC [- - -]
 [- - -] *vacat*
 [- - -] ΘΕ [- - -]
 [- - -] \Ο [- - -]
 [- - -] ΟΞ [- - -]
 35 [- - - -] C [- - -]
 lacuna

In line 28 the first letter is probably either *kap̄pa* or *chi*, and in line 32 the first letter is *theta*. In line 31 there is an uninscribed space on the stone, not indicated in *I.G.*, I, Suppl., p. 55, no. 555*h*. Numerous restorations suggest themselves for the names in fragment *b*, but since so much is uncertain I have made no supplements.

116 (Plate 19). Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, with the badly weathered right side and the back (lightly gouged with the chisel) preserved, found in the wall of a modern house west of the Eleusinion (R 19) on September 24, 1937.

Height, 0.025 m.; width, 0.215 m.; thickness, 0.11 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 5013.

saec. V *a.*

[Κρ]ίτον
 [Νι]κοφδόν
 [. .] μόν
 [. . .] ίνες
 5 [Κεφι]σογέ[νες]
 [. . . χ]άρες

The text is stoichedon, with a chequer pattern in which the units measure 0.0184 m. vertically by 0.0167 m. horizontally. The stone apparently was part of a public funeral monument.

117 (Plate 23). Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on December 4, 1935, in the wall of a modern house west of the north end of the Stoa of Attalos (O 8).

Height, 0.205 m.; width, 0.098 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.-0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 3084.

ca. med. saec. IV *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[- - - - - - - - - -]
 [. . .] λαος Α[- - - - -]
 [. .] ρων Α[- - - - -]
 [. .] ράμβωλ[ος - - - -]
 5 [Κ]λεόστρατ[ος - - - -]
 Ἀγαθοκλῆς Ι[- - - - -]
 Ἐπαίνετος Ἀ[- - - - -]
 Φύλακος Τι[- - - - -]
 Φιλέας Φυ[- - - - -]
 10 Εὐγείτων [- - - - -]
 Ἐγρετος Εὐμ[- - - - -]

Κλεόνικος / [- - - -]
 Λυσιμαχίδα[s - - - -]
 Ἰερακίδας Ε[- - - -]
vacat

The catalogue contains a number of non-Athenian names (e.g. in lines 4, 13, 14, and possibly 2) and it may well be that all were foreigners. The nature of the break shows that at least one column should probably be restored at the left of that here preserved.

118 (Plate 23). Two joining fragments of Pentelic marble, with part of the left side preserved, found in a modern wall north of the center of the Market Square (L-M 7) on May 27 and on June 1, 1936.

Height, 0.28 m.; width, 0.125 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.
 Height of letters, 0.008 m.
 Inv. No. I 4199.

saec. IV/III *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

N[. .] μ[- - -]
 Δημο[- - -]
 Κίττ[os]
 Μερεσ[- - -]
 5 Πίστος
 Εὐμήνη[os]
 Τήρη[s]
 Πλάτω[ν]
 Στρόμ[βιχος]
 10 [. .] ρω[ν]
 [Δ] ειν[ο] κρ[- -]
 Διονύσιω[s]
 Εὐμάθης
 Πίστος
 15 Τίμων[- ?]
 [Μ] ένω[ν]
 [-] σ[- - -]

119 (Plate 20). Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, with a funerary relief, found on March 20, 1935, in the wall of a modern house east of the northern part of the Odeion (N 9). The original top, back, inscribed moulding, and relief surface have been in part preserved; the stone is broken at both sides and at the bottom.

Height, 0.205 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.075 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m.

Inv. No. I 2638.

init. saec. IV *a.*

ἦρως [- - - - -]

The scene depicted is that of a funerary banquet. The name of the departed is missing, but must have stood on the moulding above his figure.⁶⁶ His right arm and a knee are preserved, and he holds a ram's head rhyton in drinking position. Evidently he was seated or reclining on a couch, in a pose like that of the famous relief from the Peiraeus now in the museum at Athens.⁶⁷ An attendant holding a box in the left hand faces the principal figure. I include the text here among the sepulchral inscriptions and refer the reader to Eitrem's discussion "Der Heros in der Kunst" in P. W., *R.E.*, s.v. Heros, col. 1142.

120 (Plate 19). Fragment of a grave monument of Pentelic marble, found on February 5, 1935, in a modern context over the East Stoa (O 14). Part of the left side is preserved; the stone is broken at the bottom, which has been used as a step; there is the start of a moulding above the letters and on the left face.

Height, 0.105 m.; width, 0.60 m.; thickness, 0.28 m.

Height of letters, ca. 0.021 m.

Inv. No. I 2407.

⁶⁶ This accounts for the order of words; ἦρως usually follows the name on tombstones, and is not uncommon on simple gravestones of late date. See, for example, *I.G.*, II², 13186, a columella recently found in the Agora.

⁶⁷ See Franz Winter, *Kunstgeschichte in Bildern*, p. 316, no. 2.

saec. IV *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Νικομάχη *vacat*

Ἡγεσί[λε]ω ἐκ Θρ[ιασίων]

121 (Plate 22). Part of a monumental grave stele of Pentelic marble, with the left side preserved, made up of two joining fragments found on October 9 and November 26, 1935, in modern walls at the west end of South Stoa II (K-L 15).

Height, 0.225 m.; width, 0.24 m.; thickness, 0.078 m.

Height of letters, 0.032 m. (lines 2-3) and 0.025 m. (lines 4-5).

Inv. No. I 3103.

saec. IV *a.*

[-----]

Χαβ[ρίον]

ἐξ Οἴ[ον]

Λεων[ίδης]

5 Λεωσ[-----]

[-----]

The patronymic in line 5 was either Λεωσ[θέ-
νους] or Λεωσ[τράτου].

122 (Plate 20). Fragment of a grave monument of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, but with traces of a moulding preserved above the letters, found on September 21, 1935, in the wall of a modern house southwest of the Church of the Holy Apostles (N-O 16).

Height, 0.138 m.; width, 0.305 m.; thickness, 0.216 m.

Height of letters, 0.018 m. (line 1) and 0.012 m. (line 2).

Inv. No. I 3093.

saec. IV *a.*

[Εὐφρόν]ιος Ἀρτέμω[νος-----]

[Ἀν]θηδὼν Εὐφρονίου γ[υνή]

For the name Anthedon, see *I.G.*, II², 12373.

123 (Plate 22). Upper right corner of a grave stele (with rosettes) of Pentelic marble, with crowning mouldings, the right side, and rough-picked back partially preserved, found on October 30, 1935, in the wall of a modern house west of the Odeion (K 10).

Height, 0.36 m.; width, 0.27 m.; thickness, 0.15 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 3186.

saec. IV *a.*

[-----] Ἀντικράτ[ου] Μαραθω(νίου)

[θυγάτηρ-----]ς γυνή

[-----] Ἀντικράτου

Unless it be assumed that the demotic in line 1 was abbreviated the name and demotic of the husband in line 2 must be taken as unduly short. It is my belief that the monument was erected for a daughter of Antikrates, who was inscribed with the full name of her father and of her husband, and that the name of an unmarried sister was added in the space of one line between her inscription and the rosettes. The demotic of Antikrates (the father) had already been recorded in line 1.

124 (Plate 21). Grave stele of Pentelic marble with the head and shoulders of a man facing right preserved in a relief-panel below the text. The stone is broken at the right and bottom. It was found near the center of the Market Square (K 10) on May 9, 1936.

Height, 0.285 m.; width, 0.25 m.; thickness, 0.092 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 4118.

saec. IV *a.*

Νικόδημος Νικοδ[-----]

(rosette)

Νικόδημος *vacat*

(figure of a man)

125 (Plate 20). Part of a pedimental grave stele of Pentelic marble, with a bit of the upper right sloping edge and the rough-picked back preserved, found outside the southeast corner of the Market Square (S 17) on May 22, 1936.

Height, 0.253 m.; width, 0.297 m.; thickness, 0.094 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 4163.

saec. IV *a.*

[Π]ασικ[λῆς]
[Ε]πικράτ[ους]
[Π]αιαν[ιεύς]
[Ε]πικ[ράτης]
5 [Πα]σι[κλέους]
[Παιανιεύς]

126 (Plate 20). Upper left corner of a pedimental grave stele of Pentelic marble, found west of the Stoa of Attalos (O 8) on May 21, 1936. The pediment and akroterion are indicated in low relief, and below the inscription is a moulding (cyma reversa).

Height, 0.174 m.; width, 0.202 m.; thickness, 0.091 m.

Height of letters, 0.013 m.-0.017 m.

Inv. No. I 4178.

saec. IV *a.*

Φοῖνιξ

For the name, see, e.g., *I.G.*, II², 6831 and 12335.

127 (Plate 23). Fragment from a funerary lekythos of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides but with part of the shoulder preserved, found among stones from the central area of the Market Square on June 12, 1936.

Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.11 m.; thickness, 0.062 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 4252.

saec. IV *a.*

[-----] Ζεύξιπ[ος]
[-----] *vacat*
[-----] *vacat*
[γν]νῆ

128 (Plate 25). Fragment of a grave stele of Hymettian marble, with rounded top and back preserved but broken below, found in the wall of a modern house at the north foot of the Areopagus (M-N 16-17) on November 17, 1936.

Height, 0.256 m.; width, 0.293 m.; thickness, 0.068 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 4302.

saec. IV *a.*

Προκλείδης
Πολυράτου
[-----]

129 (Plate 22). Fragment of a grave stele of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found near the surface on Eponymon Street (J-K 9-10) in July of 1936.

Height, 0.107 m.; width, 0.14 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.017 m.

Inv. No. I 4331.

saec. IV *a.*

[. . . .]ς Πυρρα[---]
[Ἡρακ]λειώτης

130 (Plate 19). Grave stele of Pentelic marble, with the smooth left face and rough-picked back preserved but otherwise broken, found in a context of late Roman date south of the Market Square (P 19) on May 5, 1938.

Height, 0.175 m.; width, 0.125 m.; thickness, 0.075 m.

Height of letters, 0.018 m.

Inv. No. I 5432.

saec. IV *a.*

[E]ϛθυλλ[α - -]
 θυγάτηρ[ρ - - -]
 Αευκον[οέως γυνή]
 [.]^∩[- - -]

Traces of a name appear in line 4. Euthylla is known as a name from the tombstone of Biote of the late fifth century (*I.G.*, II², 10954). She and the Euthylla of the present text (the name is rare) may have been identical.

131 (Plate 21). Grave stele of Pentelic marble, with a rounded pediment, found in the wall of a modern house at the north foot of the Areopagus (M-N 16-17) on October 17, 1936. The bottom of the stele is broken away.

Height, 0.298 m.; width, 0.287 m.; thickness, 0.077 m.

Height of letters, 0.013 m.

Inv. No. I 4298.

saec. IV/III *a.*

χρηστὸς ἀνὴρ Μάνη[ς]
 νακοτίλτης
 ἐνθάδε κε[ῖται]

The occupation of the deceased was sometimes added after the name. Manes is here described as a shearers. Cf., e.g., *I.G.*, II², 11244, 11254, 11647, 11689, etc.

132 (Plate 22). A gravestone of Hymettian marble, with the left side and top preserved, found in the wall of a modern house at the north foot of the Areopagus (M 16-17) on December 2, 1936.

Height, 0.248 m.; width, 0.194 m.; thickness, 0.075 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 4307.

saec. IV/III *a.*

Σωτήρ[ιος]
 Μαιώτη[ς]
 χρηστ[ός]

The masculine endings give a better symmetrical arrangement than the feminine: Σωτήρ[ία] Μαιωτί[ς] χρηστ[ή]. But the matter is uncertain.

133 (Plate 25). Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble found in the wall of a modern drain north of the railway in the northwest corner of the Market Square (E 3) on May 20, 1936. The columella was twice used, the two inscriptions appearing on opposite sides.

Height, 0.92 m.; diameter, 0.335 m.

Height of letters, 0.027 m. (A) and 0.015 m.-0.032 m. (B).

Inv. No. I 4164.

A

saec. III *a.*

Μενίσκος
 Δημητρίου
 ἐκ Κεραμέων

B

saec. III *p.*

Δρ<ο>μ<ο>κλής
 Παραμόνου
 Παιανιεύς

In B, the stone has Δρωμωκλής.

134 (Plate 22). Fragment of a columnar grave monument of Pentelic marble, with the top preserved, found in a modern wall east of the Stoa of Attalos (O 8) on June 1, 1936.

Height, 0.178 m.; width, 0.184 m.; thickness, 0.058 m.

Height of letters, 0.017 m.

Inv. No. I 4238.

saec. III *a.*

Ἐπιγέ[νης]
 Φιλοκ[λέους]
 [- - - -]

This stone was published by W. Peek, *Abh. Ak. Berlin*, 1956, no. 3, p. 34 (114), where he restored the patronymic as Φιλοκ[λέος]. Con-

siderations of symmetry suggest rather the normal form Φιλοκ[λέους].

135 (Plate 22). A columnar grave monument, now republished by W. Peek,⁶⁸ of which I offered a drawing in 1934.⁶⁹ I examined the stone again in 1958, and now confirm (as quite clear) the original reading of the husband's demotic. The text is to be restored:

saec. III/II *a.*

[-----]
[---]ο[v]
[Στει]ρίεως
[θv]γάτηρ
5 [. . .]άντοϋ
[Πει]ρ<α>ιέως
[γ]υνή

136 (Plate 22). Top of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in a late Roman context west of the central part of the Stoa of Attalos (P-Q 9-10) on May 25, 1937.

Height, 0.152 m.; diameter, 0.262 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 4925.

saec. II *a.*

[Γ]λύκων
[Ε]πιμ[^{ca.} 4]
[-----]

137 (Plate 19). Grave stele of Pentelic marble, with the top and right side preserved, found in a modern wall west of the Stoa of Attalos (O 8) on June 1, 1936. The stele has a niche framed with pilasters (that on the left is lost), and above the inscribed field were mouldings

representing an entablature with the tiles of a roof above them.

Height, 0.135 m.; width, 0.272 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 4240.

saec. II *a.* (?)

[-----Π]αρμενίσκου
[-----]

138 (Plate 24). Part of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, broken at the bottom and chipped at the back, found on March 26, 1935, in a late context over the east end of the Middle Stoa or south of it (N 13-14).

Height, 0.201 m.; diameter, 0.18 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 2696.

saec. II/I *a.*

Ἰθ<v>κλῆς
[Ἀρι]{σ}τολάου
[Σου]ρι<ε>ύς

ΙΘΙΚΛΗΞ | --ΞΤΟΛΑΟΥ | --ΙΙΞΥΞ lapis

The name Ithykles is rare in Athens, and is known to occur only in Sounion.⁷⁰ The demotic should be restored as of Sounion here also in line 3, with a correction. Evidently the stonecutter spelled by sound (*e.g.*, Ἰθικλῆς for Ἰθυκλῆς) and sometimes badly (Σουνισύς for Σουνιεύς). I believe that an example of doubled *sigma* occurs in the patronymic, but this need cause no surprise, especially with this stonecutter.⁷¹

⁶⁸ *Abh. Ak. Berlin*, 1956, no. 3, p. 11 (4). See also R. E. A. Palmer in *A.J.A.*, LXIII, 1959, p. 311.

⁶⁹ *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 98, no. 135.

⁷⁰ Cf. G. A. Stamires, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 44, commenting on *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 35, no. 6, line 76.

⁷¹ Cf., for example, the name Ἀρισ{σ}τόλοχος in *I.G.*, II², 7313, as republished by J. H. Oliver in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 70, no. 36.

It is questionable whether the Ithykles of the present text was identical with the Ithykles of *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 35, no. 6, line 76. They may have been the same; if not, they were surely of the same family.

139 (Plate 23). Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found near the surface in context of the sixth century after Christ south of the Market Square (O 19) on February 23, 1938.

Height, 0.215 m.; diameter, 0.185 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 5268.

saec. II/I *a.*

Ἰλα[ρον]

Φρυ[γία]

The symmetry of the text suggests the name Ἰλα[ρον] rather than Ἰλά[ρα] for the restoration.

140 (Plate 24). Part of a columnar grave monument of Pentelic marble, broken at the bottom and at the back, found on December 30, 1936, in the wall of a modern house at the north foot of the Areopagus (M-N 18).

Height, 0.341 m.; diameter, 0.326 m.

Height of letters, 0.036 m.

Inv. No. I 4329.

saec. I *a.*

Ἐπίκτητο[ς]

Π[αμ]μένο[ν]

[Μιλ]ήσι[ος]

This text was published by W. Peek, *Abh. Ak. Berlin*, 1956, no. 3, p. 27 (78), but with the patronymic incorrectly read as [N]ικομένο[ν].

141 (Plate 24). Fragment of a grave stele of Hymettian marble, with a moulding above the inscription partially preserved, but broken at both sides and at the bottom, found in the wall of a modern house south of the Market Square

(O 21) on October 25, 1937. The back is rough-picked.

Height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.17 m.; thickness, 0.058 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 5063.

saec. I *a.*

[Π]αραμ[όνα]

[Κ]όμων[ος]

Θηβα[ίου]

[θ]υγ[άτηρ]

142 (Plate 24). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with the top and bottom preserved but otherwise broken, found in a modern wall northeast of the Odeion (N 8) on March 7, 1938. A moulding above the inscription has been broken away. The stone itself was probably the capping stone of a funeral monument.

Height, 0.154 m.; width, 0.286 m.; thickness, 0.155 m.

Height of letters, 0.028 m.-0.035 m.

Inv. No. I 5309.

saec. I *a.*

Ἀκτῆι Εὐμό[λπον]

ἐκ Κηφ[ισιέων]

For the added iota in line 1, see *I.G.*, II², 9181 and note.

143 (Plate 24). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with part of the rough-picked back preserved but broken on all sides, found in the wall of a modern house in the area of the Church of the Holy Apostles (L-M 15) on March 26, 1936. There is a plain moulding above the inscription.

Height, 0.26 m.; width, 0.42 m.; thickness, 0.106 m.

Height of letters, 0.028 m.

Inv. No. I 3898.

saec. I/II *p.*

[Ἰε]ρὸν Τεττίον Ε[— — — θυγά]

[τηρ] Γλανκίου Π[εργαμηνοῦ (?)]
 [γυν]ή^{vv} Προσδό[κιμος^{vvv}]
 [Γλαν]κίου Μειλήσ[ιος vacat]

The stone was a funeral monument, commemorating Hiero daughter of Tettios and wife of Glaukias and commemorating also Prosdokimos of Miletos. Hiero and Prosdokimos were probably related; this is suggested by the restoration [Γλαν]κίου in line 4. The assumption is here made that Prosdokimos had become a Milesian, whereas his father was of a different nationality (Pergamene?). The left margin of the four lines is best preserved if the name in line 1 is restored as [Ιε]ρώ rather than as [Η]ρώ (too short) or as [Μυ]ρώ (too long).

144 (Plate 24). Part of a large columnar grave monument of Pentelic marble, with traces of a raised surface in relief below the letters, found west of the Stoa of Attalos (O 7) on May 25, 1936.

Height, 0.118 m.; width, 0.188 m.; thickness, 0.089 m.

Height of letters, 0.019 m.-0.024 m.

Inv. No. I 4210.

aet. Rom.

[- - - -]
 [Ὀνη]σίμου
 [Ἀθ]μονεύς
 (relief)

145 (Plate 24). Fragment of a columnar grave monument with part of the top preserved, found on March 12, 1936, in a late Byzantine context north of the Odeion (M 8).

Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.22 m.; thickness, 0.075 m.

Height of letters, 0.016 m.-0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 3752.

aet. Rom.

[Κλ]αύδιος
 [. . .]στρατος
 [Ἀτ]τηνεύς

The lines began apparently with a common left margin, and the spacing of letters in the demotic allows three missing letters to be restored.

146 (Plate 24). Fragment from a cylindrical grave monument, broken on all sides, found in the wall of a modern house at the north foot of the Areopagus (N 17) on December 1, 1936. There was a fillet, roughly dressed, and above it an inscription in large letters, three of which only are preserved. Below the fillet was a neatly finished frame, with an inscription along the top fascia, enclosing a field with a rosette in relief and another line of inscription.

Height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.28 m.; thickness, 0.125 m.

Height of letters, 0.032 m. (line 1) and 0.015 m. (lines 2 and 3).

Inv. No. I 4304.

aet. Rom.

Εὔκ[- - - -]
 Εἰσὺν γόνῃ Εἰσαε[- ? - -]
 Ἐλευ[σινία]

The feminine demotic was occasionally used in later years (e.g., *I.G.*, II², 6255, 6780, 6781, 6810, etc.). I suspect an error at the end of line 2, but have no sure suggestion for its resolution.

147 (Plate 24). Block of Pentelic marble from a grave monument, much chipped and worn, with the right side and top preserved, found in the wall of a modern house southeast of the Market Square, east of the Panathenaic Way (T-U 22), on January 30, 1937. The inscribed fasciae were part of an entablature, which returns at the right. The top surface has a dowel hole and a clamp cutting.

Height, 0.355 m.; width, *ca.* 0.64 m.; thickness, 0.207 m.

Height of letters, 0.018 m.-0.035 m.

Inv. No. I 4444.

aet. Rom.

[-----]ας Νικησὺ τοῦ
[-----] ἐξ Ἐλευσινίων

148 (Plate 24). Fragment of a grave stele of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in the wall of a modern house at the north foot of the Areopagus (K 16-17) on November 30, 1936.

Height, 0.163 m.; width, 0.30 m.; thickness, 0.278 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 4283.

aet. Rom.

[- - - - -]
Μιλτι[άδου]
Λαμπ[τρέως]
vacat

149 (Plate 24). Columnar grave monument, with part of the inscribed surface and the top preserved but otherwise broken, brought to the Museum of the Agora by a workman who claimed to have found it in a building on Akamas Street, on February 29, 1936.

Height, 0.322 m.; width, 0.203 m.; thickness, 0.207 m.

Height of letters, 0.035 m.

Inv. No. I 3656.

aet. Rom.

Ἰσίδο[τος]
Σαραπί[ωνος]
Φ[λυεύς]

The symmetrical arrangement of the lines suggests the demotic.

150 (Plate 24). Fragment of a grave stele of Pentelic marble, with the right side preserved and with traces of moulding above the inscription but otherwise broken, found in the wall of a modern house west of the Eleusinion (R 18) on October 12, 1937.

Height, 0.073 m.; width, 0.265 m.; thickness, 0.157 m.

Height of letters, 0.021 m.

Inv. No. I 5027.

aet. Rom.

[- -]νις Ἡρακλε[ί.ου]
[Βη]ρύτιος

The surface is largely lost at the center of the ethnic, but apparently no letter was there inscribed. Possibly the head of a sculptured figure (now lost) led to the division.

151 (Plate 24). A gravestone of Pentelic marble, found on March 31, 1934, in a late well in the Metroon (H 9). This fragment comes from near the center of the pedimental top, and is broken on both sides and at the bottom. Below the band which carries the inscription the face of the stele was cut back to a background depth of 0.05 m., presumably for a sculptured funerary relief; the tympanum was plain.

Height, 0.263 m.; width, 0.156 m.; thickness, 0.085 m.

Height of letters, 0.019 m. (nu).

Inv. No. I 1730.

aet. Rom.

[Σ]ύμφωρος
Ζωσί[μω]

The second line was cut in a different hand from the first, and was perhaps added to distinguish the Symphoros of the stele from others of the same name. Symphoros here was perhaps identical with the ἐπέγραφος Σύμφωρος Ζωσίμων of the ephebic list *I.G.*, II², 2097 (line 145) of A.D. 169/70.

152 (Plate 24). Grave stele of Pentelic marble, with the left side, top, and rough-picked back preserved, brought to the excavations from the corner of Benaki Street and University Avenue on May 14, 1936. At the left is a panel with a coarse ivy leaf; in the center is the representation of a door.

Height, 0.274 m.; width, 0.228 m.; thickness, *aet. Rom.*
0.207 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.-0.018 m.

Inv. No. I 4159.

[T]ατιάς Διογένη(ι) [μνίας]
χάριν καὶ ἐαντῇ(ι)
καὶ τὰ τέκνα
Ὀνήσιμος, Τεισ[---]

153 (Plate 25). Part of a pedimental stele of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides but with a series of mouldings and part of the pediment preserved above the inscribed surface, found on May 16, 1938, in the wall of a modern house south of the Market Square (O-P 18).

Height, 0.35 m.; width, 0.25 m.; thickness, 0.19 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 5458.

a. 219/8 *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 36-38

[ἐπὶ Χαι]ρεφώντος ἄρχ[οντος ἐπὶ τῆς ---⁸⁻⁹---]
[δευτέρα]ς πρυτανείας [ἡι Φ ---^{ca. 15}--- Κυ]
[δαντίδης ἐγραμμ]άτευ[εν· Μεταγεινιῶνος ὀγδό]
[ει ἐπὶ δέκα, εἰκοστῇ τ]ῆς [πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία·]
5 [τῶν προέδρων ἐπειρήφ]ιζ[εν ---^{ca. 16}---]
[---^{ca. 8}--- καὶ συμπρόε]δρ[οι ---⁶⁻⁷---]

The number of the prytany should be restored either as second or fourth (a matter of spacing of letters). Within the second prytany the dates shown in lines 3-4 give a satisfactory equation for an ordinary year. But dates in the fourth prytany are also possible. The other known decree of Chairephon's year is published in *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 298-299, no. 59.

154 (Plate 23). Upper right corner of a flat-topped stele of Pentelic marble, with a simple moulding above the inscribed surface, found in the nineteenth-century repair of the Late Roman Fortification Wall (T 27), opposite Klepsydra, on May 25, 1938.

Height, 0.123 m.; width, 0.25 m.; thickness (original), 0.07 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 5469.

a. 139/8 *a.* (?)

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 44

[ἐπὶ Διοκλέους (?) ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τ]ῆς Ἱπποθωντίδος ἐνάτ[ης]
[πρυτανείας ἡι ---^{ca. 13}---]κλέους Θριάσιος ἐγ[ραμ]
[μάτευεν· Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος ἐνά]τηι ἰσταμένον [---⁶⁻⁷---]

- [τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία ἐν τ]ῶι θεάτρῳ τῶν π[ροέδρων]
 5 [ἐπεψήφισεν ---- ^{ca. 14} ----] ὕμνου Χολαργεῶ[ς καὶ συμ]
 [πρόεδροι· ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλευεῖ καὶ] τῶι δήμῳ· Εὐ[^{ca. 8} ----]
 [---- ^{ca. 15} ---- εἶπεν· ἐπειδ]ὴ Νικάνωρ Νικοκ[λέους . . .]
 [---- ἀποφαίνει ----] δην Κρατίνου Λα[μπτρέα]
 [---- ^{ca. 26} ----] Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῖς [^{ca. 5-6} ----]
 10 [---- ^{ca. 26} ---- κ]αὶ κατὰ κοινὸν καὶ κατ' [ιδίαν]
 [---- ^{ca. 26} ---- βο]υλῆς καὶ φιλοτιμ[ίας τῆς]
 [---- ^{ca. 31} ----] τῶν [^{ca. 11} ----]

The decree gives part of the name and the demotic of a new secretary from the latter part of the second century. Since the deme Thria belongs to the phyle Oineis (VII), the inscription may be dated either in 151/0 or in 139/8, where the names of the secretaries are so far unknown.⁷² The approximate length of line is determined by sure restorations in lines 3, 4, and 6; into this pattern the name of Diokles (139/8) fits admirably in line 1, and the writing is better suited also to this the later of the two dates.

The orator Nikanor of lines 7-8 (not the orator of this decree) may be the same as [Ν]ικ[ά]νωρ [Νικ]οκλέου [---]εύς of *I.G.*, II², 7845; ⁷³ Kirchner dates this text *post fin. s.* IV *a.*, but this does not, in Kirchner's terminology, exclude a date in the second century. The present text implies that at the suggestion of Nikanor honors were voted to a benefactor whose name is partially preserved in line 8. For similar combinations, see, for example, *I.G.*, II², 896, 971, 978.

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⁷² See the list of archons in *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 95-96.

⁷³ I have restored the beginning of the patronymic.

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

(PLATES 26, 27)

155 (Plate 26). Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble, with the back, the left side, and part of a crowning moulding above the inscribed face preserved, found on November 30, 1937, in the wall of a modern house southeast of the Market Square (O 18).

Height, 0.18 m.; width, 0.215 m.; thickness, 0.096 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 5143.

HIPPARCHOI HONORED

ca. a. 160 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 65

Νικογένης Νί[κω]νος Φιλ[αίδης καὶ^{ca. 25}..... χειροτονηθέν] vacat?
 τες ἵππαρχο[ι] εἰς τὸν ἐν[ιαυτὸν τὸν ἐπὶ — — — — — ἀρχοντος.
 [. . .] μιᾶδης Γαργήτιο[ς] εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Νικογένης καὶ⁹⁻¹¹..... ἔθυσαν τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ]
 εἰσιτητήρια καλῶς κ[αὶ εὐσεβῶς, τὰς δὲ θυσίας ἐποίησαν τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πατρῷ]
 5 ιῷ καὶ τῷ Ποσειδῶνι [τῷ Ἰππίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς οἷς πάτριον ἦν, καὶ ἀρχό]
 μενοι ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν διε[τέλεσαν πράττοντες ὅσα προσῆκεν αὐτοῖς ἀκολούθως τοῖς]
 [τ]ε νόμοις καὶ τ[ο]ῖς ψηφ[ίσμασιν τοῦ δήμου, καὶ παρέιχον ἑαυτοὺς σπουδῆς καὶ φιλο]
 τιμίας οὐθὲν [ἐλλείποντας — — — — —]

Nikogenes, son of Nikon, of the Philaid deme, was already well known to us as a man of wealth active in public life during the second quarter of the second century B.C.,¹ and this new text is a welcome addition to a distinguished record. As befitted a citizen of means, horses were his particular interest; the quality of his horsemanship is evidenced by his appearance in the catalogue of victors at the Theseia in the archonship of Anthesterios (157/6 B.C.), and that it ran in the family is shown by the record of the same games in the year of Aristolas, four years previously,² when his son Lyandros won a victory with the ἵππος λαμπρός (lines 87-88); another son seems to have won one of the wrestling events (line 52), and Nikogenes himself, as lampadarch, helped the boys trained at the palaistra of Timeas to win the torch race in the junior section (lines 61-63). This particular set of games was an important one for

¹ See *P.A.*, 10850, where a *stemma* of the family is drawn up.

² *I.G.*, II², 957 and 956. For the dates see W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, 1940, pp. xxix-xxx.

Nikogenes, who had in fact been elected agonothetes for the occasion, had acquitted himself admirably in the performance of his duties, and had in consequence received a public vote of thanks and a crown of gold (lines 1-42). That he is also to be identified with the Nikogenes of the Athenian second-century coinage is advocated by Kirchner. He certainly showed himself public-spirited as far as personal capital was concerned, and is on record as having contributed sixty drachmai to the building fund of the theatre at Piraeus, registered in his own name and in those of his sons Lyandros and Nikogenes (*I.G.*, II², 2334, lines 4-5). It remains uncertain whether the *ἱεροποιός* Nikogenes of *I.G.*, II², 1938, line 6, was the father or the son.

The heading of the text is not that of the familiar honorary decree of the Council and Demos; there is no room for a prescript of an ordinary kind, and space permits no more than the *nomen* and *demoticum* of the person in line 3 who may be supposed to have proposed the motion. However, from this point onwards the inscription falls into general shape as containing the *Motivierung* of a decree in honor of a hipparch; the concluding section of a decree of this kind, belonging to a comparable date, is provided by *I.G.*, II², 895, and we may suppose the present text to have gone on to say much the same sort of thing. That more than one hipparch was concerned is confirmed by the plural ending at the beginning of line 2, though who Nikogenes's colleague was must be left unresolved. That it was his distinguished companion of *I.G.*, II², 957, lines 39-41, and member of the same phyle 'Οφέλας Ἀβρωνος Βατήθεν seems precluded by the amount of space available in line 1, if the length has been correctly assessed; this line does not vary from the rest of the inscription in the size and spacing of the lettering. Short names ran in Ophelas's family (cf. *P.A.*, 9). But line 1, with line 2, must have formed a simple heading, an announcement of what the inscription was about. The lengthy official preamble was dispensed with, perhaps in order that the merits of the persons honored could be reached with the greatest economy of time and money. Such was not infrequently the case in the *acta* of subdivisions of the body politic, private societies as well as minor groupings of the state organization like the phylai and demes; cf. for example *I.G.*, II², 1245, 1247, 1256, 1264 and the like. Since the proposer of the honors belonged to the same phyle as the hipparch, it may be suggested that this is the record of a decree of the phyle Aigeis.

The text appears to have followed fairly closely on the general pattern of honorary decrees, with an account of the hipparchs' success in office and of their merits now being recognized and rewarded. It is perhaps worth while remarking that in lines 4-5 two deities are singled out as having been particular recipients of their official attentions. One, Poseidon, is likely to have been Poseidon Hippios, a god particularly associated with the *hippeis*,³ and whose cult, on Kolonos Hippios, formed a center of

³ Cf. Aristophanes, *Equites*, 551, on which the scholiast comments (appositely for the present text) Οὐκ ἀργῶς τῷ Ποσειδῶνι νῦν τὸ ἐπίθετον ἔθηκε τοῦτο, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ χορὸς συνέστηκεν ἐξ ἱππέων.

“equestrian” association.⁴ *I.G.*, II², 4691, shows a dedication to him expressly associated with a *hippeus*, and it is very likely that hipparchoi will have had some official concern with sacrifices to him. That the other god was Apollo Patroos seems likely on general grounds of the god’s connection with Athenian official worship, as well as by reason of the indications at the beginning of line 5.⁵

156 (Plate 26). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on February 22, 1938, in a sandy fill of early Byzantine context west of the Late Roman Fortification Wall (S 19).

Height, 0.109 m.; width, 0.06 m.; thickness, 0.042 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5251.

ex. s. IV *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 28

[...⁸...] ΕΞ [...⁸...· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγ]
 [ραφὴν τῇ]ς στ[ήλης μερίσαι τὸν ταμί]
 [αν τοῦ δή]μον⁹ [ΔΔΔ⁹· δραχμὰς ἐκ τῶν]
 [εἰς τὰ κα]τὰ ψη[φίσματα ἀναλίσκομέ]
 5 [νων τῷ δ]ήμῳ. [*vacat*]
vacat

The fragment presents the concluding formula familiar in Athenian decrees of this period, whereby the *ταμίας τοῦ δήμου* is directed to provide the necessary funds, from those earmarked for the purpose, for the inscribing of the record.⁶ The length of line is established by the relationship of lines 4-5; the division of the lines, in a fragment of uncertain location on the stele, is necessarily arbitrary.

If the regularity of the stoichedon order be preserved, it will follow that, allowing for a second vacant space after the numeral in line 3 to balance that which precedes it and is attested on the stone, the cost of the stele must be restored as forty drachmai.

⁴ On the cult and sanctuary, cf. *I.G.*, I², 310, lines 141-2; Thuc. VIII, 67; Pausanias, I, 30, 4; W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², pp. 45, 414.

⁵ On the importance of Apollo Patroos in Athenian public cult see the material collected by R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, III, *Testimonia*, 1957, pp. 50-53. The cult was especially connected with phratry-organization, and perhaps the *hippeis*, as spiritual descendants of the old land-holding aristocracy of Attica as well as on the score of general *πάτριοι νόμοι*, had a particular association with it.

⁶ Cf., as random examples apart from those quoted in note 8, *I.G.*, II², 394, 396-7, 418, 424-6, 434-5, 448, 466, 479, 488, 505, 542, 589. The formula changes early in the third century.

If, as is noted by Larfeld,⁷ forty drachmai was the cost of a text containing 1500-2000 letters, the present inscription will have been some 38-50 lines long. Parallels for it are provided by *I.G.*, II², 493 (Στοιχ. 26) and 500 (Στοιχ. 28): but 500 cost only thirty drachmai, a figure which is much the most common among examples of the cost-formula, and a stele which cost forty, *I.G.*, II², 505, carried a text of 64 lines with a line-length of 39 letters, i.e., some 2500 letters. It seems therefore that Larfeld's assessment cannot be used as a guide in this case, and that the numeral in line 3 should be restored as thirty, not forty. This involves a slight violation of the stoichedon order, but this is not uncommon where numerals are involved and in inscriptions of this character and period.⁸

The cost-formula is generally preceded by that in which the secretary of the Boule is instructed to have the stele inscribed and set up, and the place where it is to stand is frequently specified (ἐν ἀκροπόλει, ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου, etc.). The letters preserved in line 1 do not readily fit with any acceptable site. Alternatively, this directive to the secretary might have been omitted, and one could then think in terms of phraseology customarily concluding, e.g., honorary decrees, among which that concerned with an invitation to dine at the Prytaneion (καλέσαι δὲ — — — ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐς αὔριον) would not come amiss.⁹ At this date, however, εἰς and not ἐς is to be expected, and I have felt it preferable to leave line 1 unresolved while noting the difficulties.

This little fragment could well belong with some larger piece, although a preliminary survey has established no likely association; the present publication may perhaps increase possible chances of identification by making the text and photograph more widely available.

157 (Plate 26). Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, with the inscribed face and smoothly dressed left side preserved, found on March 7, 1938, in the wall of a modern cellar west of the Late Roman Fortification Wall (Q 19).

Height, 0.172 m.; width, 0.113 m.; thickness, 0.107 m.

Height of letters, 0.004-0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5295.

⁷ W. Larfeld, *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik*, vol. II (Die Attischen Inschriften), 1902, p. 723.

⁸ Where instances of the same period using the same formula are concerned, *I.G.*, II², 516 (Στοιχ. 31), violates the stoichedon order twice, *I.G.*, II², 522, varies between 28 and 30 letters, and *I.G.*, II², 526 (Στοιχ. 34), has one line of 33 letters. It is probable that in *I.G.*, II², 571, the true cost may have been thirty drachmai, and that a vacant space should be postulated at the end of line 9. For *I.G.*, II², 505, see also A. Wilhelm, *Attische Urkunden*, V, 1942, pp. 183-4, n. LXIV.

⁹ On this formula see especially W. A. McDonald, *A.J.A.*, LIX, 1955, pp. 151-155; *S.E.G.*, XIV, 34.

A MAN OF PRIENE(?) HONORED

init. s. III a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 37

- reliquiae incertae* [— (e.g.) ποιεῖ ὃ τι δύναται ἀγαθὸν περ]
 [ἰ τ]ὸν δῆμον [τὸν Ἀθηναίων, ἐπαινέσαι . . .⁸ . . .]
 [. .] Ἀδμήτου Πρ[ιηνέα καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῶι στ]
 [εφ]άνωι ἀπὸ χιλ[ίων δραχμῶν ἀναγράψαι δὲ πρόξ]
 5 [εν]ὸν αὐτὸν [καὶ] εὐξ[ργέτην τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηνα]
 [ί]ων καὶ αὐ[τ]ὸ[ν] κα[ὶ] ἐκγόνους καὶ εἶναι αὐτοῖς π]
 [ρ]όσοδον πρὸς τῇ[ν βουλῇ καὶ τὸν δῆμον πρότοι]
 [ς] μετὰ τὰ ἱερὰ [καὶ ἐάν τις ἄλλον δέωνται κατ]
 [ὰ] τὸν νόμον ἐπ[—————]
 10 [. .] ΗΝΗΞΞΑΜ[—————]

The length of line proposed is based on the requirements of the well-known terminology of lines 7-8 reinforced by that of lines 3-4, as well as by the standard practice of the period for texts of this kind, in which a width of 26-40 letters includes the great majority of examples. In line 4, ἀπὸ χιλίων δραχμῶν customarily ends its phrase, and since the accusative termination is clear at the beginning of line 5 it seems preferable to supply ἀναγράψαι rather than the more usual εἶναι.

In line 3, the restoration of the ethnic conforms to the traces on the stone, ambiguous though these in fact are. The name Admetos is possibly more familiar from northern Greece, but examples in fact occur in the principal areas of Greece, and among them one from Priene itself (*Syll.*³, 282, line 24, of 333/2 B.C.). This Prienean Admetos is one of two *neopoiai* charged with the erection of the statue and stele to which the inscription refers; if the present text is correctly referred to the early third century B.C. and deals with a prominent Prienean citizen of a family of public note, the two Admeti might be identical.

Line 10 remains enigmatic. The third preserved letter has been transcribed as an *eta*; it was first noted as *iota*, but the upright seems too far off center for this to be a tenable interpretation. If Πρ[ιηνέα] was a reasonable guess in line 3, there may lurk concealed here some specific reference to Priene and Samos, whose differences troubled Aegean politics from time to time from the fifth through the second century B.C.¹⁰ In that case the text might read [Π[ρι]ήνης Σαμ[ι — — — —]. If ΞΑΜ represents the first three letters of the honorand's name, it becomes possible to suggest (e.g.) [τῆν κομίδ]ήν ἥς Σαμ[— — — — δέιται]. But speculations of this kind are out of place in the main publication of the text.

¹⁰ Cf. Thuc. I, 115, 2; *I.G.*, II², 566-7; *S.E.G.*, III, 86; *Syll.*³, 599, 688; M. N. Tod. *International Arbitration amongst the Greeks*, 1913, pp. 41-43, nn. LXI-LXV.

158 (Plate 26). To the text of the dedicatory base published in *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 279-282 with plate 56, a new fragment, discovered too late for inclusion with the original publication, may now be added. While making no firm join (only a bare contact) with the fragment I 5210, to the right of which it belongs, it supplies and confirms part of the text at the right-hand end of the base.

Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on both sides, at the back and at the bottom, found on April 22, 1959, in a modern context east of the Late Roman Fortification Wall (U 19).

Height, 0.19 m.; width, 0.18 m.; thickness, 0.1 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m. (line 2).

Inv. No. I 5201b.

ATHENS AND PATRAS

paullo post a. 16/14 *a.*

[COL]ONIA · PATR[E]NSIS · CIVI[T]ATI · ATH[EN]IENSIU[M].

[Ἄπ]οικί[α] Πατρέων πόλιν Ἀθηναίων].

In this revised version of the original text the letters supplied by the new fragment have been underlined; the text as now constituted will also appear in *S.E.G.*, XVIII.

159 (Plate 27). Upper left corner of an inscribed grave stele of Pentelic marble, broken at right, top and bottom, but surmounted by the lower part of a crowning palmette of which the remains of a leaf and the left finial scroll are preserved, found on February 10, 1938, in a modern wall south of the Market Square (N 21).

Height, 0.25 m.; width, 0.225 m.; thickness, 0.097 m.

Height of letters, 0.019-0.021 m.

Inv. No. I 5221.

s. IV *a.* *p.* *prior.*

Θεαγεν[ίδης]

Ἐπαμείν[ονος]

Κυ[δαθηναίεύς]

Theagenides is a name uncommon in Attic epigraphy,¹¹ but it is demanded here by the symmetrical requirements of the lay-out of the inscription. The lettering of line 2 is slightly more crowded than that of line 1, sufficiently to account for the increase of one letter while preserving the symmetrical arrangement, and the same increase must have been maintained in line 3, thus making a pleasing balance for the whole monument.

For Epameinon cf. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 21-27, no. 19, lines 14-15 (a prytany document of 166/5 B.C., with the *demoticum* Probalisios;

¹¹ Particularly attested in a family of the deme Prospalta; cf. *I.G.*, II², 2355, and the *stemma* in *P.A.*, 8816.

this Epameinon is probably identical with *P.A.*, 4768), and XXVI, 1957, 59-61, no. 14, line 58 (with the *demoticum* Gargettios), in addition to the examples collected by Kirchner (*P.A.*, 4758-67), the majority of which belong to the fourth century, although an Epameinon was eponymous archon in 429/8 B.C.

Epameinondas, a name theoretically possible as adequate for this context, but attested for Attica only in the second century B.C.,¹² seems unlikely as a citizen name at Athens in the fourth century, especially in its early part.

160 (Plate 27). Funeral lekythos of Pentelic marble, broken at the base and neck, found on November 12, 1937, in the wall of a modern house southeast of the Market Square and west of the Panathenaic Way (R 19). There is a small sinking in the base of the neck. The body of the lekythos carries a relief showing two female figures; the woman on the left is seated facing to the right; her head is draped, and she holds her veil out with a graceful motion of her left hand; to the right, facing her, another woman stands holding a box. The inscription is set above the seated figure.

Height 0.519 m.; diam. 0.276 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m.

Inv. No. I 5041.

saec. IV *a.*

Πείθις

The name appears to be unrecorded hitherto. For the motif of the relief compare H. Diepolder, *Die Attischen Grabreliefs des 5 und 4 Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, pl. 27. The gesture of the seated woman is reproduced, on a stele later in date than this lekythos, *ibid.*, pl. 51,1. The general style of the Peithis relief is close to that

of the lekythos illustrated by Diepolder, *ibid.*, pl. 34, and dated by him *ca.* 375; the character of the lettering of the inscription does not contradict such an attribution.¹³

161 (Plate 26). Upper right hand corner of a small pedimental grave stele of gray marble, broken on the left and below, and much chipped elsewhere; it is also partly coated with a lime deposit. Found on January 17, 1938, on the north slope of the Acropolis (Y 23), it formed part of an old section of a retaining wall beside the steps to Apollodoros Street, and was uncovered by boys playing there.

Height, *ca.* 0.17 m.; width, 0.245 m.; thickness, 0.085 m.

Height of letters, 0.011-0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 5098.

saec. IV *a.*

Ἀθηναῖς Χαλκιδικῇ
Μόσχου

The ethnic, which disrupts the pattern of the inscription, was evidently added as an afterthought, and is in rougher characters. The chi of Μόσχου seems to have been originally cut as +, and subsequently altered.

162 (Plate 26). Fragment of a grave stele of Pentelic marble, found on Nov. 10, 1937, in the wall of a modern house southeast of the Market Square and west of the Panathenaic Way (R 18). The original back and part of the pedimental top of the monument are preserved.

Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.251 m.; thickness, 0.103 m.

Height of letters, 0.21 m.

Inv. No. I 5037.

¹² Except as a *lectio falsa* in Diodorus Siculus, XII, 46, for the archon Epameinon already mentioned.

¹³ Cf. also the lekythos in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, of a style rather finer than this but attributable to the same date, catalogued and illustrated in G. M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculptures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, no. 89, pl. LXXIII. The seated woman on the left of this relief reproduces with more delicacy and sensitivity the figure of Peithis on the present lekythos.

fn. saec. IV a.

[-----]νη Λυκίνο[v]

163 (Plate 27). A columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, with the top preserved, broken to the right of the inscription, found on October 16, 1937, in the wall of a modern house south of the Market Square (P 21).

Height, 0.28 m.; diameter, 0.165 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 5056.

saec. IV/III a.

Νοῦ[ς]
ἰσοτελής

The inscription is roughly done; both lines rise from the horizontal as they proceed, line 1 more sharply than line 2. It provides an addition to the group of Tituli sepulcrales ἰσοτελῶν listed under *I.G.*, II², 7862-7881.

For the name, cf. *I.G.*, II², 10430, and *S.E.G.*, XIII, 218.

164 (Plate 27). Fragment from the upper left corner of a grave stele of Pentelic marble, found on October 7, 1937, in the wall of a modern

house southeast of the Market Square and west of the Panathenaic Way (R 17). The back and left side are preserved, except for an oblique cut which has sheared away the left end of the pedimental top. The left akroterion of the pediment was formed by a winged sphinx or griffin, whose hind quarters are still preserved, crouching on the raking cornice of the pediment.

Height, 0.41 m.; width, 0.26 m.; thickness 0.148 m.

Height of letters, 0.027 m.

Inv. No. I 5021.

saec. I a./p.

Σκίρος -----
vacat

The name is rare, but appears twice in ephebic lists of the late first and early second centuries after Christ, *I.G.*, II², 1996 line 240, and *I.G.*, II², 2020 line 53. In the former Skiros is a foreigner and labelled as Milesian; the second Skiros belongs to the deme Melite. In the present case, Skiros's patronymic and ethnic or demotic presumably stood in the same line as his name, and to judge from the appearance of the pediment both may have been fairly lengthy.

165. The fragment published in *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 275-277, No. 4, is actually part of *I.G.*, II², 3064. The complete text should be read as follows:¹⁴

a. 384/3 a.

Ἀριστομ[---] Τ..ΙΚ. ΛΟ Περιθοίδης χορηγῶν ἐνίκα
Οἶνη<ι>δι Πα{ι}ν[διον]ἰδι ἀνδρῶν. Φιλόφρων Φιλοκράτος
ἐδίδασ[κεν. Οἰ]νιάδης Προνόμον ἡΰλει. Διετρέφης ἦρχεν.

The larger fragment was published by Stuart and Revett and then, following them, by Boeckh in *C.I.G.*, I, 215. Subsequent publications were made by Pittakys, *L'Ancienne Athènes*, 1835, p. 44, and *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1853, No. 1843, and 1856, No. 2792, and, after him, by A. R. Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques*, II, No. 972, and U. Koehler (*I.G.*, II, 1234) and J. Kirchner (*I.G.*, II², 3064). It appears that the entire block

¹⁴ This was noted by A. E. Raubitschek, who has supplied the following commentary.

was moved from the Pythion to the neighborhood of the Agora; see, most recently, H. Riemann, in P. W., *R.E.*, Suppl. VIII, s. *vv.* Oiniades and Φιλόφρων, No. 4.

The flutist Oiniades was son of the famous Pronomos of Thebes, himself son of an earlier Oiniades (cf. H. von Geisau, in P.W., *R.E.*, s.v. Πρόνομος, No. 4). The younger Oiniades appears in the literary tradition only in F. Jacoby, *Frag. gr. Hist.*, 76 (Duris), F 36, where Raubitschek suggests reading the text as Οἰνιάδην δὲ τὸν Τιμοθέον, since Timotheos is known to have composed a *Kyklops* (see P. Maas, in P.W., *R.E.*, s.v. Timotheos, cols. 1332-1333).

It may also be remarked that this is the only document of its type in which a chorus of men is mentioned (see E. Bodensteiner, *Comm. Phil.*, Munich, 1891, p. 70). For the combination of two phylai at the Thargelia (line 2), see C. Bottin, *Revue Belge*, IX, 1930, pp. 763-767.

166. In *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 278-279, No. 7, the forms Καλλίστε and Ἀρίστε (lines 1-2) are to be construed as datives, with iota adscript omitted.¹⁵ For dedications to Kalliste see *I.G.*, II², 4665, 4667, 4668.

167. With reference to the name Χαρίτων in the text published in *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 286-287, No. 14, I find that it was of common occurrence in Athens in Roman times, in the period in which the published text belongs. Raubitschek suggests to me that the name in line 5 should be Διοσκού[ρίδης], and that the text makes no mention of the Dioskouroi.

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¹⁵ See Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften*³, p. 67, note 587a.

NOTES ON INSCRIPTIONS FROM HERMIONE AND HYDRA

THE following notes may be made on some of the inscriptions from Hermione and Hydra published by Michael H. Jameson in *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 109-119.

No. 3 (Pl. 23), a dedication, should be read:

Κλεὼ Ἀριστίωνος
Ἐλευθείαι.

No. 7, line 6. Read: [χαρισ]τήριον

No. 13 (Pl. 24), a sepulchral inscription, has been read thus:

[- ε]σ[κ]εύασε
[-] Ω καὶ τῆς
[-] ΝΘΩ αὐτοῦ
[-] Υ ψυχί

In the first line one recognizes the verb [κατε]σ[κ]εύασε followed in the next by the pronoun [ἐαντ]ῶ. In the last line is the imperative [ε]ὐψύχι (= εὐψύχει), known from late sepulchral inscriptions. Examples of it with both spellings, its interpretation, and further bibliography are collected by R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs*, Urbana, Ill., 1942, p. 263, and note 299. Another similar imperative used also in late times is εὐτύχει; see, for example, *I.G.*, XII, 5, 996, line 1, where *ει* is spelled *ι* as in the above text.

From the photograph on pl. 24 I would reconstruct this text as follows:

[- - - - -]
[κατε]σκέυασε
[ἐαν]τῶ καὶ τῇ γα -
[μετῇ σ]υμβίῳ αὐτοῦ.
[ε]ὐψύχι.

The stone is broken above, where there was inscribed the name of the husband at whose care and expense the monument was made. The expression γαμετὴ σύμβιος is unusual, though each element of it alone is common in late sepulchral inscriptions. The maker of the monument wanted to make it clear that his wife was lawful. Simi-

larly in an epigram from Nymphaion in Ionia of the second or third century after Christ there occurs the expression *γαμετὴ ἄλοχος*.¹ The restored part of line 4 is a little long but perhaps there was some ligature.

The editor calls the inscription Christian, but with the new reading there is nothing characteristically Christian in it, and, along with No. 8, it should be regarded as pagan.

No. 14. The poetic formula reminded me of an Attic epigram and A. E. Raubitschek pointed out that it is *I.G.*, I², 945, II, the second epigram for those who fell at Potidaia. Cf. also the epigram from Smyrna, Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, 315 = Peek, *Gr. Vers-Inschriften*, I, 1761 etc.

Nos. 15-21. I suspect that some at least of these sepulchral stelai, collected by Kountouriotes in Hydra, are from Rheneia; cf. *C.I.G.*, II, 2313-2322, 2322 b¹⁻⁹⁹, 2326, 2327, 2328 b with *add.* Perhaps of the same origin are also the sepulchral inscriptions *I.G.*, II², 6019 and 12244 mentioned on p. 116, note 3.²

No. 19: *Μάη Ἐρύμνου | Νικομηδεῦ χρη|στὲ χαῖρε*. The name *Μάης*, independent of the name *Μάνης*, is attested in several places in the ancient world. Th. Reinach, *R.E.G.*, II, 1889, pp. 267-271, in studying this name mentions the possibility of its being derived from the name of the goddess *Mā* but prefers to leave the matter open. He concludes that it started from coastal Paphlagonia and from there spread to Sinope and Amisos and further to all parts of the ancient world. His conclusions accord well with the occurrences of the name collected by D. M. Robinson, *A.J.A.*, IX, 1905, pp. 316-317, and with the present occurrence in Nikomedeia of Bithynia.³ For other occurrences cf. J. and L. Robert, *R.E.G.*, LXXI, 1958, p. 285, no. 346.⁴

¹ Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, 310 = Peek, *Gr. Vers-Inschriften*, I, 992.

² Kirchner's note for 12244 is not exact. Preuner says that it "soll in der jetzigen Stadt gefunden sein." Also he is not exact in attributing the Attic origin of *I.G.*, II², 6019 to Preuner. The latter sanctions the original opinion of Bursian (who did not know the edition by Koupitores). The dispersion of the sepulchral monuments of Rheneia took place during the first part of the past century.

³ A search through most of the inscriptions listed in *R.E. s.v.* Nikomedeia as found there or mentioning Nikomedians, and also in Dörner's collections of Bithynic inscriptions, did not reveal any other occurrence of the name there. In Athens there are *Ἀρτεμισία Δάου Νικομήδισσα* and *Ἀρτέμων Δάου Νικομηδεύς*, *I.G.*, II², 10001 and 10002. One would be tempted to read *Μάον* in one or both of them. However years ago I had concluded after studying the data about these two texts that actually they are one and the same inscription. The fact that the patronymic is the same in both copies (Lattermann's and Kirchner's) indicates that the reading is correct in this point. (This occurrence of the slave-name *Δᾶος* should be added to my list of them from Attic inscriptions in the newspaper *Καθημερινή* of March 29, 1958.) Which of the two texts is then correct for the name and the ethnic? Lattermann was not so careful in his provisional copies while Kirchner had at his disposal a squeeze and therefore I would accept his text *I.G.*, II², 10001, as correct. However, M. Mitsos, *Πολέμων*, IV, 1949-51, *σύμμ.* p. *υἱ*, reports that he found *I.G.*, II², 10002 in the Epigraphical Museum carrying the inventory number 12092 and he now tells me that the text of Lattermann is correct. The fact that the other stone has not been found yet in the Epigraphical

Concerning the new name **Ἐρμυμος*, presumably from the adjective *ἐρμυμός*,⁵ the editor compares the names **Ἐρύμων* and **Ἐρμυνέως*. It should be noted that the first, appearing as the name of an Aitolian in Diodoros XX, 16, 1, was corrected by H. Pomtow, *Klio*, XV, 1918, p. 57 to **Ἐρμυνίων* on the basis of a sepulchral inscription from Delphi published there with that name.⁶ Another occurrence is found in Eupalion of Lokris, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXII, 1907, p. 37, no. 29; cf. p. 68.⁷

To a completely different area belong the names **Ἐρμυνέως* and the related **Ὀρμυνηύς*, **Ὀρμυνηεύς*, and **Ἐρύμνεσις*. They occur either in inscriptions from Aspendos of Pamphylia or from varying places but mostly as names of Aspendians. In one case the bearer is **Ἰλιεύς [ἀπὸ Πα]νφυλίας*.⁸

According to Ramsay the name was originally ethnic.⁹ The town which gave the name would be **Ἐρύμνη* of Pamphylia.¹⁰

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Museum corroborates my old opinion that the two texts are the same. For the name Artemon in Nikomedeia cf. *I.G.*, V, 1, 368, lines 158-160. Reinach corrected the passage of Strabo, XII 3, 25, where *Μάνης* is mentioned as a Paphlagonian name, to read *Μάης*, the former being Phrygian according to Strabo himself, VII 3, 12. It is curious to find in a new inscription from Piraeus a *Μάνης* from Paphlagonia, *I.G.*, II², 10052.

⁴ See also now *R.E.G.*, LXXII, 1959, p. 193, no. 184 (under 168).

⁵ Cf. F. Bechtel, *Die histor. Personennamen des Griechischen*, Halle a. d. S. 1917, pp. 487, 506; cf. also pp. 562-564.

⁶ Correction accepted by G. Klaffenbach, *I.G.*, IX, 1², p. XV, line 12.

⁷ Bechtel, *op. cit.*, p. 548, refers to this instance, while the others are older. According to him the name is a modified ethnic which he does not specify.

⁸ See J. and L. Robert, *R.E.G.*, LXVI, 1953, p. 202, no. 1; cf. now *R.E.G.*, LXXII, 1959, p. 258, no. 452. To the cases traceable through these two references add *S.E.G.*, VI, 728 A, line 27, *Sammelbuch* 6410 (Rhodian!), Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, I, p. 181, no. 82 (cf. Bean, *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung*, II, 1952/3, p. 201), and, of course, the obscure peripatetic philosopher in Athens, but of unknown origin, Erymneus, Poseid. *ap.* Athen. V, 211 c (*F. Gr. Hist.*, II, 87, fr. 36). It becomes very probable that he was an Aspendian.

⁹ W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 419, no. 10. Cf. Bechtel, *op. cit.*, p. 538: "Aus dem Ethnikon zu **Ἐρμυνά* in Pamphylien."

¹⁰ See Ruge, *R.E. s.v.* Erymna 2 and cf. H. Swoboda, J. Keil and F. Knoll, *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, Pamphylien und Isaurien*, 1935, pp. 48-50, nos. 105-107. The alleged other name of Tralleis as **Ἐρύμνη* or **Ἐρμυνά* has already been interpreted by J. G. Droysen, *Geschichte d. Hellenismus*, III², 2, Gotha 1878, p. 280 as a misunderstanding by Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Τράλλεις* and Etym. M. 389, 56 of the passage of Strabo, XIV, 1, 42. Cf. also L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1935, p. 43, note 5, and J. and L. Robert, *R.E.G.*, LXXII, 1959, p. 187, no. 161 *fin.*

EXCAVATIONS AT TARRHA, 1959

(PLATES 28-35)

66 FROM Phoinix to Tarrha is sixty stades. It is a small city. It has a harbor. From Tarrha to Poikilassos is sixty stades."

Stadiasmus, p. 496 (ed. Gail.).

"We gladly entered the deserted harbor of the ancient city . . . today called Romelus. . . . Then, already tired, we complained of the great circumference, in the middle of which I saw a temple overthrown in ruins, where all sorts of marbles and porphyry columns were lying in confusion. I saw busts of headless idols, and on the other side of the temple I found a head of Venus or Diana, which seemed most beautiful of all. . . . Columns and cisterns with their large structures were all visible."

Buondelmonti, in Cornelius, *Creta Sacra*, I, Venice 1755, p. 85.

"Tarrha . . . has been supposed, by some very distinguished scholars, to have been inland; but I think there is little or no doubt that its site is on the shore, at the very entrance of this glen of Haghia Rumeli."

Pashley, *Travels in Crete*, II, pp. 263-264.

These three statements furnish practically all the information we have concerning the actual site of this "small city" on the south shore of western Crete. The *Stadiasmus*, of the sixth century or later, gives its location; Buondelmonti (1415) describes the antiquities he saw there (none of which now exists), while Pashley (1837) was the first to equate the two. His identification of Aghia Roumeli as ancient Tarrha has been generally accepted, although no epigraphical or other confirmation has been found. Other travelers¹ have added nothing substantial to our knowledge of the site.

Today the place, almost deserted, is of striking beauty. Rocky heights framing the outlet of the gorge of Aghia Roumeli are separated by the wide bed of the torrent that rushes to the sea. A small group of houses now occupies the beach on the west side of this nameless river, which contains water except for three or four months of the year. The remains of the ancient town lie on both sides, but chiefly east of the river, where on the hill beneath a towering cliff can be seen extensive walls of fortifications and other structures (Pl. 28), two standing Roman buildings (one preserved to the roof line) and, on the surface, quantities of potsherds.²

¹ Capt. T. A. B. Spratt, *Travels and Researches in Crete*, 2 vols., London, 1865; M. Deffner, *Ὅδοιπορικαὶ Ἐντυπώσεις ἀπὸ τὴν Δυτικὴν Κρήτην*, Athens, 1918; J. D. S. Pendlebury, *The Archaeology of Crete*, London, 1939; E. Kirsten, "Siedlungsgeschichtliche Forschungen in Westkreta," in Friedrich Matz, *Forschungen auf Kreta*, Berlin, 1951.

² It is impossible to understand how Pashley saw "very slight vestiges of antiquity" (Robert

West of the river stands the church of the Panaghia, built not earlier than the late fifteenth century,³ which, as Spratt first noted, is built on Classical foundations (though re-used) and is very likely the site of an ancient temple. Also on this bank are remains of ancient tombs. The villagers say that an American archaeologist examined these many years ago; this was probably Richard B. Seager, whose travels in western Crete (unpublished) are mentioned by Pendlebury.⁴

The modern village of Aghia Roumeli is located about a mile from the sea—a place said to have been chosen in order to evade attacks by pirates—and is quite invisible from the shore. The few houses on the seashore are known locally as “Lower Aghia Roumeli.”

The city was noted in ancient times chiefly for its oracle of Apollo Tarrhaïos.⁵ Politically, it was not very important. During the Classical period Tarrha was a member of the Cretan League of which Elyros was the capital city. Despite this affiliation Tarrha depended on the sea, for it was—and still is—almost entirely cut off from land communication.⁶ Although without a proper harbor, she could receive ships during good weather, and the town had the advantage of a permanent water supply. Despite the risky landing facilities (which may have been better in ancient times), Tarrha must have been a regular stopping-place on the route from Alexandria to European ports. The city's heavy fortification walls (described below) suggest the need for defense against sea raids as well as the requirement for complete self-dependence. Tarrha could expect no rescue forces from her League co-members if she got into difficulties, for there was no overland route by which to reach the city even if she were able to send for help. This fact eventually seems to have been the cause of her downfall.

In October, 1958, the site was investigated with a view to excavation. The study of a certain type of glass pyxis had resulted in the discovery that a good many of these vessels could be traced to tombs at Elyros (modern Rhodovani) in southwest Crete.⁷

Pashley, *Travels in Crete*, London, 1837, II, p. 263) or how Spratt found “the better part of the earlier remains on the west side of the gorge” (*op. cit.*, II, p. 247) or how Pendlebury could speak of “the scanty remains of Tarrha” (*op. cit.*, p. 14) and later (p. 344) say that “no remains are visible on the surface.” One can only assume that they considered the ancient remains as more modern in origin. It is doubtful whether Pendlebury visited the site of Tarrha—he does not actually say that he did.

³ Deffner (*op. cit.*, pp. 185 ff.) points out that it was not seen by Buondelmonti in 1415.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁵ The name Tarrha has been the object of some speculation. The derivation is discussed in M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae* II, Rome, 1939, p. 305; also in Matz, *op. cit.*, p. 131, note 2, where Hrozný is quoted (*Archiv Orientalni*, Prag, XIV, 1943, p. 96) as thinking the name related to Tarentum and other Illyrian place-names. The cult of Apollo and the history of the site are outlined in *Inscr. Cret.* II, pp. 305-306.

⁶ A five-hour walk on a narrow footpath leads to Sphakia; a ten-hour walk up the Samaria gorge brings one to the Omalo.

⁷ See Gladys D. Weinberg, “Glass Manufacture in Ancient Crete,” *Journal of Glass Studies*, I, 1959, pp. 10-21.

Inspection of the ancient site of Elyros resulted in finding small quantities of glass fragments, and similar finds were made at Syia (modern Souyia), the port of Elyros. At the site identified as Tarrha, however, on the coast to the east of Syia, glass was noted in exceptional quantities, and it was therefore considered that excavation here might be more profitable than at Elyros or Syia.

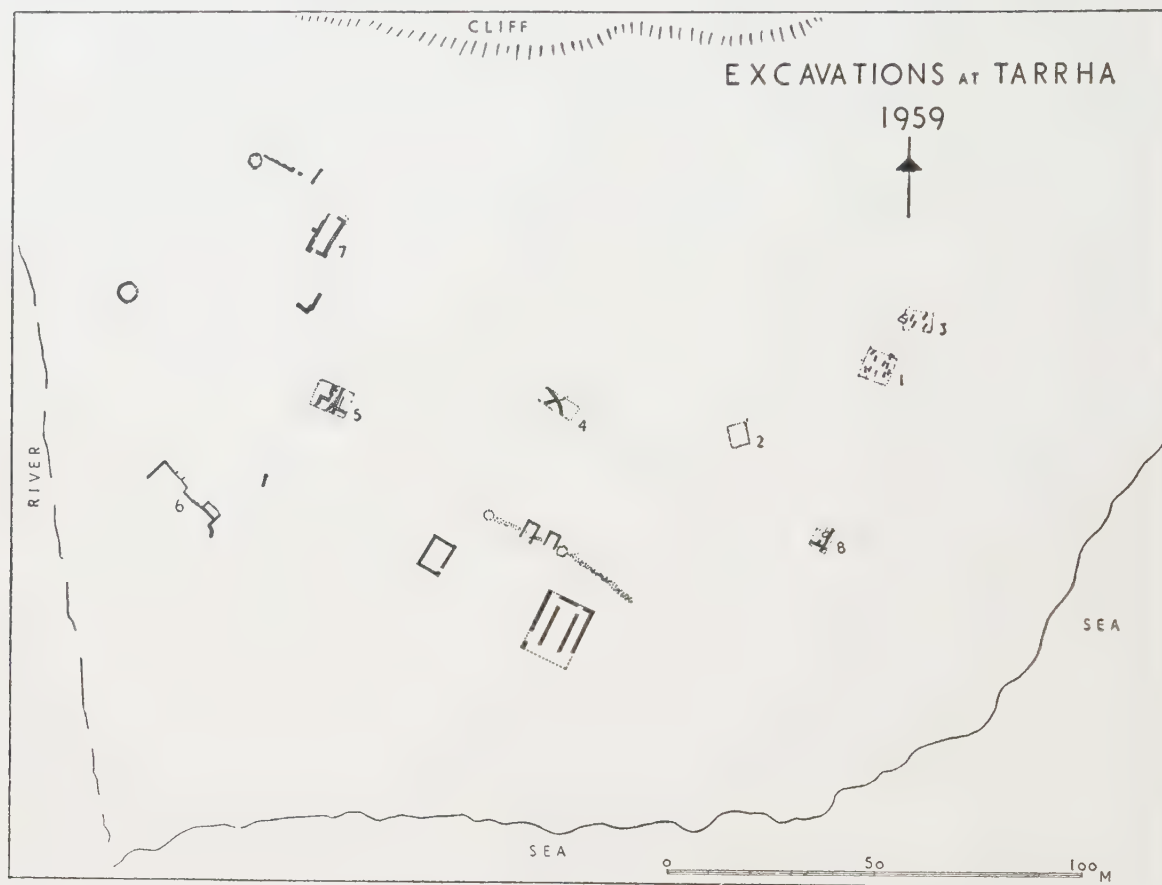


FIG. 1. Plan of the site of ancient Tarrha, showing test trenches dug and standing Roman structures.

A trial excavation⁸ was conducted from April 21 to May 11, 1959 (including

⁸ Sponsored by the American School of Classical Studies and conducted with funds provided by the Corning Museum of Glass. The staff was as follows: Gladys D. Weinberg, excavator; Saul S. Weinberg, excavator and photographer; Thomas S. Buechner (Director of the Corning Museum of Glass), architect and glass cataloguer; Mary H. Buechner, cataloguer and architect's assistant. Antonios Kosmadakis of Souyia was the capable foreman and purveyor to the expedition. The workmen came from the villages of Upper and Lower Aghia Roumeli. All the local people were most hospitable and cooperative. Thanks are due to the Ephor of Crete, Dr. Nicholas Platon, as well as to the Archaeological Service in general, for their unstinting cooperation. Mr. and Mrs. Michael Seiradakis of Chania were helpful in many practical ways.

fourteen working days). The main purpose was to locate an ancient glass factory, if possible, and the first test trench was therefore made in a place where a quantity of glass fragments had been noted on the surface. This was an area six meters square on the east slope of the hill east of the river (Fig. 1). The entire site is covered with sand to a depth found to vary from 0.30 m. to 1.50 m. This made the top levels extremely difficult to dig, as the edges of the trench tended constantly to collapse. As digging proceeded, many glass fragments were found (Pl. 31, h), a large proportion of them burned and distorted by fire (see below pp. 109-117 for detailed description of the glass). The quantity of glass found here was unusually large for a Classical site.

All through the fill, along with the burned glass fragments, were human bones and bits of Greek and Roman pottery, as well as charred wood and some animal bones. It soon became clear that the Greek cemetery lay below, and that most of the bones belonged to occupants of Greek graves which had been disturbed by the Romans. Almost all the glass fragments, however, were of Roman date. The exceptions were tiny fragments of sand-core vessels, evidently from the Greek graves.

The graves (Fig. 2) were all extended inhumation burials, oriented north-south, with the head at the north. Slight variations in orientation may represent different periods. Owing to the disturbed condition of the graves, it is impossible to tell which are earlier and which later. In depth the level of the graves varied from 1.80 m. on the west side to 1.30 m. on the east. All of them were dug into virgin soil, which is compact, red hardpan. The lengths of the graves are 1.80 m. to 1.95 m.

Most of the graves were built of large water-worn cobblestones set on edge to form a rectangle. One grave (No. 5) had an inner ledge made of smaller cobbles. The bottom of the grave was generally a layer of small pebbles. The head was sometimes pillowed on a stone (in one case, Grave 14, the rim and neck of a pithos), and the feet seem to have rested on cushions of earth, as the foot bones almost always projected upward from the leg bones. The skeletons all lie on their backs, the hands frequently resting on the pelvis. No cover slabs of any sort were found; it is safe to say that there were none. The bodies of the deceased may have been covered with cloth or wood. A squarish limestone slab with a cobblestone set in a hole in the center may represent the base for a tombstone, but this is not certain.

The only surely undisturbed grave in this trench was that designated as 7B. This seems to have formed a unit with 7A, which lay directly south of it. In the earth above the junction of these two graves (at a depth of *ca.* 1 m.) was a burned area, 0.80 m. x 0.80 m. and about 0.15 m. thick, which contained burned almonds in their shells, quantities of animal knucklebones (Pl. 29, a) and fragments (Pl. 29, b) of a one-handled cup (No. 52) and a trefoil oinochoe (No. 53). This burned layer seems to have been supported on a row of rough stones and to have rested on a layer of pebbles. It was doubtless a funeral pyre in which offerings were burnt in honor

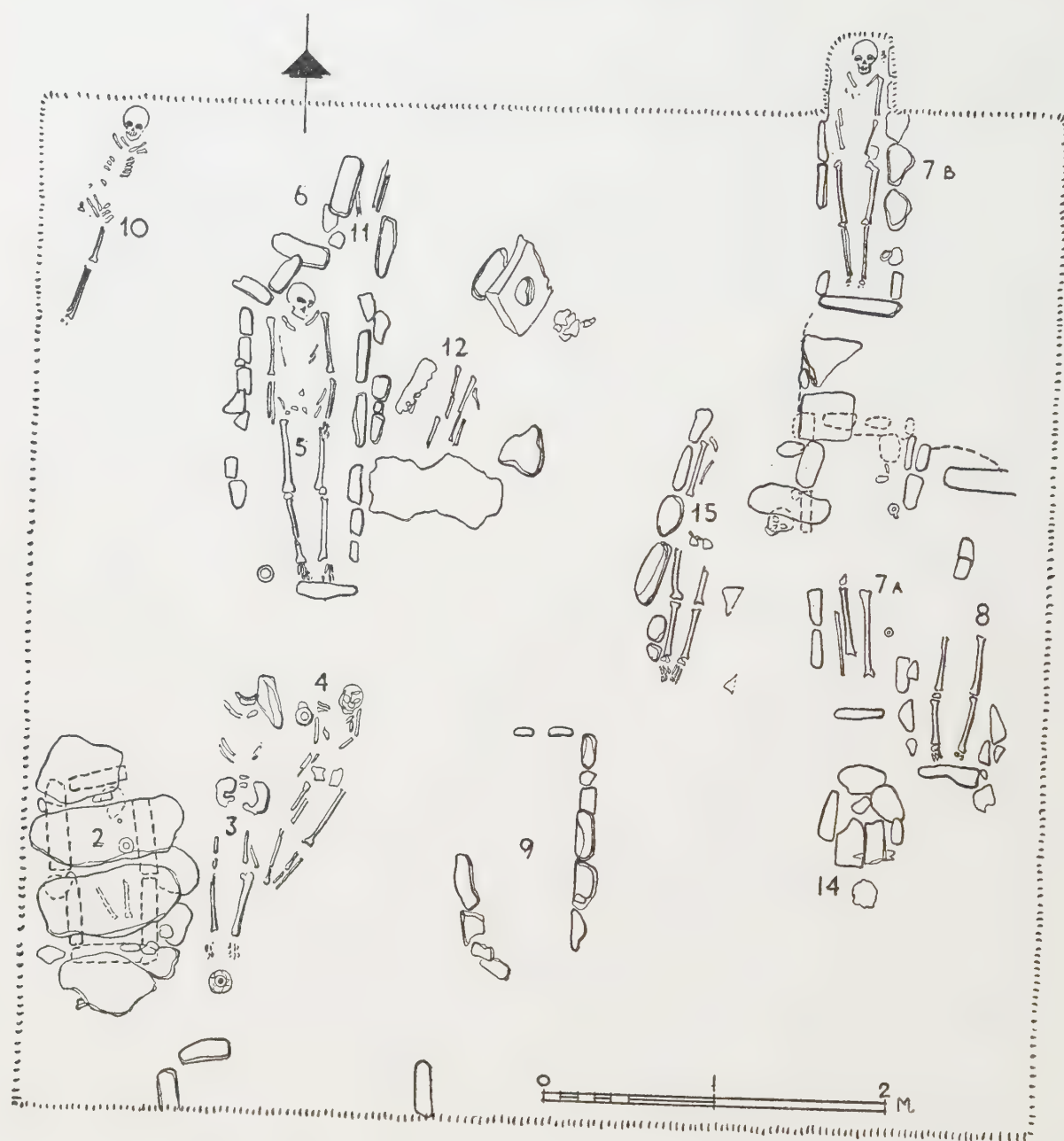


FIG. 2. Plan of Trench 1, showing Greek and Roman burials.

of the deceased, in this case apparently two people who were buried at the same time. It is most unfortunate that grave 7A is poorly preserved, in view of the special interest attaching to this double interment. The skull and upper body are gone; only the leg bones remain. In the grave were two palmette lekythoi (Nos. 58, 59; Pl. 29, c).

Grave 7B, on the other hand, was amply furnished. In addition to four palmette lekythoi (Nos. 54-57; Pl. 29, e, f) at the head of the skeleton and an eggshell near the right shoulder, there were two terracotta pyxis lids (Nos. 64, 65; Pl. 29, d) in the earth just above the stones forming the sides of the grave. The pyxides themselves were not found and may not have been part of this grave. The skeleton, which was that of a young woman (her wisdom teeth still in her jaws), was adorned with a quantity of silver jewelry (Nos. 1, 2, 7, 8, 9; Pl. 30, a, b). Two hair rings lay one on either side of the head; two silver pins were on the shoulders, and a finger ring was on each hand. Just below the mouth was a silver coin which was difficult to decipher, but which seems to be from Itanos (fifth-fourth centuries B.C.)⁹ or possibly from Knossos. The lekythoi date the grave to the mid-fourth century B.C.¹⁰

Grave 5 is the only other grave which may be an undisturbed burial. A terracotta pyxis (No. 62; Pl. 30, c) found standing in the earth just outside the foot of this grave probably is to be associated with it. Within the grave was a small lekythos (No. 61; Pl. 29, c) decorated with a net pattern.

Grave 4 is a poorly preserved burial which was cut into when Grave 3 was laid down. A one-handled cup (No. 66; Pl. 29, g) was the only find. At the feet of the skeleton of Grave 3 was a terracotta pyxis (No. 63; Pl. 30, e) standing in a hole especially made for it. The high percentage of pyxides found with these graves (there were fragments of a number of others scattered in the fill) shows that this type of vessel, in various materials, was especially popular in the region.

The other graves of the Greek period were very much destroyed and the vessels which once lay in them were distributed in fragments throughout the fill. It is presumed that all the Greek graves in this trench date from the fourth century B.C.

There were two burials of the Roman period in this trench. Grave 2 was a small tomb built of large flat stone slabs and covered with four flat stones. In it was a child about six years old (the permanent central incisors were formed but still in the upper jaw). A coarse pot (No. 74; Pl. 29, h) lay near his left side, and just below the mouth was a coin of Domitian.¹¹

Directly above Grave 3, in the level containing the glass fragments, was found a grave, 0.90 m. below the surface, formed of upright stone slabs. The skeleton was poorly preserved, and there were no finds except for two fragments of burned glass beneath the bones; it is therefore presumed that this burial took place after the

⁹ *British Museum, Catalogue of Greek Coins, Crete*, p. 51, no. 9, pl. XIII, 4. *Obv.* Glaukos(?) striking downwards with trident in right, left arm raised. *Rev.* Eight-rayed star.

¹⁰ Grateful thanks are due to Lucy Talcott for information concerning the dates of Attic pottery discovered at Tarrha.

¹¹ H. Mattingly, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, London, 1923-51, II, p. 121, no. 40, pl. III, 52. *Obv.* CAESAR AUG F DOMITIANUS COS V. Portrait of Domitian. *Rev.* PRINCEPS IVVENTVTIS. *Salus* standing right, leaning on cippus and feeding snake. Date A.D. 77-78.

episode of the glass burning, which probably occurred some time after the first century after Christ, as no trace of glass was found in Grave 2. The robbing of the Greek graves may have gone on at any time during the Roman period.

In the fill, mostly in the upper levels, were a number of fragments of terracotta figurines. A few are presented in the catalogue (Nos. **21-23**, **26-31**; Pl. 31, a-d). Because of their battered condition it is difficult to say much about their date. Some may be contemporary with the graves, others as late as the Roman period.

In Trench 3 the fill was almost completely sand, all the way to hardpan. This made digging especially difficult, as most of the graves had naturally disintegrated as well as having been robbed. Burned and twisted glass fragments were scattered through the fill, as in Trench 1, and there were also some fragments of marble pyxides (No. **19**; Pl. 31, f). Three Greek graves were found, all much destroyed. The only intact find was a group (Pl. 31, g) consisting of an iron strigil (No. **13**), an iron finger ring (No. **3**) and a terracotta lamp (No. **32**) with a bronze pin (No. **15**) lying in it. This group was not associated with one of the graves, but seems to have belonged to another grave which had disappeared. The lamp dates it to the first half of the fourth century B.C.

Also in this trench were three graves of Roman date, one particularly interesting as it was constructed of two courses of small stones and had as one of the cover slabs a stele taken from an earlier grave (No. **75**; Pl. 34, d).¹² In the grave was the badly battered skeleton of a child, wearing a silver finger ring (No. **4**; Pl. 31, e) on the left (?) hand. Another grave was identified as Roman by a sherd of a red-glazed plate with roulette stamping. The third Roman grave contained one glass fragment twisted by fire.

Some thirty meters due south of Trench 1 was excavated Trench 8 (4 m. x 4 m.). Here an angle where two walls met was chosen, as offering some solution of the problem of collapsing sand. In this area the sand was about 0.50 m. deep, with red earth beneath containing Greek and Roman sherds as well as a few glass fragments. Here again the Greek cemetery was found, but this time undisturbed. A large grave (L. 1.95 m.) in the southeast corner, running under the wall which had been selected as the trench boundary, was built partly by cutting into the conglomerate bedrock, partly (on the east side) by building up with small flat stone slabs. The grave was covered with five large square-cut blocks (two of them broken) of different sizes, the smaller two of limestone, the three larger of a very soft yellow stone not known by the workmen employed (it is so light that it could easily have been transported from elsewhere). Above, in a pebbly foundation, was set on edge a large cobblestone, obviously intended as a grave monument (Pl. 33, b), though it bears no markings. Just east of the grave, and slightly above, was a mass of broken white lekythoi (Nos.

¹² I am indebted to G. A. Stamires for assistance with the inscriptions.

40, 41, 45; Pl. 32, a, b). Directly on top of the grave slabs was a silver ornament (No. 10; Pl. 32, c) lying loose in the earth, and a damaged black-glazed saucer (No. 47; Pl. 32, b). Some of the bones in the grave and some lekythos fragments (Nos. 43-44; Pl. 32, a, b) were scattered, suggesting that it had been used for burial more than once. Some leg bones pushed into the southeast corner had a white-ground lekythos with them (No. 42). The skull of the main skeleton had been badly battered by the breaking of the cover slab above. Silver jewelry found on this skeleton included the following (Pl. 32, f): a silver pin (No. 5) near the shoulder and its mate (No. 6) near the feet, a silver toggle (No. 11) near the feet, three silver beads (No. 12) near the pelvic region. The other finds were as follows: a bronze nail or boss (No. 14; Pl. 32, d) near the shoulder, fragments of two marble alabastera (Nos. 17, 18; Pl. 31, f) which must have been put into the grave in fragmentary condition, and two red-figured lekythoi (Nos. 38, 39; Pl. 33, a). The latter date the grave to the end of the fifth century B.C. The white-ground lekythoi, the silver ornament (No. 10) and the saucer (No. 47) all seem earlier and were probably thrown out of a previous burial in the tomb.

A second grave (L. 2.10 m.) in this trench lay near the northeast corner (Pl. 33, c). This had two large, irregular cover slabs of pebbly conglomerate resting on vertical side slabs which formed a ledge. The skeleton was that of a very old person having a thick skull pierced by a hole, extremely worn teeth, and powerful limbs with arthritic swellings at the joints. Three vases (Nos. 48, 50, 51; Pl. 32, g, h) were found in a cluster on top of the left foot, and there was a bowl (No. 49; Pl. 32, g) at the left elbow. An iron spike (No. 16; Pl. 32, e) was found just inside the right arm.

Finally, in this area (Pl. 33, c) was found a large pithos (just at the center of the north side of the trench, with its point toward the southwest) containing a few bones of an infant and two sherds, one with dull black glaze.

This concludes the list of graves found during the trial excavation. It is fairly certain that the cemetery extends at least from Trench 3 to Trench 8, a distance of some thirty-five meters. It is unlikely that its extent is very much greater than this, as at the north the cliff is not far away, and at the south the conglomerate comes increasingly near the surface. The extent of the cemetery to east and west is yet to be determined.

Other trenches were dug in areas which gave promise of throwing some light on buildings which were visible on the surface. Trench 4, 4 m. x 10 m., extended up the east slope of the hill. Here were disclosed some rough walls, built without mortar, which seem to have been constructed for terracing purposes. Finds here included fragments of glass and terra sigillata, as well as one coin, probably post-Constantinian.¹³ At a depth of 1.60 m. stereo was reached and excavation halted.

¹³ The identification was made by Mrs. John L. Caskey, who kindly examined the coins.

Trench 5 was more productive. Here part of a large, well constructed building was excavated (Pl. 34, a), its walls made of small field stones bonded together with mortar and chinked here and there with tiles. One wall was stuccoed on the interior surface with thick white stucco, and also stuccoed was a doorway (which appears clearly in the photograph) 1.70 m. wide which was blocked up at a later date. The interior face of this added portion was not stuccoed. The floor level of this building was at 1.40 m. below the present top of the wall, which is approximately level with the present ground surface. At a depth of 1.90 m. a wall of fairly large stones was found running almost parallel with the east side of the wall just mentioned. This wall, which has only an east face (the west having been concealed, or perhaps ripped out in order to build the later wall) may be of the Greek period. On the west side of the Roman wall with the doorway was found (at a depth of 1.40 m.) another nearly parallel wall which is probably Greek, and facing it, 0.66 m. farther west, still another of the same period. The former is well built, with some dressed blocks. About four courses are preserved. The latter is made of field stones. Unfortunately, the narrow space available here and the fact that the Roman wall rests almost entirely on top of the Greek wall made further investigation impossible.

In the fill of the Roman building were many fragments of roof tiles, part of a lamp (No. 34), some glass fragments and a coin (1.30 m. deep) which is not identifiable but seems Greek. Bronze nails and spikes were also found. Very few Greek sherds appeared until the level of the Greek walls was reached, and even here they were extremely sparse.

Trench 7 was begun north and slightly west of Trench 5, where a large dressed block protruded from the earth. The slope at this point is considerable. This block proved to be one jamb (re-used) of the doorway (Pl. 34, b) of a very substantial one-roomed structure *ca.* 8.10 m. x 4.10 m. (inner dimensions). The upper portions of the building had collapsed, filling the interior with stones and roof tiles. The walls were built of field stones which were found partially covered with stucco. In the west wall there was a niche, with only a thin slab as backing. Another wall, or buttress, which extends westward outside the wall just to the north of the niche, suggests that another room may have existed here. Investigation did not proceed much beyond this point. In addition to the two dressed blocks used for the door jambs, there was another large squared block, with rough-picked surface and a dressed section, at the junction of the west and south walls of the building. This block is stuccoed on the west face. The south wall rests on a wider foundation with an orientation slightly different from the wall. This may have been the original threshold, or perhaps part of an earlier building. In part of the building a white plaster floor was preserved. Fill both above and below this floor consisted of many small fragments of rather late Roman glass, some of them feet of goblets, much coarse Roman pottery, a few fragments of stamped plates, a lamp fragment (No. 33), a stamped

loomweight (No. 37) and one coin, of Constantine.¹⁴ Hardpan appeared 0.20 m. below the floor of this building. The purpose of the structure cannot be determined, though the presence of the goblets might lead one to think of a tavern, for which the building would be a suitable size.

In Trench 6 the fortification walls of the city were investigated. Here a single wall connects a fragmentary round tower to a double wall which apparently was characteristic of the fortifications in general. Owing to the overgrown condition of the walls and the lack of sufficient time, it was impossible to work out the plan of the fortifications. In general, it seems to consist of a series of round (sometimes square) towers connected by stretches of wall, usually double. This would have provided a most redoubtable defense system, as the site is located on a hill and had natural advantages in addition. One section of wall preserved to a height of 2.40 m. is shown on Plate 35, a.

A few minor trenches were also dug. Trench 2 was begun where an inscribed stele (No. 76; Pl. 34, e) lay on the surface of the ground, but it was abandoned as nothing of significance was found. A trench (unnumbered) 2 m. x 2 m. was dug in the interior of the standing rectangular building (Pl. 34, c) which appears on the map southeast of Trench 5. This building is made entirely of stone, generously chinked with tile fragments. To a depth of 1.05 m., where hardpan was found, the sherds were mostly coarse Roman pottery, with some Greek mixed in, including one fragment of a terracotta pyxis.

Another trench (unnumbered) 4 m. x 4 m. was dug on the west bank of the river, somewhat east of an area where tombs were reported to have existed. Although sherds were plentiful here on the surface, they became fewer as excavation proceeded. The earth appeared quite hard and sterile, and hardpan began to appear, so the trench was abandoned after a short time. It would appear that the surface sherds had drifted in from the tombs in the area, which apparently were rifled many years ago.

Finally, an attempt was made to discover whether the Church of the Panaghia, west of the river, really stands on a Classical foundation, and what the nature of that foundation is. A trench 1 m. wide and 4 m. long was dug along the south foundation (Pl. 35, b). Hardpan slopes rapidly to the east, where the foundations are deepest. They are built of rather well squared blocks of varying size, many with drafting *ca.* 0.03 m. all around, and with the rest slightly raised and rough-picked. A few blocks are quite rough. In the part of the foundations exposed (Pl. 35, c) the blocks are fairly well laid in irregular courses. No tile is used to chink them. The irregular sizes of the blocks and the drafting on most of them suggest that they may be re-used in this wall. The total length of the wall is 14.20 m. and it was later extended at both ends for the church. It was not possible to study the end walls, as these lie within

¹⁴ Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain*, Leipzig, 1930, VII, p. 468, no. 187. Date *ca.* 330-375.

the church, and permission for excavation here was not granted owing to a plethora of recent burials.

General conclusions from the excavation as a whole are as follows: the site seems to have been occupied from at least the fifth century B.C. until the fourth, or possibly the fifth century after Christ. Whether there were gaps in this occupation has not been determined. There was a fairly wealthy population (to judge from the grave offerings) during the Greek period. Nothing on the site (except at the Church of the Panaghia, where there is evidence of occupation during the Turkish period) is later than the fourth century after Christ. The reason for the abandonment of the site may have been changes in communication routes rather than conquest of the city, for which there seems little evidence. The only sign of a conflagration is that connected with the burned glass, which must have taken place some time before the final abandonment of the city. The matter of the burned glass still remains to be explained. The fragments do not look like waste from a factory. They could, however, be waste which had been brought to be used in a factory, that is, cullet imported for glassmaking. Whatever the explanation, the presence of so much glass—unusually large for a site in Greece—would seem to be evidence that the elusive glass factory cannot be very far off.

CATALOGUE OF FINDS

JEWELRY

1. Silver finger ring. Pl. 30, a.

TM 6. Inner diam. ca. 0.016 m. Complete but broken.

Spiral rings in form of a snake, the band convex outside. Extremely delicate work, with elaborate folding of the snake's neck and tail.

Cf. Cesnola, *Atlas of Cypriote Antiquities*, III, pl. XXIV, 12, a very similar ring in gold; W. Deonna, *Délos*, XVIII, p. 316 and references there given, fig. 384. A less elaborate form was found at Olynthos (D. M. Robinson, *Olynthus*, X, p. 156, no. 498).

Trench 1, Grave 7B.

2. Silver-plated finger ring. Pl. 30, a.

TM 2. Inner diam. 0.016 m. Intact; some of silver surface worn off.

Flat, almost circular bezel, standing out slightly from flat finger band. In shallow intaglio on the bezel, a hibiscus flower.

Cf. a somewhat similar ring from Delos

(*Délos*, XVIII, p. 318, fig. 399). The ring is rather like Olynthos Type I rings (*Olynthus*, X, pp. 134 ff.) although the bezel is almost circular, rather than oval.

Trench 1, Grave 7B.

3. Iron finger ring. Pl. 31, g.

TM 13. Inner diam. 0.017 m. Intact but badly corroded.

Flat, almost circular bezel, flat finger band. Similar to No. 2 in shape.

Trench 3, with strigil No. 13 and lamp No. 32.

4. Silver finger ring. Pl. 31, e.

TM 1. Inner diam. 0.016 m. Complete but broken.

Cast ring with narrow hoop convex outside, widening toward bezel. Oval depression for stone; some white material remaining in it was probably the adhesive, or else remains of a glass stone.

For a similar ring cf. Davidson, *Corinth*, XII, no. 1812 (second or third century).

Trench 3, Roman grave.

5. Silver dress pin. Pl. 32, f.

TM 8. L. 0.096 m. Broken but complete.

Solid conical head (weighted with lead) with delicate chasing around bottom edge. Bottom of head concave. Small knob on shaft.

Trench 8, Grave 1.

6. Silver dress pin. Pl. 32, f.

TM 9. L. 0.095 m. Shank bent and broken, head corroded.

Similar to preceding.

These two pins are most like examples from Trebenishte (P. Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins*, Oxford 1956, p. 163, fig. 637) but the proportions are quite different, our pins having heavier heads and more delicate shafts.

Trench 8, Grave 1.

7. Silver dress pin. Pl. 30, a.

TM 3. L. 0.08 m. Intact.

Decorated head consisting of small round knob at top, melon-shaped form below, bordered by bands above and below, band of double curves below that, and finally a small knob. Head probably weighted with lead.

Trench 1, Grave 7B.

8. Silver dress pin. Pl. 30, a.

TM 4. L. 0.087 m. Broken but complete.

Decorated head consisting of inverted conical knob, melon shape below with decorative bands similar to No. 7, but with slight differences in decoration.

Jacobsthal includes no examples from a context as late as that of our pins. The nearest parallels are the Trebenishte finds (*op. cit.*, p. 29) and a pin called "Ephesian" (p. 37, no. 137). It would appear that there are very few, if any, examples such as the Tarrha pins from the mid-fourth century B.C.

Trench 1, Grave 7B.

9. Silver hair rings. Pl. 30, a.

TM 5. L. 0.027 m. One intact, the other broken but complete.

A double loop, circular in section, ending in elaborate grooved sections with small knobs at the ends.

Such hair rings are thoroughly discussed in *Olynthus*, X, pp. 88-91. Most like our specimens is no. 310. See also P. Amandry, *Collection Hélène Stathatos*, Strasbourg, 1953, pp. 54-55. He states that the type is widespread throughout the Greek world. Amandry's supposition that these rings were attached to smaller rings which passed through the ear is not true of the Tarrha finds, as no trace of such supplementary rings was found. Either the rings were attached by a cord or thread, or else to the hair, which seems more likely.

Trench 1, Grave 7B.

10. Silver ornament. Pl. 32, c.

TM 7. L. 0.068 m. Broken but almost complete.

Hammered silver ornament in the shape of a spectacle fibula. Design in low relief; reverse concave. Pattern of delicate beaded circles between the center boss and the outer band of bosses. No trace of attachment of any sort on the back.

Amandry, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-61, discusses the type and mentions that, although a Geometric type of ornament, in Macedonia it was still in use in the Classical period. Obviously this is true also of Crete. See also *Délos*, XVIII, pp. 286-288; *Olynthus*, X, pp. 96-99. All the examples discussed in the books cited are either bronze spiraliform fibulae or fibulae of bone; there is no instance of a silver ornament such as that shown here.

Trench 8, above Grave 1.

11. Silver toggle. Pl. 32, f.

TM 10. L. 0.037 m. Intact.

Button of silver, perhaps weighted with lead, with a knob at each end and a length of silver

wire wrapped around the middle. Part of the wire forms a small loop by which the button could be attached to cloth.

I have been unable to find a parallel to this toggle.

Trench 8, Grave 1.

12. Three silver beads. Pl. 32, f.

TM 11. L. of each bead 0.007 m. Intact.

Spherical beads. No decoration visible.

Trench 8, Grave 1.

OTHER METAL OBJECTS

13. Iron strigil. Pl. 31, g.

TM 14. L. 0.185 m. Complete but badly corroded.

The details of the shape are impossible to make out, but in general it seems to be of the ordinary type of Greek strigil.

Cf. *Olynthus*, X, pp. 172 ff.

Trench 2, with Nos. **3** and **32**.

14. Bronze nail head. Pl. 32, d.

TM 12. L. 0.028 m.; diam. 0.025 m. Shank broken off.

Hemispherical head with groove around the edge; shank circular in section, possibly traces of wood on it.

Trench 8, Grave 1.

15. Bronze pin.

TM 17. L. 0.073 m. Broken but complete.

A very thin pin, circular in section and same thickness throughout.

Found with one end resting inside the lamp (No. **32**) in Trench 3.

16. Iron spike. Pl. 32, e.

TM 22. L. 0.054 m. Intact but corroded.

Spike with conical (?) head.

Trench 8, Grave 2.

STONE OBJECTS

17. Marble alabastron. Pl. 31, f.

TS 3. P. H. 0.028 m. Fragment of bottom only.

Lathe-cut circle on interior of bottom (diam. 0.007 m.).

Trench 8, Grave 1.

18. Marble alabastron. Pl. 31, f.

TS 2. H. *ca.* 0.14 m. Parts of body, rim missing. Three fragments of body.

Highly striated marble, yellowish red in color. A small lug on either side of upper body.

Trench 8, Grave 1.

19. Marble pyxis fragments. Pl. 31, f.

TS 1. H. of largest fragment 0.071 m. Parts of knob of lid and bits of body of a tall marble pyxis.

Trench 3.

BONE OBJECTS

20. Bone cylinder. Pl. 30, d.

TX 1. L. 0.045 m.; diam. top 0.026 m. Parts missing, burned and in some portions blue in color. Recessed at one end, lathe-turned rings at the other end.

This may have been a small box (cf. *Délos* XVIII, p. 237, pl. 634) of which bottom and lid are missing.

Trench 1, loose in fill.

TERRACOTTA FIGURINES

21. Female head. Pl. 31, a.

TF 1. P. H. 0.043 m. Broken all round, battered.

Gritty gray clay with red exterior. Back hollow. Hair in waves around face, low diadem (?) and earrings (?).

Trench 1, upper levels.

22. Female head. Pl. 31, a.

TF 4. P. H. 0.054 m. Broken at neck, badly battered.

Gritty red clay, full of gravel. Solid head. Features almost gone.

Trench 1, upper levels.

23. Female head. Pl. 31, a.

TF 9. P. H. 0.034 m. Broken all round, features worn.

Lower part of female face; back concave.

Trench 1, upper levels.

24. Female head. Pl. 31, a.

TF 13. P. H. 0.051 m. Broken at neck, features battered.

Hair in bun (?). Poor work.

Found on the surface.

25. Female figure. Pl. 31, b.

TF 10. P. H. 0.055 m. Broken all round.

Good quality red clay. Legs and feet of seated figure, chiton falling in graceful folds. Back concave.

Trench 3, loose in fill.

26. Female figure. Pl. 31, b.

TF 6. P. H. 0.074 m. Broken top and bottom, back broken off.

Gritty buff-red clay. Draped figure wearing chiton.

Trench 1, upper levels.

27. Female figure. Pl. 31, b.

TF 2. P. H. 0.094 m. Broken all round. Knee and leg only preserved.

Gritty light red clay. Drapery falling in rigid folds.

Trench 1, upper levels.

28. Female figure. Pl. 31, c.

TF 5. P. H. 0.105 m. Broken all round.

Somewhat gritty buff clay. Standing figure

wearing a Doric chiton, one leg drawn backward in typical fifth century stance. Projections on the sides may be from a throne (?). Back closed, figurine hollow.

Trench 1, loose in fill.

29. Female figure. Pl. 31, c.

TF 3. P. H. 0.094 m. Broken all round.

Gritty buff clay. Lower legs and foot of standing figure, draped in a chiton and standing on a high base. Poor work.

Trench 1, upper levels.

30. Male figure. Pl. 31, d.

TF 8. P. H. 0.082 m. Broken all round.

Soft buff clay with traces of brown paint. Nude leg, back concave.

Trench 1, upper levels.

31. Base of figurine. Pl. 31, d.

TF 7. P. L. 0.097 m. Broken above and on sides.

Rather soft buff clay. One shod foot is represented on a base (H. 0.038 m.). Back concave.

Trench 1, upper levels.

TERRACOTTA LAMPS

32. Lamp, Howland Type 23 C. Pl. 31, g.

TL 1. H. 0.03 m. Handle missing.

Buff clay, red-brown glaze. Burned from use. Wheel marks on top, paring marks on bottom below nozzle. Base rather rough.

Cf. R. H. Howland, *Athenian Agora*, IV, *Greek Lamps and their Survivals*, p. 60, no. 229, dating from the first half of the fourth century B.C.

Trench 3, with Nos. **3** and **13**.

33. Lamp, Broneer Type XXI. Pl. 33, d.

TL 3. P. H. 0.035 m. Handle only preserved.

Buff clay, matt brown glaze. Handle in the form of a leaf.

Cf. Broneer, *Corinth*, IV, ii, pp. 73 ff. This type dates from the late first century B.C.

Trench 7.

34. Lamp, Roman period. Pl. 33, d.

TL 5. G. D. 0.033 m. Fragment of rim and discus.

Buff clay, traces of matt brown paint. Tongue pattern on rim. Too little is preserved to assign this piece to any definite type.

Trench 5.

35. Lamp, Howland Type 55 B. Pl. 33, d.

TL 2. G. D. 0.064 m. Fragment of discus and rim.

Buff clay, brown glaze. Concentric grooves on discus, raised dots on rim.

Cf. Howland, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-203, no. 793, late first century B.C.—early first century A.D.

Trench 1, upper levels.

LOOMWEIGHTS

36. Discoid loomweight. Pl. 33, e.

TX 2. Diam. 0.07 m.; th. 0.022 m. Half preserved.

Yellow clay. Disc same thickness throughout. Deep stamp, subject doubtful.

Trench 6 (near fortification wall).

37. Discoid loomweight. Pl. 33, e.

TX 3. Diam. 0.07 m. Half preserved; back broken off.

Yellow clay, similar to No. 36. Stamp representing a shield-like object.

Trench 7.

POTTERY

38. Red-figured lekythos. Pl. 33, a.

TP 24. H. 0.125 m.; diam. of rim 0.037 m.; of base 0.061 m. Two pieces missing from body.

Attic clay, black glaze, spotty in places. Bottom all red. A winged male figure flies right over waves.

Probably last decade of fifth century, only a little later than vase shown in *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pl. 81, no. 10.

Trench 8, Grave 1.

39. Red-figured lekythos. Pl. 33, a.

TP 25. H. 0.12 m.; diam. of rim, 0.037 m.; of base 0.061 m. Five small fragments of body missing.

Very soft Attic clay, spotty glaze, red in places. A winged female figure flies right.

Trench 8, Grave 1.

40. White-ground lekythos. Pl. 32, a.

TP 26. P. H. 0.15 m.; diam. of base 0.041 m. Rim, neck and handle missing.

Attic clay, handle, lower part of body and base black, dot and ray pattern on shoulder; trace of pattern on body.

See *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 363, fig. 24.

Trench 8, above Grave 1.

41. White-ground lekythos. Pl. 32, a.

TP 27. P. H. 0.094 m.; diam. of base 0.05 m. Upper part missing.

Similar to preceding, but with moulded base.

Trench 8, above Grave 1.

42. White-ground lekythos. Pl. 32, a.

TP 31. P. H. 0.094 m.; diam. of base 0.041 m. Upper part missing.

Similar to No. 40.

Trench 8, Grave 1.

43. White-ground lekythos. Pl. 32, a.

TP 33. P. H. 0.07 m.; diam. of base 0.039 m. Upper part missing.

Similar to preceding but with higher, moulded foot. Traces of pattern on body.

Trench 8, Grave 1.

44. White-ground lekythos. Pl. 32, b.

TP 32. P. H. 0.07 m. Fragments of body preserved.

Similar to preceding.

Trench 8, Grave 1.

45. White-ground lekythos. Pl. 32, b.

TP 30. P. H. 0.04 m. Fragment of shoulder preserved.

Similar to preceding. Double row of rays on shoulder.

Trench 8, above Grave 1.

46. Red-figured lekythos. Pl. 32, b.

TP 28. P. H. 0.062 m.; diam. of rim 0.036 m. Fragment including rim and neck.

Black-glazed Attic clay, similar to Nos. 38 and 39. Small trace of a human head visible on the body.

Trench 8, Grave 1.

47. Black-glazed saucer. Pl. 32, b.

TP 29. H. 0.029 m.; diam. of base 0.061 m. Half missing.

Attic clay, worn black glaze.

Trench 8, above Grave 1.

48. Black-glazed lekythos. Pl. 32, g.

TP 35. H. 0.105 m.; diam. of rim 0.034 m.; diam. of base 0.055 m. Cracked but complete.

Attic clay, black glaze (somewhat worn) on entire body except for a band just below the handle, which is decorated with hooks between two horizontal lines.

Trench 8, Grave 2.

49. Two-handled cup. Pl. 32, g.

TP 37. H. 0.048 m.; diam. of base 0.068 m. One side missing.

Attic clay, black glaze, much worn, over the whole surface except the base, which has a central black circle and surrounding stripe.

Trench 8, Grave 2.

50. One-handled jug. Pl. 32, h.

TP 34. P. H. 0.17 m.; diam. of base 0.058 m. Most of rim, neck and part of handle missing.

Very soft red clay (probably local), red stripe around middle of body, another just above the base.

Trench 8, Grave 2.

51. One-handled jug. Pl. 32, h.

TP 36. H. 0.133 m.; diam. of rim 0.03 m.; diam. of base 0.033 m. Complete but surface damaged.

Soft red clay, no decoration. Base flat and solid.

Trench 8, Grave 2.

52. One-handled cup. Pl. 29, b.

TP 18. H. 0.048 m.; diam. of rim 0.11 m.; diam. of base 0.05 m. Piece of body missing.

Gray clay (burned), black glaze, no decoration.

Trench 1, Grave 7.

53. Trefoil oinochoe. Pl. 29, b.

TP 19. H. of handle 0.08 m.; diam. of rim 0.047 m. Rim, neck and handle preserved.

Gray clay (burned), surface black, possibly glazed.

Trench 1, Grave 7.

54. Palmette lekythos. Pl. 29, e, f.

TP 11. H. 0.073 m. Intact.

Buff clay, black glaze chipped and crazed, palmette crudely painted.

Cf. D. M. Robinson, *Olynthus*, XIII, nos. 111-132, pls. 105, 106.

Trench 1, Grave 7B.

55. Palmette lekythos. Pl. 29, e, f.

TP 12. H. 0.095 m. Intact.

Buff clay, black glaze much chipped, crude palmette.

Trench 1, Grave 7B.

56. Palmette lekythos. Pl. 29, e, f.

TP 13. H. 0.092 m. Intact.

Buff clay, black glaze more worn than preceding, palmette still more degenerate.

Trench 1, Grave 7B.

57. Palmette lekythos. Pl. 29, e, f.

TP 14. H. 0.08 m. Surface damaged.

Buff clay, poor black glaze mostly worn off, very crude palmette.

Trench 1, Grave 7B.

58. Palmette lekythos. Pl. 29, c.

TP 5. H. 0.094 m. Rim and neck partly gone.

Buff clay, black glaze, much worn, crude palmette pattern.

Trench 1, Grave 7A.

59. Palmette lekythos. Pl. 29, c.

TP 10. P. H. 0.06 m. Rim and handle missing, surface worn.

Red clay, black glaze, much worn. Palmette design practically gone.

Trench 1, Grave 7A.

60. Lekythos. Pl. 29, c.

TP 15. P. H. 0.06 m. Lip and base chipped, handle gone. Surface worn.

Buff clay, black glaze.

Trench 1, no context.

61. Lekythos. Pl. 29, c.

TP 8. P. H. 0.045 m. Rim and base chipped.

Buff clay, net pattern on body in black glaze, with white dots.

Cf. *Olynthus*, XIII, nos. 165-178, pls. 107, 108.

Trench 1, Grave 5.

62. Pyxis. Pl. 30, c.

TP 1. H. without lid 0.115 m., with lid 0.17 m. Part of rim gone, surface badly weathered.

Gray clay (burned), no glaze. Knobbed lid. Spreading bowl with raised edge on narrow

stem (hollow), flaring base.

Trench 1, Grave 5.

63. Pyxis. Pl. 30, e.

TP 17. H. without lid 0.19 m.; with lid 0.26 m. Fragments of rim missing.

Very soft buff clay, lid of different, red clay. High knobbed lid. Bowl spreads to wide-mouthed rim, then contracts toward mouth. High hollow foot, narrow splayed base.

Trench 1, Grave 3.

64. Pyxis lid. Pl. 29, d.

TP 22. H. 0.095 m., diam. 0.106 m. Knob chipped.

Buff clay, dull red glaze. High knob with depression in top.

Trench 1, Grave 7B.

65. Pyxis lid. Pl. 29, d.

TP 21. H. 0.072 m., diam. 0.092 m. Mended but complete.

Red clay with pattern in brown glaze: dots between stripes.

Trench 1, Grave 7B.

66. One-handled cup. Pl. 29, g.

TP 6. H. 0.048 m.; diam. of rim 0.105 m. Intact, surface worn.

Buff clay, brown glaze on rim and handle.

Trench 1, Grave 4.

67. One-handled cup. Pl. 29, g.

TP 4. H. 0.053 m., diam. rim 0.097 m. Parts of body missing.

Buff clay, red-brown glaze on rim and handle, splash on body. Roughly finished base.

Trench 1, no context.

68. Jar. Pl. 30, f.

TP 3. H. 0.089 m. Complete.

Red clay, horizontal stripes in brown glaze on body and inside lip.

Trench 1, no context.

69. Jar. Pl. 30, f.

TP 2. H. 0.075 m. Rim and base chipped.

Buff clay (burned), horizontal stripes in brown glaze.

Trench 1, no context.

70. Amphora. Pl. 30, g.

TP 16. P. H. 0.18 m. Rim, neck, one side missing.

Buff clay (burned), streaks of matt brown paint on body. Trace of handle remains on one side.

Trench 1, no context.

71. Skyphos. Pl. 30, g.

TP 23. Diam. of base 0.07 m. Base and lower part of body preserved.

Buff clay, red coloring on bottom. Black glaze (much worn) on body. Incised on bottom ΗΣΡ.

Trench 1, no context.

72. Handled cup. Pl. 29, h.

TP 7. H. 0.086 m. One half missing, surface worn.

Buff clay, trace of black glaze on foot. Probably had two handles.

Trench 3, upper levels.

73. Jar. Pl. 29, h.

TP 20. H. 0.11 m. One half missing.

Gray clay (burned). Glazed with brownish black all over, inside and out.

Trench 1, no context.

74. One-handled jug. Pl. 29, h.

TP 9. H. 0.13 m. Part of body missing, surface worn.

Buff clay, no decoration.

Trench 1, Grave 2.

INSCRIPTIONS

75. Grave stele. Pl. 34, d.

TI 1. H. 0.725 m.; W. at top 0.335 m.; W. at bottom 0.343 m.; Th. 0.14-0.18 m. Soft conglomerate.

Ῥανθύλος

Θαρσήτου

The name Rhanthylos seems to be hitherto unknown and is to be added to the other odd names already known from Tarrha (*Inscr. Cret.*, II, pp. 307-309). The name Tharsitas is known from an inscription at Delphi which mentions a man of this name from Anopolis, a town not far from Tarrha (*Inscr. Cret.*, II, p. 7).

Probably second century after Christ. Trench 3, re-used as a cover slab for a grave.

76. Grave stele. Pl. 34, e.

TI 2. L. ca. 0.75 m.; W. 0.49 m.; Th. 0.30 m. Reddish gray limestone.

Εὐφρα<ῖ>ο<ς>

Εὐφραίου

Χαίρε

Cf. another Euphraios, son of Bosylios, in *Inscr. Cret.*, II, p. 307, no. 4. Euphraios the son of Euphraios is known from an inscription at Gortyn (*Inscr. Cret.*, IV, no. 206, D).

Second or third century after Christ. Trench 2, lying on the surface.

77. Grave monument. Pl. 35, d.

TI 3. L. 0.41 m.; W. 0.25 m.; Th. ca. 0.08 m. Gray limestone.

Δαματρία Εὐ

κρίνη Χαίρε

The name Εὐκρίνη or Εὐκρίμη seems to be unknown.

Perhaps as early as second or first century B.C. Found in the neighborhood.

78. Grave monument. Pl. 35, e.

TI 4. L. 0.34 m.; W. 0.28 m.; Th. 0.065 m. Gray limestone.

Δύνα
μς

For the name cf. *I.G.*, XII, 1, 415.

Second or third century. Found in the neighborhood.

79. Grave monument.

TI 5. H. 0.68 m.; W. 0.37 m.; Th. 0.24 m. Gray limestone.

Tombstone in the shape of a naiskos, top right corner missing. Two rectangles cut in

very low relief on right side; one rectangle on the front just below the panel with letters. Neat drafting on right side at a distance of 0.16 m. from the front, which is the thickness of the stone on the left side.

Κλεοβούλω or Κλεόβουλος

Second or third century. Found lying on the site of Tarrha.

The above inscriptions are in addition to those already published in *Inscriptiones Creticae*, II, pp. 307-309.

GLADYS DAVIDSON WEINBERG

COLUMBIA, MISSOURI

THE GLASS FROM TARRHA

(PLATES 36-38)

SEVEN of the nine trenches dug at Tarrha produced more than four hundred fragments of glass. Nine-tenths of these are unidentifiable, probably from the walls of blown vessels. Most of the forms and techniques suggested by the remaining tenth appear to be the more ordinary sort, common in the Roman Empire during the first and second centuries after Christ. The purpose of this brief note is to list the recognizable types and to illustrate the unusual forms of deterioration common to much of the Tarrha glass.¹

Although one complete vessel was found (No. **12**), not a single object could be assembled from fragments. In addition, the forms and techniques represented by the identifiable fragments do not fall into a neat, chronologically limited pattern. The value of even this small group of recognizable bits is lessened by the fact that many are very small, frequently badly misshapen and heavily corroded. Some are from well known and well dated vessel types (for example, Nos. **1**, **26**) while others can be identified by technique of manufacture (for example, No. **19**). In most cases, however, there is only a small section of rim or base or, more frequently, a tiny bit from the wall of a vessel, which makes it practically impossible to associate a specific fragment with a vessel type. Of the pieces discussed here to which parallels are cited, only a very small percentage can be safely identified with a known type.

Fragment No. **2**, from a cored vessel, is probably the earliest specimen, either Hellenistic or—less likely—pre-Hellenistic. Among the latest found is No. **26**, a fragment from a vessel embellished with flat, oval prunts or blobs of blue glass, probably of the fourth century after Christ. This indicates a span of about five hundred years, although most of the fragments appear to belong to the early Roman Empire, that is, between the first and second centuries after Christ, with the majority probably in the first century. The later examples are few and may either be intrusions (No. **26** was found on the surface near the west steps leading down to the river) or incorrectly identified. No. **23** represents a special problem as it has certain characteristics associated with goblets of the early Islamic period.

¹ I am indebted to my friends and colleagues, Dr. Axel von Saldern, Curator of the Museum, and Mr. Harrison P. Hood of the Corning Glass Works Research Laboratory. Mr. Hood has given much of his time to matters concerning ancient glass.

CATALOGUE

1. Fragments of ribbed bowls. Pl. 36.

TG 1. Max. dim. 0.052 m.

Greenish tinge. Rim fragment with parts of three ribs. Rim polished inside and out.

TG 18. Max. dim. 0.042 m.

Misshapen fragment with parts of three ribs. Pale aquamarine. Deformed by fire, the breaks are clean, indicating it was broken after burning.

For the shape cf. C. Isings, *Roman Glass from Dated Finds*, Groningen, 1957, form 3, pp. 17 ff.; G. R. Davidson, *Corinth*, XII, Princeton, 1952, pp. 545 ff.; D. B. Harden in C. F. C. Hawkes and M. R. Hull, *Camulodunum, First Report on the Excavations at Colchester, 1930-1939*, London, 1947, pp. 294 ff.; J. W. and G. M. Crowfoot, *The Objects from Samaria*, London, 1957, pp. 403 ff.

First century after Christ or possibly earlier. Trench 1.

2. Fragment of cored vessel. Pl. 36.

TG 2. Max. dim. 0.023 m.

Blue matrix; yellow bands and turquoise zigzags. Probably from an amphoriskos or aryballos.

Cf. Poul Fossing, *Glass Vessels before Glass-Blowing*, Copenhagen, 1940, pp. 103 ff.

Probably Hellenistic. Trench 1.

3. Fragments of shallow bowls. Fig. 1.

TG 3. Max. dim. 0.027 m.

Colorless, appearing opal because of oxidation. Incised groove runs parallel with rim.

TG 63. Max. dim. 0.018 m.

Colorless, appearing opal. Perhaps part of a handle; no fire damage.

Cf. Isings, *op. cit.*, form 22, p. 38. To the same category appear to belong objects such as *Glass from the Ancient World*, R. W. Smith Collection, Corning, 1957, no. 173; see also Fremersdorf, *Römisches Buntglas in Köln*, Cologne, 1958, pl. XLVI. For the shape cf.

Oswald and Pryce, *Terra Sigillata*, London, 1920, pls. L, LI.

First century B.C.—first century A.D. Trench 1.

4. Fragment of handle. Pl. 36.

TG 4. Max. dim. 0.054 m.

Light greenish blue. Typical Roman handle construction, probably from a jug or amphoriskos.

Cf. Isings, *op. cit.*, form 15, p. 32; Morin-Jean, *La Verrerie en Gaule*, Paris, 1913, pls. 2, 3.

First-second century. Trench 1.

5. Fragments of unguentarium (?).

TG 7. Max. dim. 0.037 m.

Greenish blue tinge. Fragments of extremely thin glass, some misshapen by proximity to heat.

Cf. Isings, *op. cit.*, form 28a, p. 42; Olof Vessberg, "Roman Glass in Cyprus," *Opuscula Archaeologica*, VII, 1952, pp. 22 ff.

First or second century. Trench 1.

6. Fragment of cup (?). Fig. 1, Pl. 36.

TG 11. Max. dim. 0.023 m.

Light blue, iridescent. Two lathe-cut grooves about 0.005 m. apart flank a wide, shallow groove.

Cf. Isings, *op. cit.*, form 12, pp. 27 ff.; Vessberg, *op. cit.*, pl. I, pp. 18 ff.; *Corinth*, XII, nos. 590-591.

Probably first century. Trench 1.

7. Base ring fragment. Fig. 1, Pl. 36.

TG 13. Max. dim. 0.035 m.

Clear and colorless. Folded air trap base ring; bottom rises in center. Probably from a bowl.

Cf. Vessberg, *op. cit.*, p. 112, pl. I, where the base construction appears to be similar.

First or second century. Trench 1.

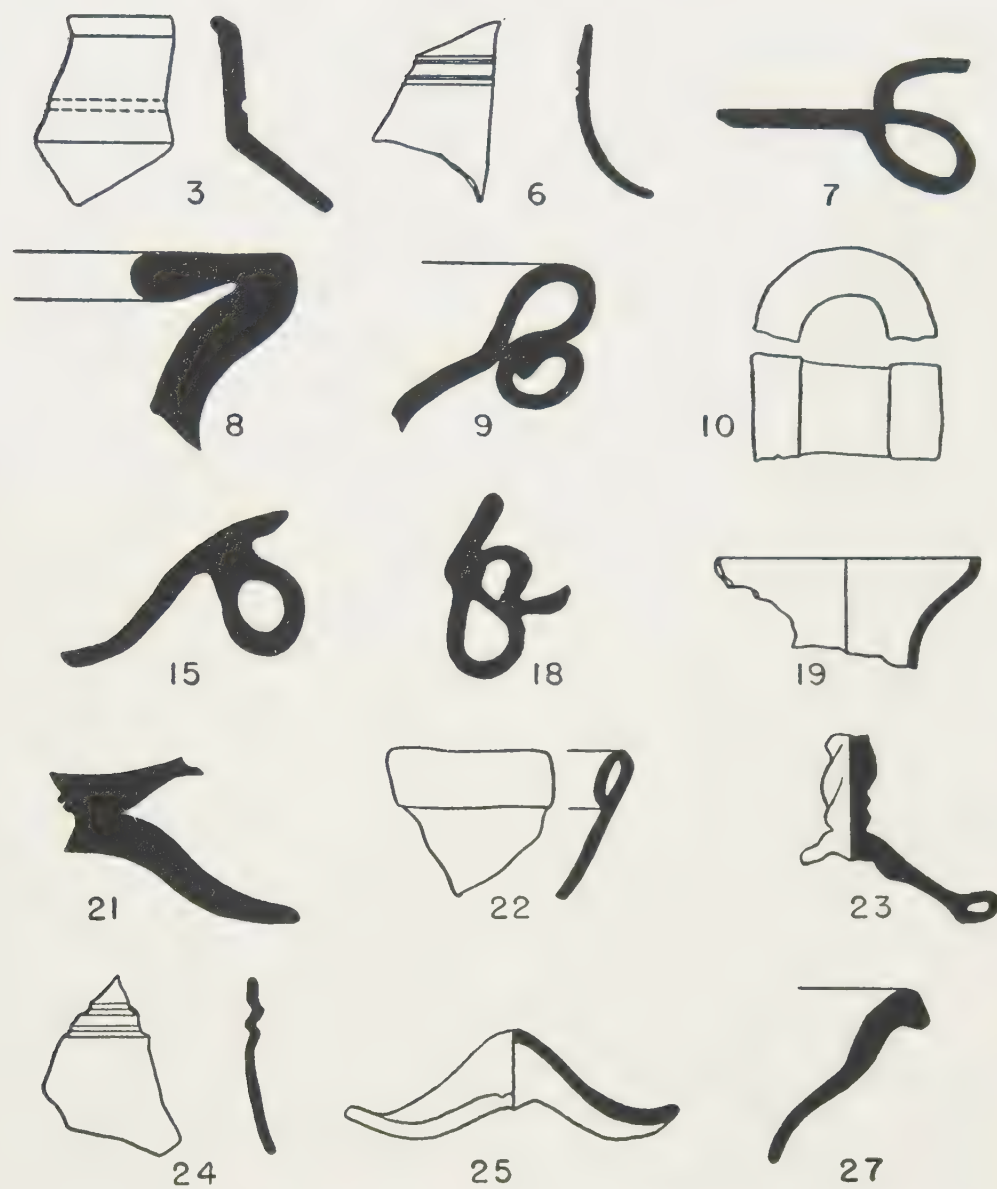


FIG. 1

8. Fragments of unguentaria. Fig. 1, Pl. 36.

TG 15. Max. dim. 0.027 m.; diam. of rim 0.038 m.

Aquamarine, with big bubbles. One fragment from the top of a thick-walled narrow-necked vessel with wide, flat rim; the other may be from the base of the neck where it joins the shoulder. Weathering occurred after the vessel was broken.

Cf. Isings, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 ff.

Probably first or second century. Trench 1.

9. Four rim fragments. Fig. 1, Pl. 36 (only three shown).

TG 17. Max. dim. 0.038 m.

Colorless, with iridescent brown weathering and signs of burning; the one unblackened specimen shows heat pocks at the edge. All the rims are folded, probably from bowls.

Cf. D. B. Harden, *Roman Glass from Karanis*, Ann Arbor, 1936, pls. XIV and XV.

Second-fourth centuries. Trench 1.

10. Fragment of bottle neck. Fig. 1.

TG 20. Max. dim. 0.029 m.; diam. 0.025 m.

Green, very thick glass, approximately half a cylinder. Probably neck fragment from a large bottle.

Cf. Harden, *op. cit.*, nos. 805 ff.

Probably Early Roman. Trench 1.

11. Fragment of bottle. Pl. 36.

TG 23. Max. dim. 0.063 m.

Pale aquamarine, badly burned. Thick bottom, thin walls; six loops of fine spiral threading. Probably from a bottle.

Cf. *Glass from the Ancient World*, p. 156, no. 319; Fremersdorf, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 ff.

First century. Trench 1.

12. Two unguentaria. Pl. 36.

TG 26. Max. dim. 0.042 m. Top and part of one side missing.

Pale aquamarine. Ripples on exterior, bubble pocks on interior.

TG 28. H. 0.07 m. Misshapen but intact.

Pale aquamarine. Flat, flaring rim; globular body. The rim seems to have broken from the neck and then re-fused during exposure to great heat.

Cf. Isings, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43; Vessberg, *op. cit.*, pl. VII; Harden, *op. cit.*, nos. 819 ff.

First or second century. Trench 1.

13. Fragment of bowl(?). Pl. 36.

TG 35. Max. dim. 0.044 m.

Pale aquamarine. Applied base ring and threading above the base; deformed by fire.

Cf. Isings, *op. cit.*, pp. 56 ff. For base construction, cf. Harden, *op. cit.*, pls. XI, XII, XIV.

First-third centuries. Trench 1.

14. Fragment of bottle or jug. Pl. 36.

TG 40. Max. dim. 0.045 m.

Aquamarine. Two fragments fused together; probably a large object cracked from heat and then fused. Signs of mould-blown design, like the bottom of a square jug.

Cf. Isings, *op. cit.*, form 50, pp. 63 ff. For the date of this type cf. especially Harden in *Germania*, XXXVII, 1959, p. 339.

Probably first, possibly second century. Trench 1.

15. Two base ring fragments. Fig. 1, Pl. 36.

TG 46. Diam. ca. 0.105 m.

Colorless, amber discoloration.

TG 47. Max. dim. 0.027 m.; diam. probably less than 0.10 m.

Colorless. Both of these fragments were probably from bowls; for the shape cf. No. 7.

Trench 3.

16. Four rim fragments. Pl. 36.

TG 49. Max. dim. 0.05 m.

Colorless. Two fragments, possibly from the same vessel. Folded rims with crimped applications. Both were exposed to fire.

TG 85. Max. dim. 0.045 m.

Colorless, with yellow iridescence. Two folded rim fragments with crimped applications. May have been exposed to fire. All the fragments are probably from bowls.

For rims with applied crimped threads cf. S. Loeschcke, *Beschreibung römischer Altertümer gesammelt von C. A. Niessen . . .*, Cologne, 1911, nos. 78, 79, pl. XXXIV; *Corinth*, XII, nos. 612-613.

Second or third century. Trench 3.

17. Fragment of flask (?). Pl. 36.

TG 67. Max. dim. 0.025 m.

Pale amethyst, perhaps from manganese. Mould-blown, possibly from a flask resembling a bunch of grapes.

Cf. Isings, *op. cit.*, form 78e, pp. 93-94; G. A. Eisen, *Glass*, New York, 1927, p. 307, pl. LXVIII; Harden, *Karanis*, no. 628 (a head vase).

Third century(?). Trench 3.

18. Rim fragment. Fig. 1, Pl. 36.

TG 72. Max. dim. 0.07 m.

Pale aquamarine. Two pieces. Doubly folded rim, probably from a bowl or cup.

Cf. *Corinth*, XII, no. 653.

Second or third century. Trench 1.

19. Rim fragment. Fig. 1.

TG 73. Diam. of rim *ca.* 0.035 m.

Pale aquamarine. About half the mouth of a vessel, probably a bottle.

Cf. Isings, *op. cit.*, form 92 (?); Morin-Jean, *op. cit.*, form 40 (?).

Probably first century B.C. or A.D. Trench 1.

20. Two mosaic glass fragments. Pl. 36.

TG 84. Max. dim. 0.035 m.

Opaque brick-red matrix with opaque yellow

and transparent green inserts. Fragments probably from a bowl, badly misshapen by heat.

Cf. W. Froehner, *Collection Julien Gréau*, Paris, 1903, pl. XCVII, similar in pattern though not in color. For dated millefiori glass see Isings, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 16.

First century B.C. or A.D. Trench 3.

21. Fragment of base. Fig. 1, Pl. 38.

TG 92. Diam. *ca.* 0.03 m.

Part of an unusually thick pedestal foot, possibly of a cup.

For similar foot construction, cf. Vessberg, *op. cit.*, pl. II, 20.

Probably first century. Trench 4.

22. Rim fragment. Fig. 1.

TG 100. Max. dim. 0.02 m.

Pale aquamarine. Fragment of folded rim, possibly a bowl or cup.

For rim construction, cf. Vessberg, *op. cit.*, pl. I; Harden, *op. cit.*, pl. XI.

Probably first or second century. Trench 5.

23. Fragment of goblet. Fig. 1, Pl. 38 (including other goblet fragments).

TG 112. P. H. 0.023 m.

Pale aquamarine. Twisted stem containing three vertical air traps; folded foot.

Cf. Isings, *op. cit.*, form 111; *Corinth*, XII, no. 720.

Probably fourth century. Trench 5.

24. Fragment of bowl. Fig. 1.

TG 115. Max. dim. 0.023 m.

Very pale aquamarine. Mould-blown, with two ridges 0.004 m. apart.

For a footed bowl with one mould-blown ridge, cf. Loeschcke, *op. cit.*, no. 1094, pl. L.

First or second century. Trench 5.

25. Fragment of base. Fig. 1, Pl. 38.

TG 116. Max. dim. 0.045 m.

Pale olive. Base of beaker or bowl.

Cf. Isings, *op. cit.*, form 30; Vessberg, *op. cit.*, pl. I, nos. 18 ff.

First or second century. Trench 5.

26. Fragment of vessel. Pl. 36.

TG 139. Max. dim. 0.022 m.

Shapeless fragment of colorless glass with blue blob applied, probably from a bowl.

Cf. *Glass from the Ancient World*, nos. 304, 304a; G. Caputo, *Mon. Ant.*, XLI, 1951, cols. 298 ff., color pl. III; Morin-Jean, *op. cit.*, pp. 218 ff.; *Corinth*, XII, nos. 615, 616. For color cf. color plate in *Glastechnische Berichte*, XXXI, 1958, opposite p. 19.

Ca. fourth century. Found on surface, near steps descending to river.

27. Fragment of rim. Fig. 1.

TG 145. Max. dim. 0.029 m.

Olive green. Very thick rim, very thin walls, probably of a bowl. Perhaps polished on the exterior.

Cf. rim profiles of early first century—Oswald and Pryce, *op. cit.*, pl. XLI; E. Gose, "Gefässtypen der römischen Keramik im Rheinland," Beiheft 1, *Bonner Jahrb.*, LVI, 1950, no. 123 etc.

First century. Trench 7.

One remarkable aspect of the Tarrha glass is not evident in the above list: more than two-thirds of all the fragments show evidence of proximity to heat and smoke. Half of the remaining third were strangely and heavily corroded, as were many of the burned fragments. The distribution by trenches is shown in the following table. Few burned fragments were on the surface but all three types were found at all layers.

	Tr. 1	Tr. 3	Tr. 4	Tr. 5	Tr. 7	Tr. 8	Church	Total
I no obvious weathering, no apparent fire damage	13	3	2	26	13	0	3	60
II heavy weathering and cor- roding, no apparent fire damage	18	2	3	11	34	0	2	70
III fire damage, frequently heavily corroded	151	78	28	20	0	3	1	281
Totals	182	83	33	57	47	3	6	411

Among the fragments there are five general types evidencing burning, and three showing corrosion:

BURNING

1. Black deposit on outer surface

This may be a carbon deposit which has combined with the alkaline solution resulting from leaching on the surface of the glass. It is a scale-like layer, easily removable (Pl. 37, a).

2. Loss of Form

This varies from complete collapse (No. 11) to barely discernible sagging or twisting. In some instances (No. 17) the glass reached its melting temperature and began to "run" (Pl. 37, b).

3. Refusion

Separate fragments become fused together, often with little loss of form. In one case (No. 14) an object appears to have been broken either by physical or thermal shock and then partly re-fused.

4. Interior Bubbling

Bubbles are formed within the thickness of the glass by the expansion of infinitesimal pockets in the original matrix. These are frequently so numerous as to form an over-all texture (Pl. 37, c).

5. Cracking

This varies from the sharp separation of whole parts to extremely fine surface cracks. Both are generally caused by thermal shock, that is a sudden change in temperature as when cold water falls on a hot glass surface. In this case, the outer skin contracts, pulling in to flat sections surrounded by channels. The effect when magnified resembles a mud flat (Pl. 37, d).

CORROSION

1. Layering

The cause of iridescence and most surface films, this form of decomposition is the result of the water-soluble alkali in glass leaching out, leaving a layer with a higher silica content than the glass matrix. These layers may continue to form one under the other. The alkaline solution formed by the leaching process may accelerate further leaching and may also combine with external elements to form a scum or layer of discoloration.

2. Pitting

This very common form of surface decomposition is little understood. It probably involves the leaching process, but why the pits are generally spherical is not known (Pl. 37, e). The bubble structure of the original glass does not seem to be a relevant factor, although interior bubbling from exposure to a fire might have bearing. Another possibility is pitting through some protective layer such as a carbon deposit by which the surface would be protected from leaching except where the layer had been removed. Plate 37, f is a remarkable example in which small craters have been formed below (or above?) a large one. In Plate 37, g pits have formed in such a way as to leave a raised plane along the left side.

3. Ploughing

This varies from shallow grooves in the surface (Pl. 38, a) to channels cutting all the way through (Pl. 38, b). These may be the result of leaching down from a scratch on the surface or the widening of a crack running through the glass (Pl. 38, c),

although why the sides of the channel remain perpendicular to the surface is inexplicable. This explanation seems even less reasonable in the case of Plate 38, d in which a tunnel appears on the left hand side running diagonally through the thickness of the fragment. The rim fragment in Plate 38, e shows a groove which tunnels into the glass, parallel to but not touching the interior of the folded rim. The most curious of this large group of ploughed fragments is shown in Plate 38, f where tunnels, grooves and channels pass through and over each other leaving a strange network of plateaus which must have once been the original surface. Spectrographic analysis showed this fragment to contain 16.4% of the water-soluble flux soda, not an unusually great amount.

Is there a relationship between these forms of corrosion and burning? How much time is required for craters and tunnels to form? Salt water will certainly hasten such decomposition, but does it have other effects? Is there such a thing as a glass worm? We know of the tiny radiolaria that make their own skeletons out of silicon dissolved in sea water.

The ways in which glass deteriorates may be able to describe physical conditions over long periods of time. Recognition of types of decomposition should throw light on quality of glass and its major constituents. It may very well be possible to determine age through weathering.

CONCLUSION

There are several unusual factors about the glass found at Tarrha. First, in relation to other sites in Greece the number of glass fragments found is unusually large. Second, with one exception (No. 12), no intact objects were found, and not a single object could be reassembled from fragments. Third, glass fragments were found in widely separated trenches at all levels, with little apparent relationship to the purpose for which the area was used. And finally, five-sixths of the fragments show various signs of either exposure to great heat and/or unusually corrosive conditions.

Taking the evidence at hand—and its great inadequacies must be emphasized—there is as yet no reason to believe that glass was made at Tarrha. It is logical, however, to suppose that cullet (broken glass used in preparing the batch for a new melt) was brought here on its way to a glass factory. The objection to this theory is the wide distribution of glass over the site. One of many explanations may be derived from a study of the site plan (p. 92, Fig. 1) and the table on page 114. Allowing for a certain amount of breakage and discard in proximity to the trenches in which the fragments were found, there is a rough pattern of distribution with the greatest number closest to the sea and the least farthest from it. This might be accounted for if the glass cullet was stored in a place convenient to the shore and was

subsequently “washed” over the site. The condition of the fragments clearly indicates a fire—possibly in the storage place, although the fragments could have been exposed to fire before their arrival in Tarrha—and the amount of decomposition suggests unusual weathering conditions, possibly accounted for by long exposure to salt water. The thermal shock evidenced by several fragments suggests that the fire might have been terminated by the water. The rise of the south coast of Crete by some eight meters, supposedly in the sixth century after Christ,² may have terminated several centuries of partial inundation. None of the later fragments were badly corroded.

This suggested explanation, based on insufficient evidence, is only one of many possibilities and may be entirely incorrect.

The value of the glass found at Tarrha lies in its physical condition. It is an unpretentious reminder of how little we know about glass decomposition and how much a thorough understanding of these phenomena might tell us. The study of these problems will be a major part of the Laboratory Research Program of The Corning Museum of Glass.

THOMAS S. BUECHNER

THE CORNING MUSEUM OF GLASS

² J. D. S. Pendlebury, *The Archaeology of Crete*, p. 3.

A UNIQUE CEMENT FROM ATHENS

IN 1933 a 5th century bronze head of Nike (Agora Inv. B 30) was found in the Agora at Athens, Greece. Professor Shear in his yearly report¹ commented as follows: "The head from the Agora was cast as a separate unit by the hollow casting process and a considerable amount of the clay core still remained in the interior when it was found." Both Homer A. Thompson² and Dorothy Burr Thompson³ have reported on the head itself but nothing was done about the "clay core" until the autumn of 1957 when Professor Thompson sent us a sample with the request that we examine it to see if we could throw some light on the nature of the core used by Greek sculptors in making a bronze statue.

Preliminary superficial chemical examination showed that the material was not essentially clay although the possibility that some clay might be present was not eliminated. On heating to 105°C the material lost 0.24 percent of its weight and on heating to 900°C, it lost 45.2 percent. Unfired kaolin (China clay), for example, would lose about 14 percent of its weight under similar circumstances while pure calcium carbonate would lose about 44 percent. This high loss on ignition led us to suspect the presence of some organic matter which would burn off at such a temperature. The presence of organic matter was confirmed by a further experiment; 10.1 percent of the "clay core" was found to be soluble in acetone, i.e., it was organic in nature. The actual amount extracted does not have much significance. During cleaning the head was repeatedly soaked in boiling water and considering the nature of the organic matter present, some of it probably melted and may have floated off on the water.

Having separated the original core into two constituents, one organic and the other inorganic, the next step was to identify the materials. The core had a considerable amount of copper in it and also some tin but these constituents could be ignored for our purpose for they undoubtedly had collected there from the bronze head itself during the time it had been buried and also during the cleaning process. Since we suspected that the filler was either lime or clay, we analyzed for alumina and silica (the main constituents of clay) and for calcium oxide and carbon dioxide (the constituents of calcium carbonate). On analyzing the original material we found 2.8 percent silica and 0.7 percent alumina. Since these are present in only minor amounts, it seems safe to assume that they represent small amounts of clay and sand which

¹ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 519-527.

² Homer A. Thompson, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Supplement 1, pp. 183-210.

³ Dorothy Burr Thompson, *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, pp. 173-209.

have deposited on the core or were originally present as impurities. The lime and carbon dioxide, on the other hand, were present in considerable amount: 36.5 percent calcium oxide and 32.6 percent carbon dioxide. The carbon dioxide is present in excess; some of it probably comes from hydrated copper carbonate. As the material is now, it contains over 65 percent calcium carbonate. We believe that it was added as calcium oxide which has become carbonated in the way ordinary lime plaster does. This belief was strengthened by duplicating the mixture with both calcium oxide and calcium carbonate. Calcium carbonate formed a crumbly substance, while, with calcium oxide, we got a rock hard material at room temperature which softened on moderate heating.

The extracted material, after evaporating off the acetone, was pure white and had the unmistakable smell of beeswax. Its melting point was 67.5°C and its refractive index at 75°C —1.442. On analysis it showed 79.64 percent carbon and 13.24 percent hydrogen. The melting point and refractive index are correct for beeswax. The carbon and hydrogen are very close to the mean values for the melissic ester of palmitic acid and other esters present in beeswax plus cerotic acid which are the principal constituents of the wax and which have a mean carbon value of 80.5 percent and a mean hydrogen value of 13.5 percent.

In spite of all these convincing values (as a matter of fact, the odor alone is convincing) we made infrared curves for a modern white beeswax and the extracted material (Fig. 1). The absorption bands for the two are identical; the difference in slope of the two curves is attributable to differences in thickness of the sample films.

It is interesting to note that the beeswax used was highly purified and snow white, not the crude yellow form which is the natural product. This purification by washing, filtering and bleaching⁴ involves considerable labor and is another indication of the high esteem accorded this piece of sculpture in ancient times.

We next tried to duplicate the mixture using both calcium oxide which would, with time, become calcium carbonate, and calcium carbonate itself. The calcium carbonate mixed with beeswax was crumbly but the calcium oxide-beeswax mixture was plastic when warm and rock-like when cold. We found a ratio of 25 grams beeswax to 45 grams calcium oxide to be satisfactory but of course the amounts could be varied. The above ratio approaches the maximum amount of calcium oxide that it is possible to add to the beeswax; by adding lesser amounts one can make mixtures of varying degrees of hardness.

While it was very unlikely, there did exist a faint possibility that a resistant surface might form on this rock-like material and that it would be possible to use it for a core. We therefore melted some bronze and tried the material for a core but

⁴ H. Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste*, Vol. II, Leipzig, 1879, pp. 151-163.

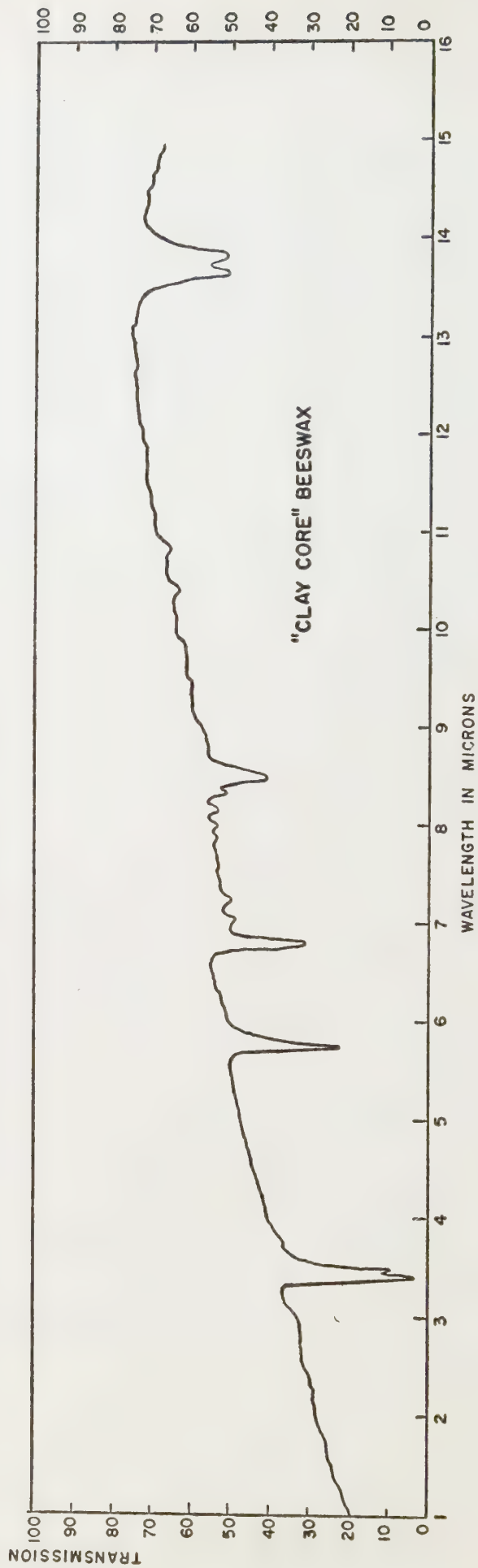
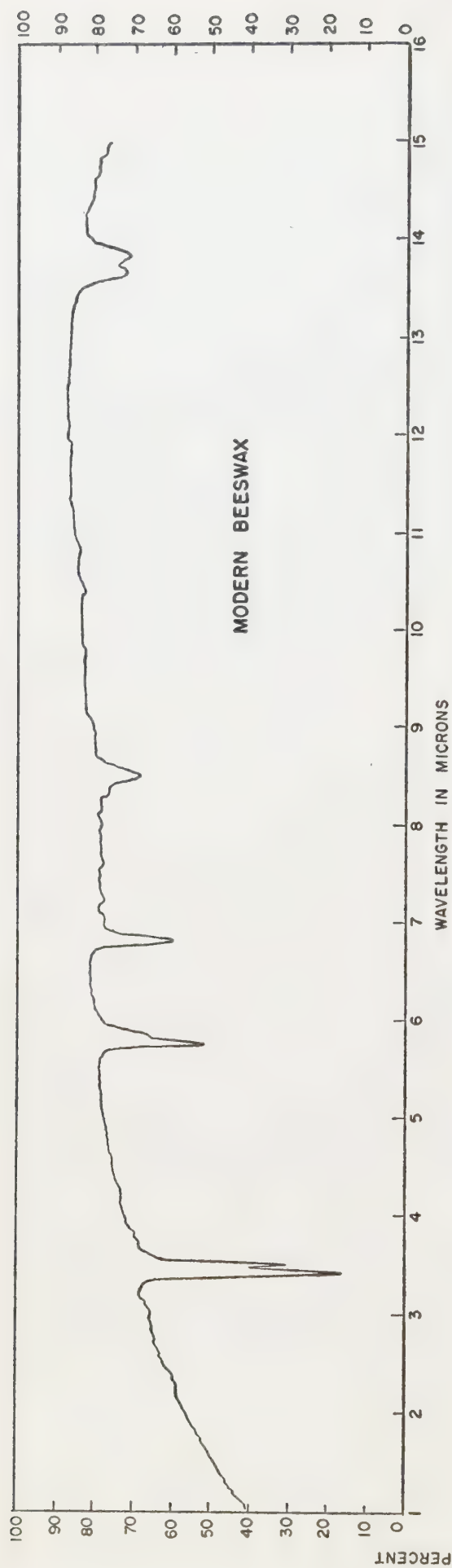


FIG. 1. Infrared Curves of Modern Beeswax and of "Clay Core" Beeswax

the very hot bronze, which melts at around 1000°C, simply went through the wax mixture and melted it with the greatest of ease.

Thompson has discussed the construction of the head and how it was fitted to its torso. He has also discussed the attachment of the gold which was removed periodically for weighing. Although not absolutely necessary, the cement, which could be softened by gentle heat or even by placing it in the Athenian sun, seems to us to be admirably suited for securing the eyes in their sockets and also for strengthening the attachment of the topknot as well as the attachment of the head to its body. A thin application of the wax mixture to the face or even only to the channels around the face would hold the gold firmly in place and yet allow it to be removed easily and without harm, especially after enough heat had been applied to soften the cement. Perhaps the cement was used during its later years but not necessarily when the piece of sculpture was first made.

It should be pointed out, in addition, that the uses for which the beeswax-lime mixture was employed in the examples cited in this paper are remote from the use of beeswax in bronze casting.⁵ There seems to be no valid reason, however, why the material could not be used for this purpose as well as pure beeswax. It would be firmer, especially during the summer months, but would lend itself readily to modelling with slightly warmed tools. When necessary, it could be removed by heating.

In 1955 Miss Talcott had sent one of us (M.F.) a sample of cement which had been used to fasten a Triple Hecate (Agora Inv. S 852)⁶ firmly in a high, square marble base. The context of this sculpture is 4th century after Christ although the statuette itself is probably 1st or 2nd century after Christ. Thus there is a time lapse of several hundred years between these two samples, but still they are very similar in content. The principal difference is that in the Roman sample a part of the lime has been replaced by lead oxide, i.e., we believe it had been added as oxide but it also, like the lime, had become converted into carbonate. This sample analyzed as follows: carbon dioxide—31.64 percent; calcium oxide—39.26 percent; lead oxide—9.32 percent; silica—1.83 percent; iron oxide + alumina—0.63 percent. The rest is organic matter which, when extracted, had the melting point and odor of beeswax. It was not as pure white as the material extracted from the "clay core" but it analyzed 74.28 percent carbon and 13.8 percent hydrogen which is an entirely reasonable analysis for beeswax. Lack of material prevented us from making an infrared analysis but these other values identify it without question as beeswax.

This unique cement has never, we believe, been reported from Greece and is not, in so far as we know, in use today although it has many interesting possibilities. For example, a slightly warmed nail will go through it with ease but will be held with an

⁵ K. Klege and K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die antiken Grossbronzen*, Vol. I, Berlin & Leipzig, 1927, pp. 92 ff.

⁶ *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, p. 183, fig. 8.

iron grip when cooled to room temperature. We are very grateful to Professor William Bell Dinsmoor for calling our attention to a Mesopotamian analogy⁷ where bitumen mixed with calcium carbonate (and clay) was used to cement lion's heads to the temple at Ur. We are grateful to Sir Leonard Woolley for supplying us with the chemical analysis of this material, i.e., the inorganic part of the material, as follows: calcium carbonate (and a little sulfate)—22.4 percent; silica—11.7 percent; alumina (soluble in hydrochloric acid)—4.2 percent; alumina (not soluble)—9.2 percent; lime, etc.—0.7 percent; magnesia—0.2 percent. There is more clay in this material than in the Greek as is shown by the analyses for alumina and silica but it also contains a large amount of calcium carbonate. The Greeks did not have asphalt readily available in the 5th century B.C. and they substituted beeswax. Actually, beeswax seems to us to be suited much more admirably to the purpose for which it was used than asphalt.

On the other hand, resin and also asphalt mixed with clay and lime⁸ have been reported as fillings, in particular for filling griffin heads of the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. For these examples and also for the Mesopotamian ones, the principal purpose of the filling may have been to strengthen the thin bronze.

The Mesopotamian material is, of course, considerably earlier than even the earliest Greek example. On the question of its date Sir Leonard wrote as follows: "The early Mesopotamian dates are unstable but the average view is that the First Dynasty of Ur, to which the al'Ubaid figures are dated by inscriptions, should be put at about 2700 B.C. and since the temple builder was the second King of that Dynasty a date of approximately 2650 is fairly safe."

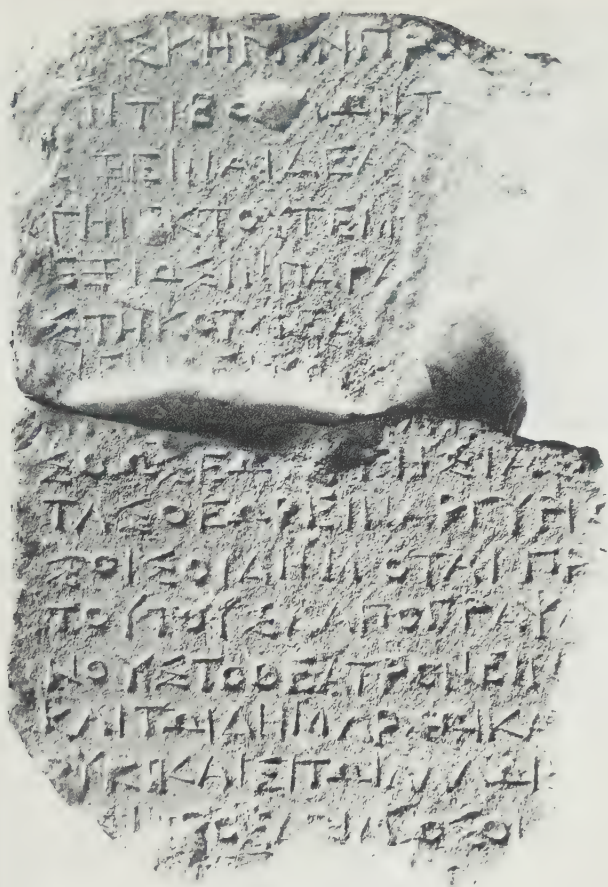
We wish to thank the American Philosophical Society for a grant to one of us (M.F.) which made it possible to complete this paper in Athens.

MARIE FARNSWORTH
IVOR SIMMONS

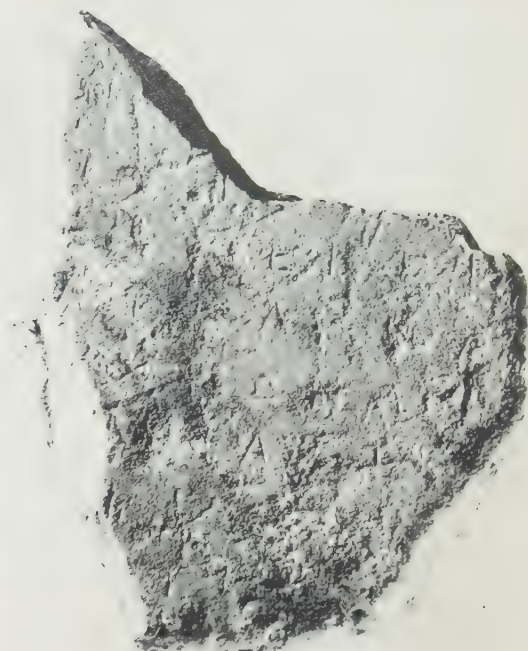
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⁷ H. R. Hall and C. L. Woolley, *Al'Ubaid*, Vol. I, Oxford University Press, 1927, pp. 30-32, pl. X.

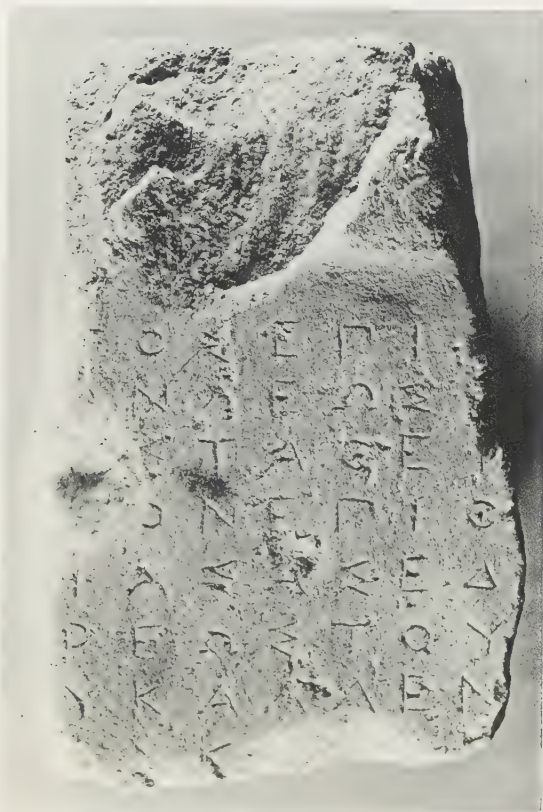
⁸ P. Amandry, *B.C.H.*, LXVII-LXIX, 1944-45, p. 62.



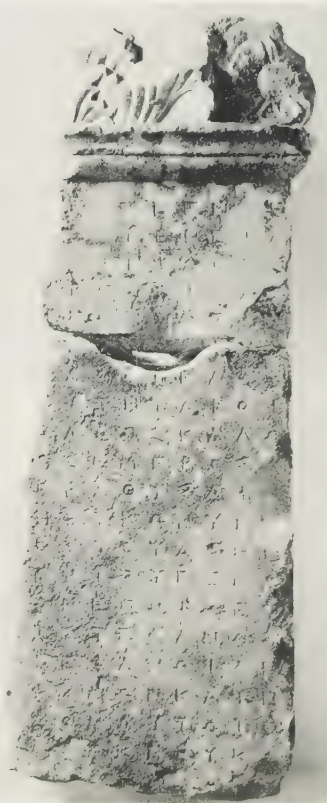
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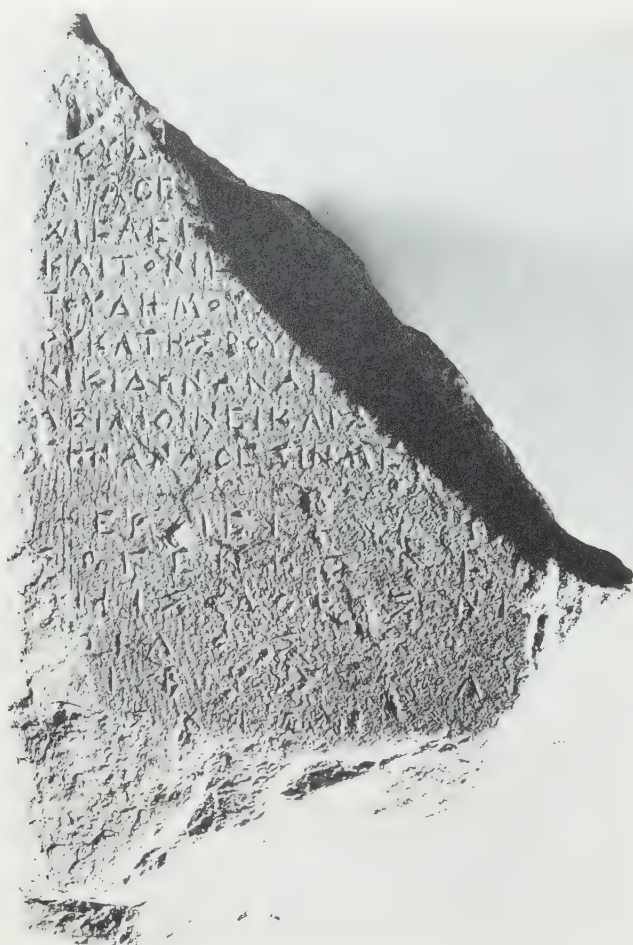
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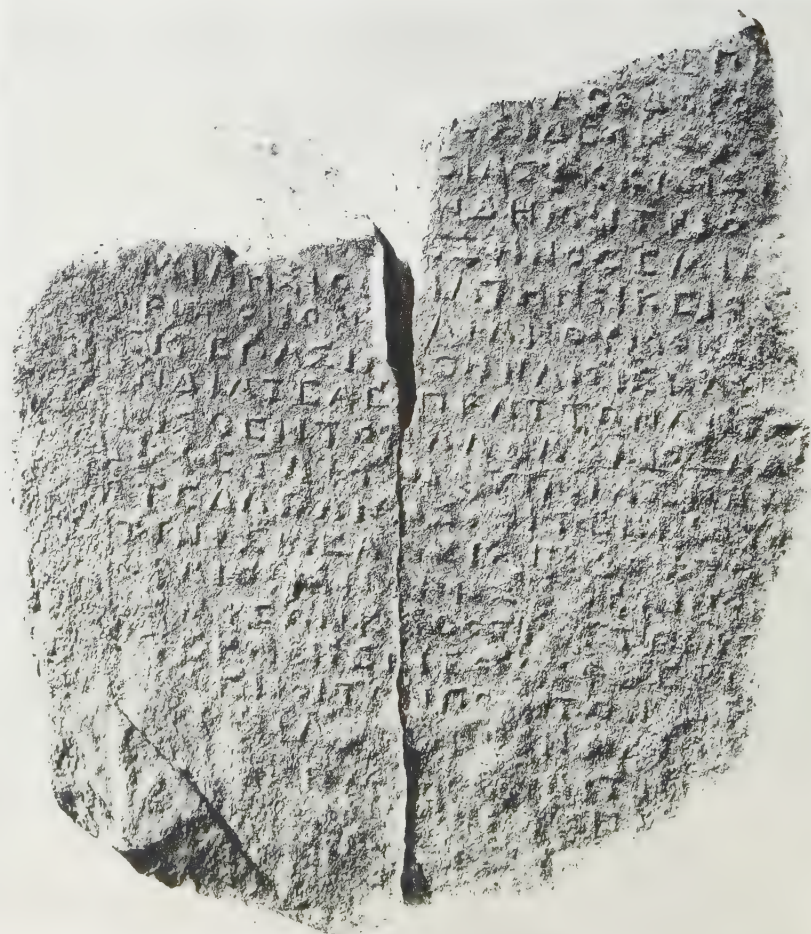
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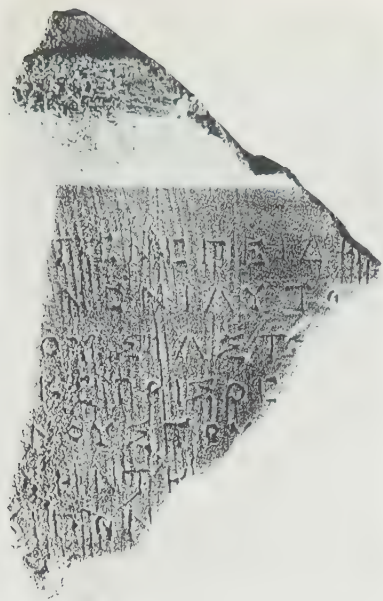
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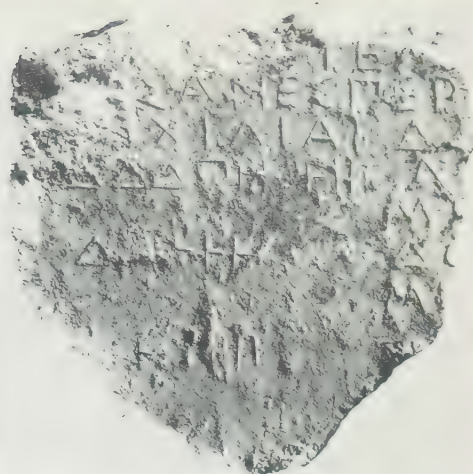
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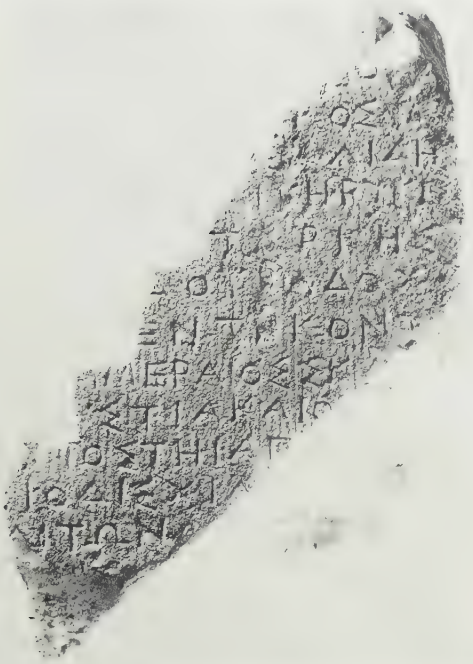
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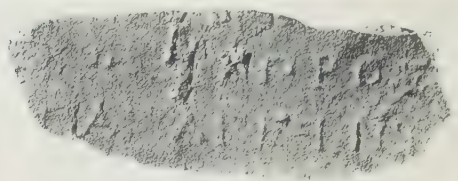
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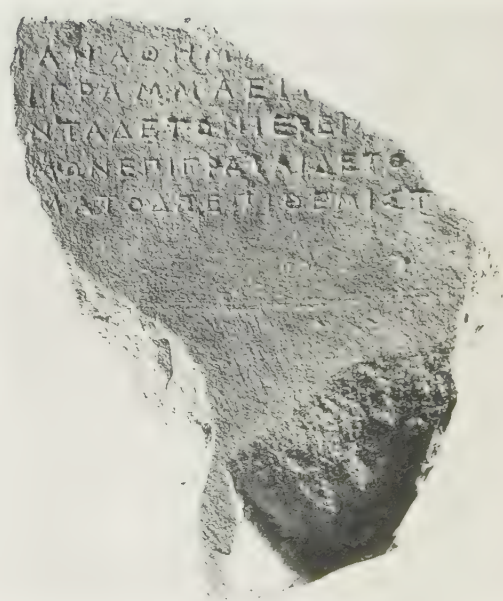
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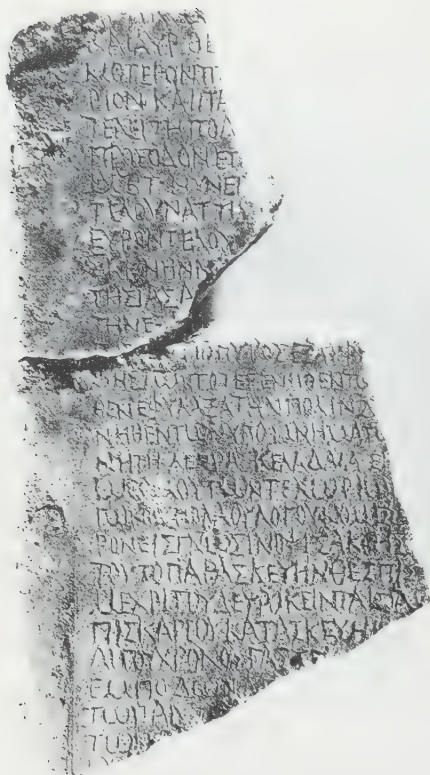
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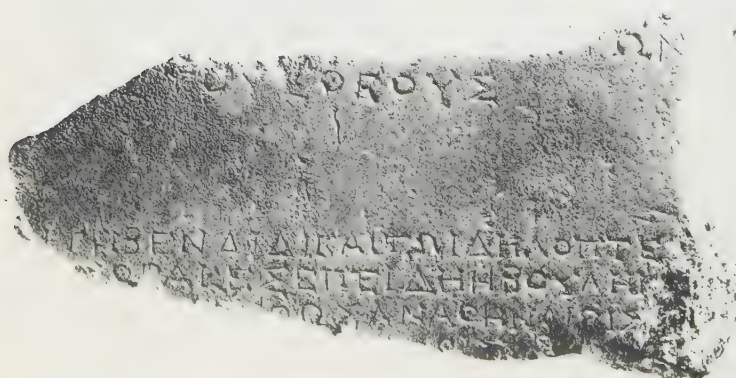
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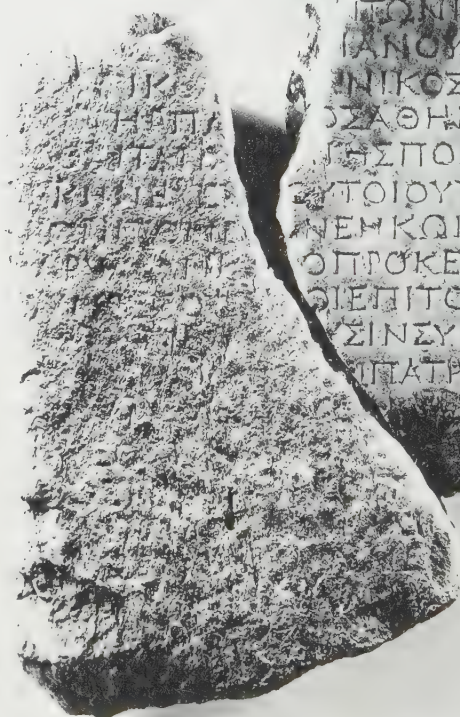
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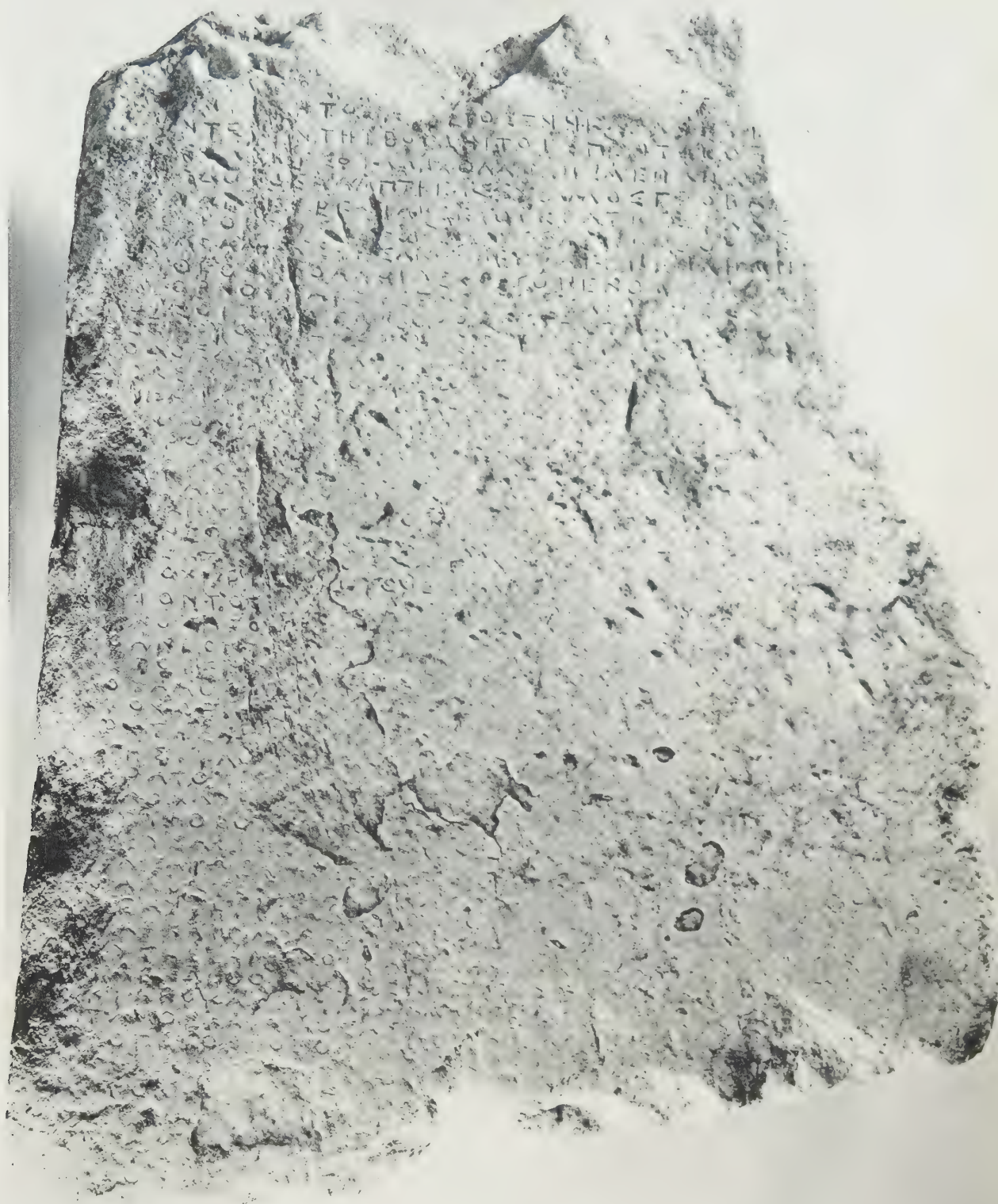
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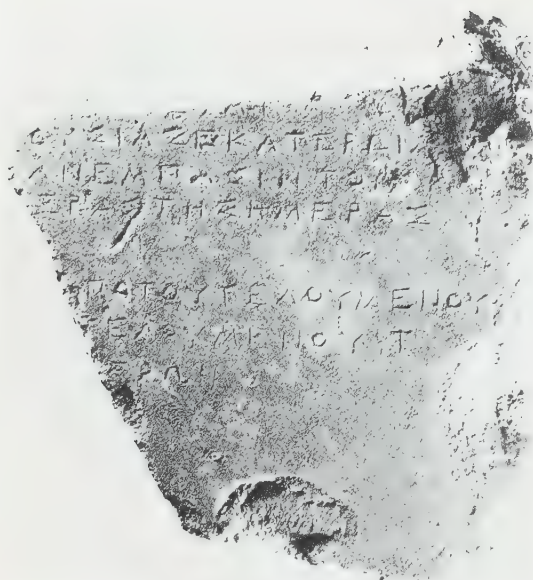


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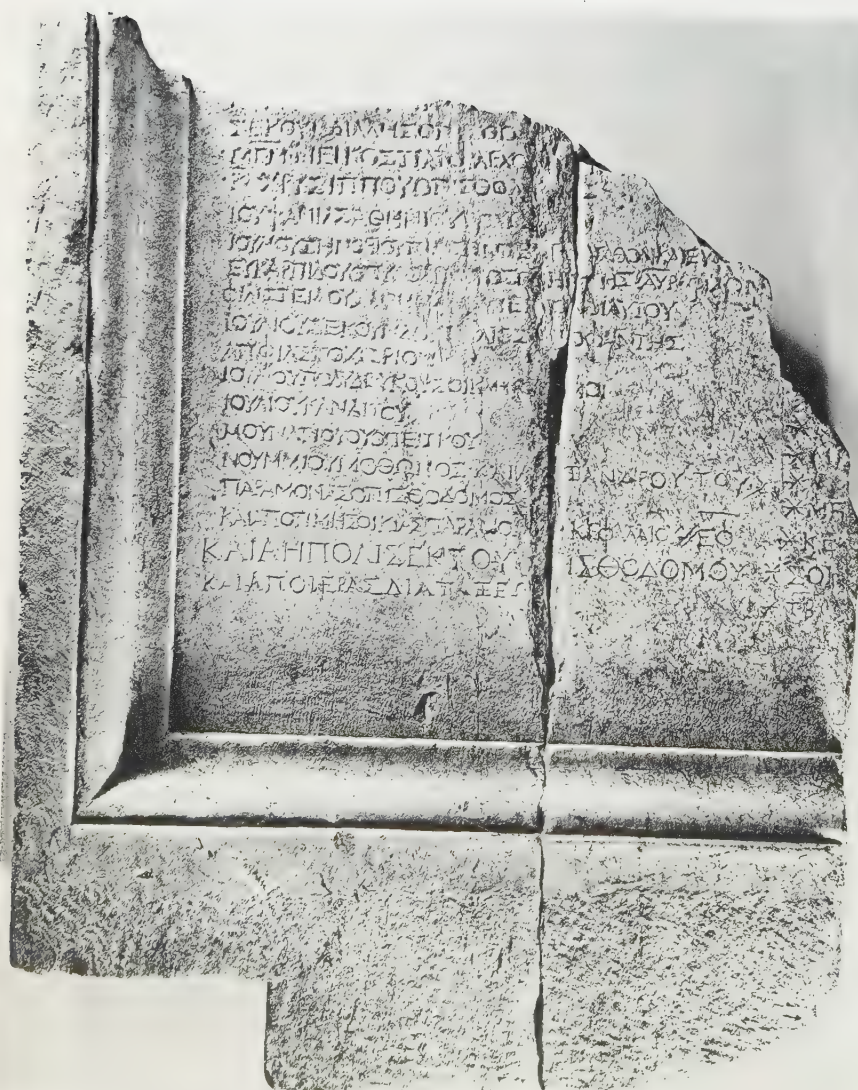
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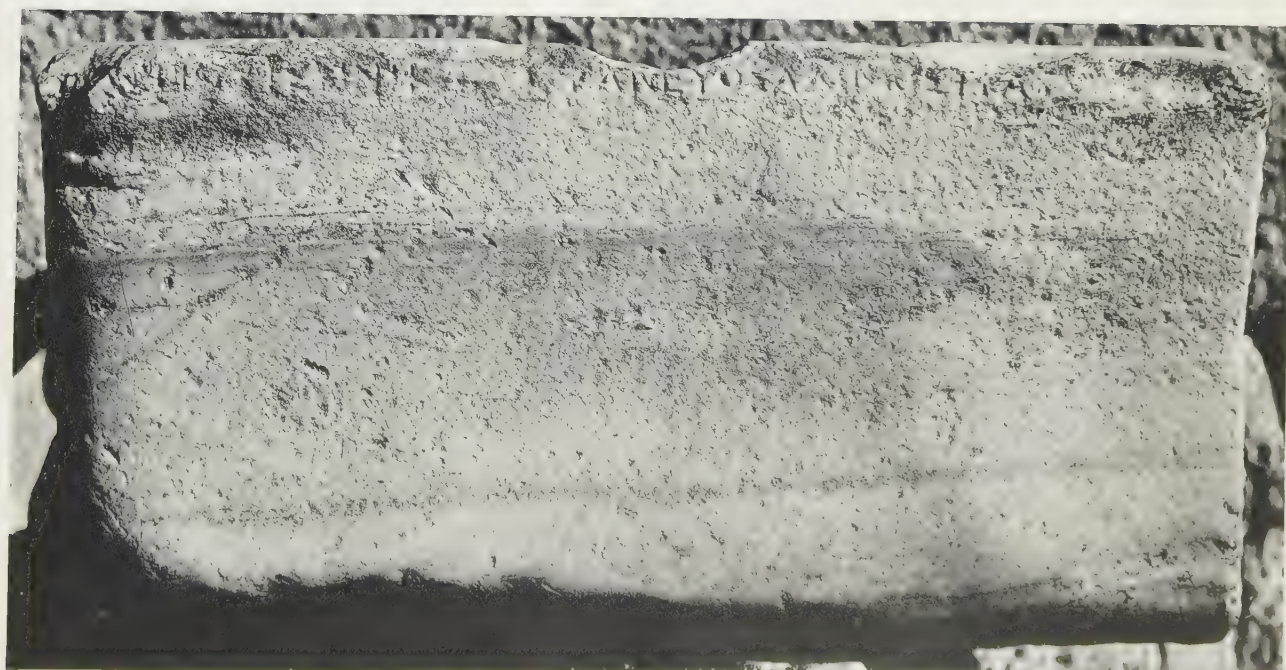
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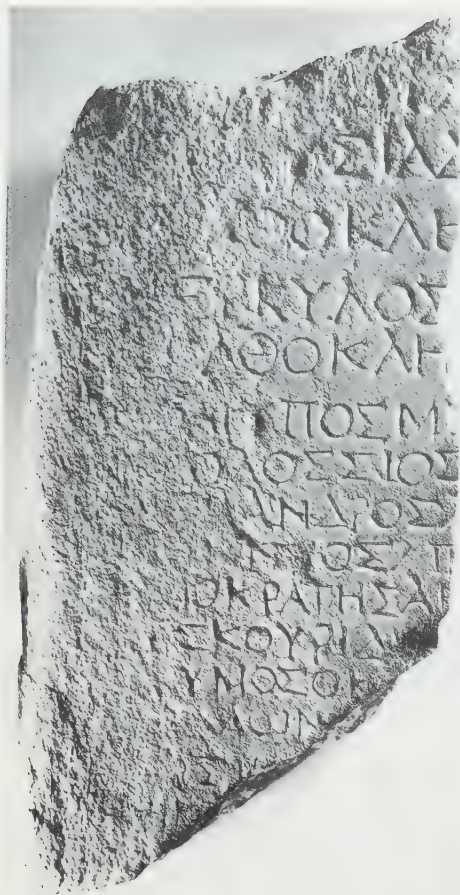
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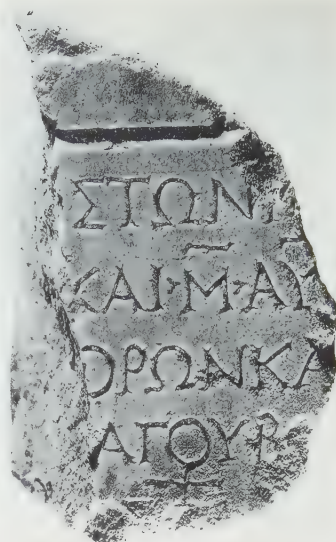
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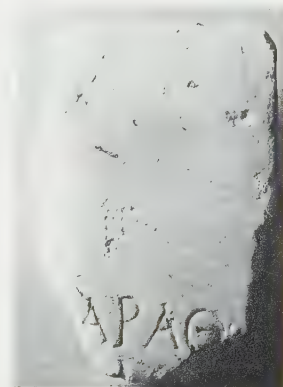
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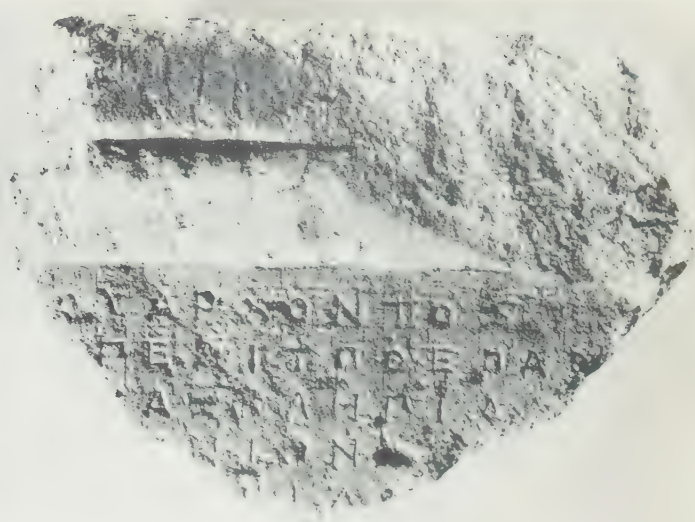
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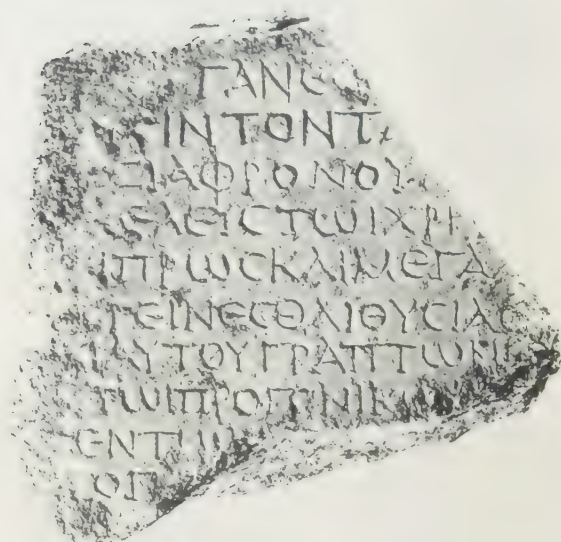
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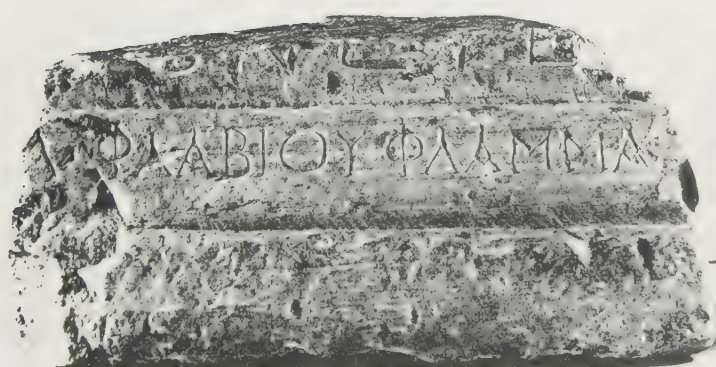
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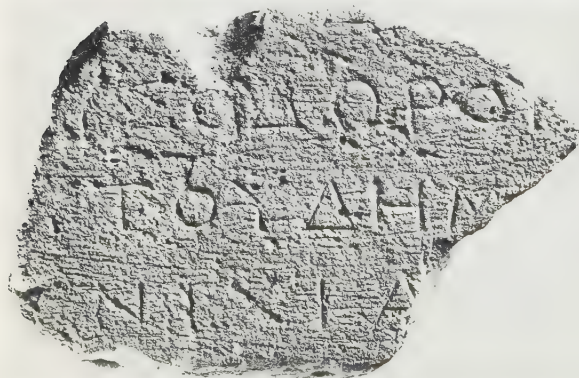
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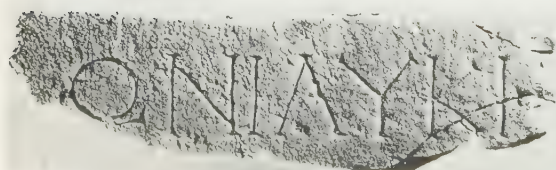
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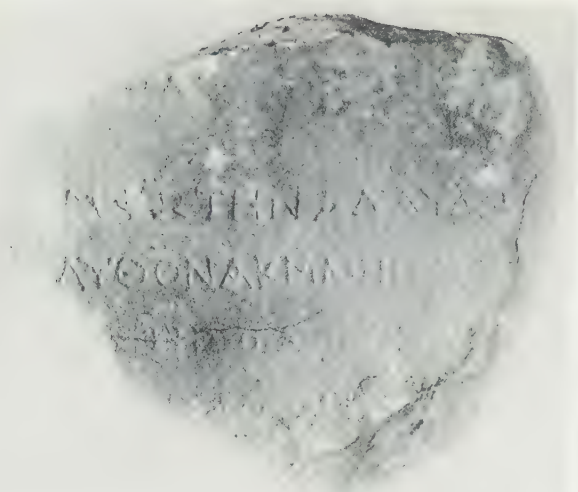
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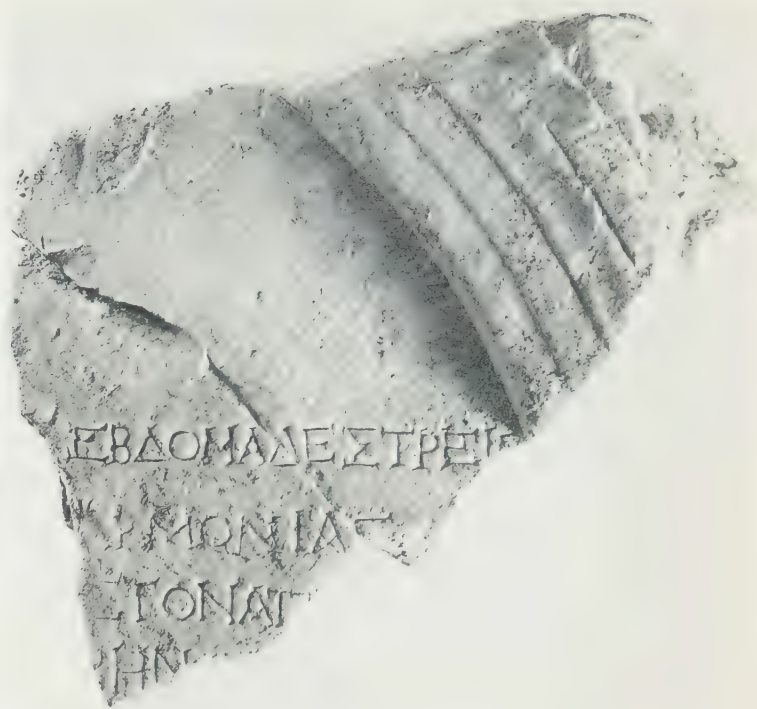
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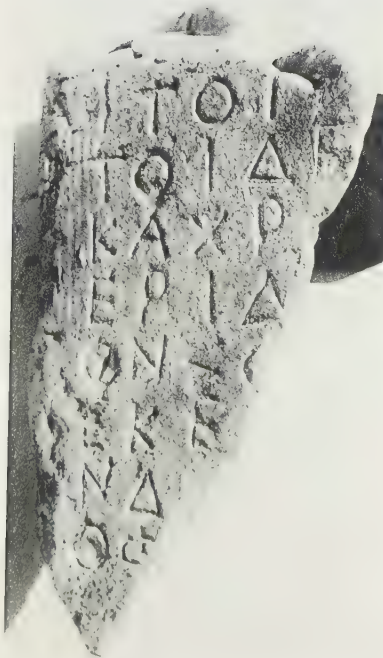
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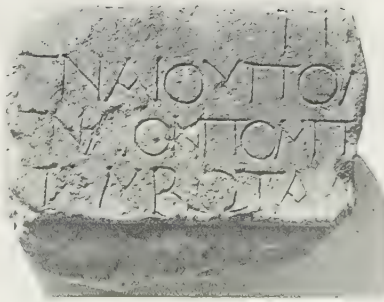
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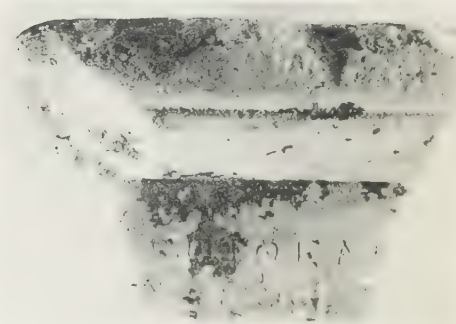
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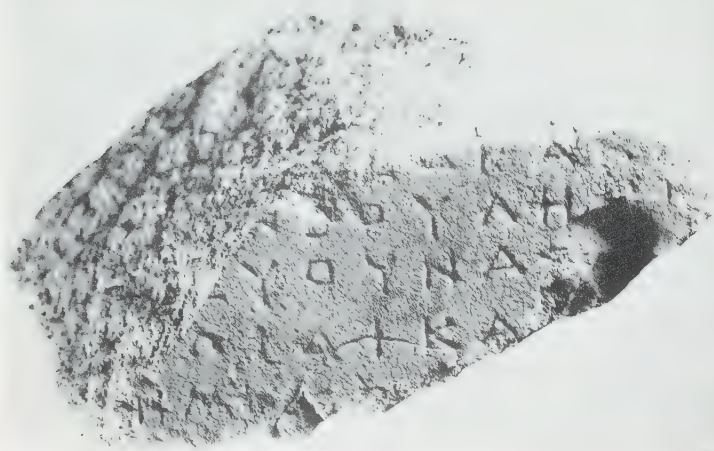
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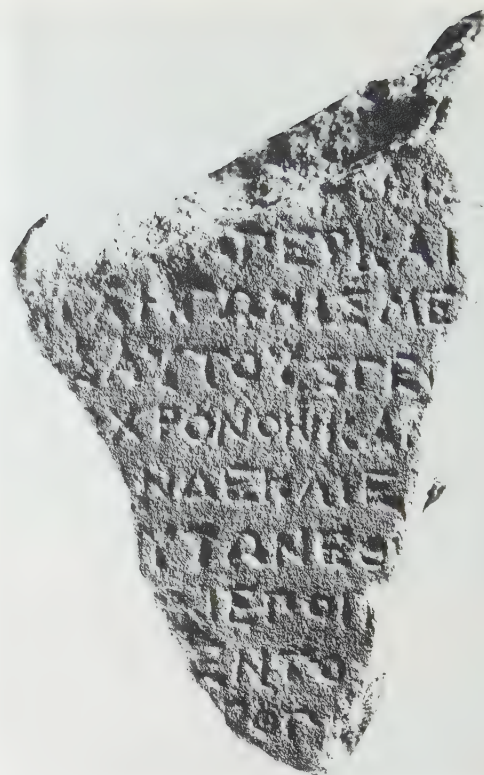
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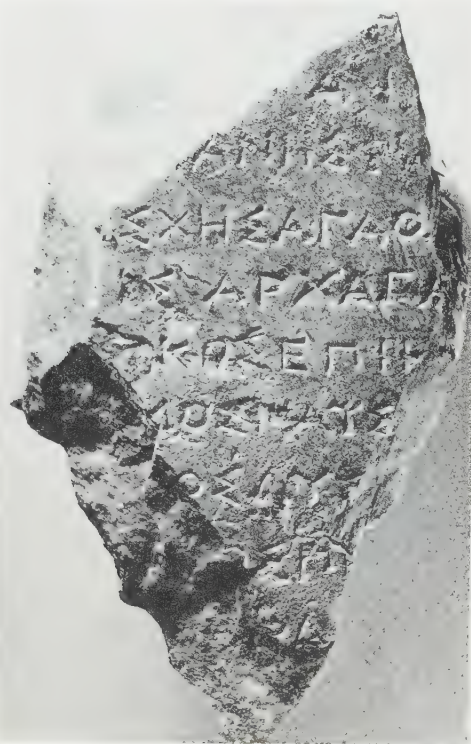
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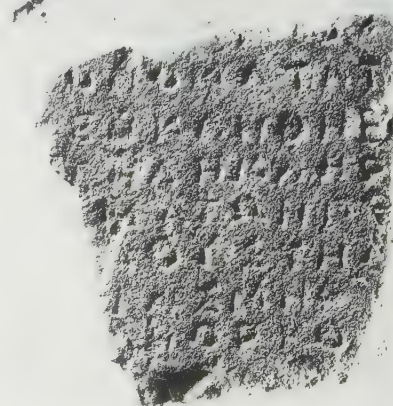
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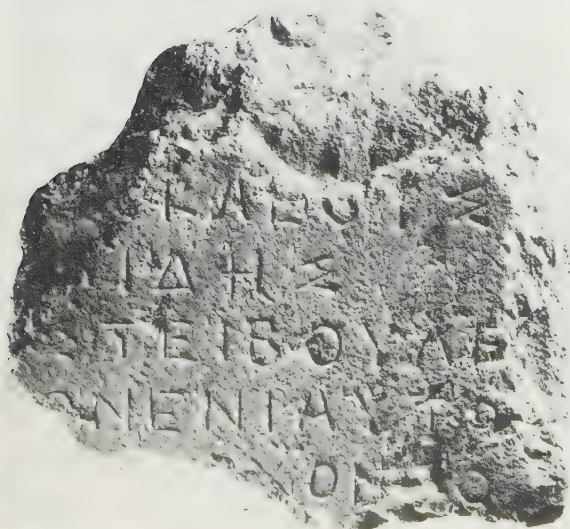
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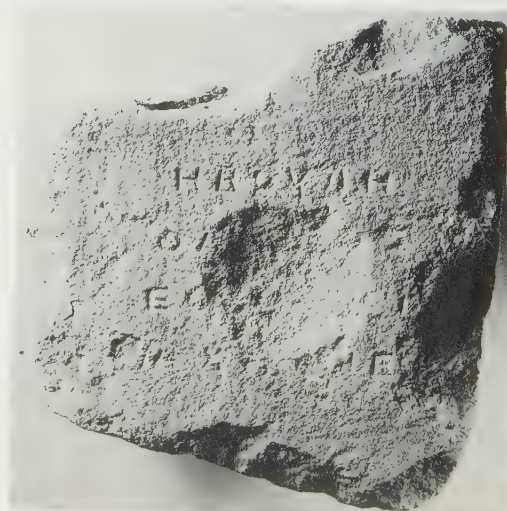
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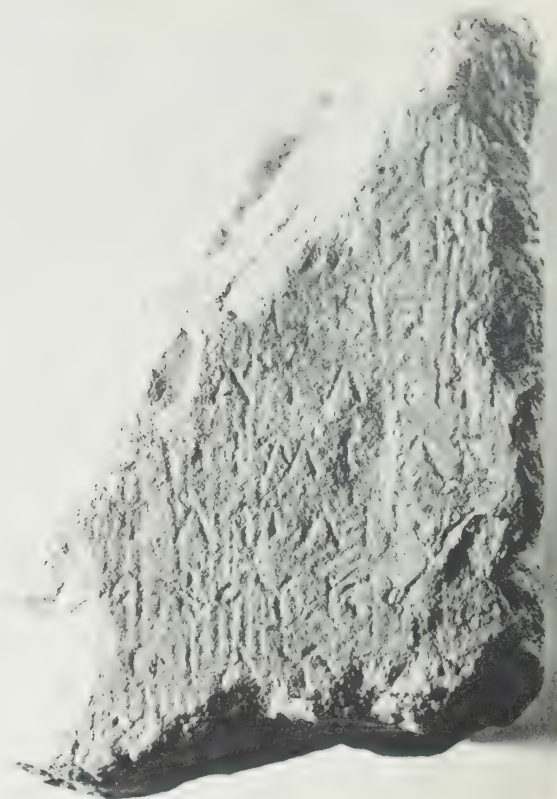
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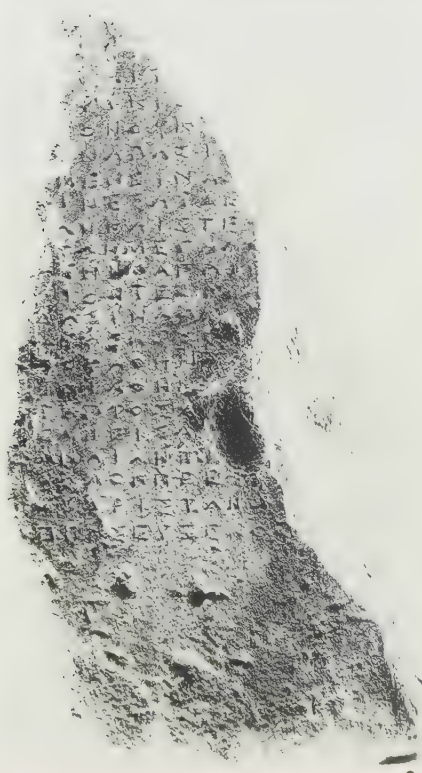
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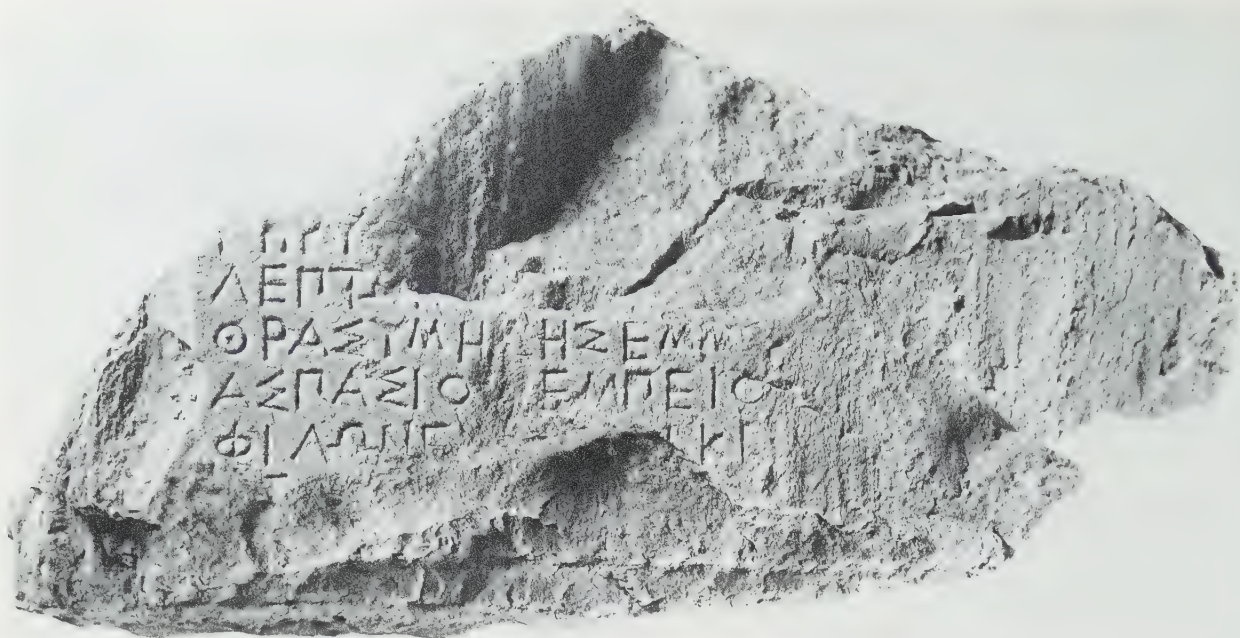
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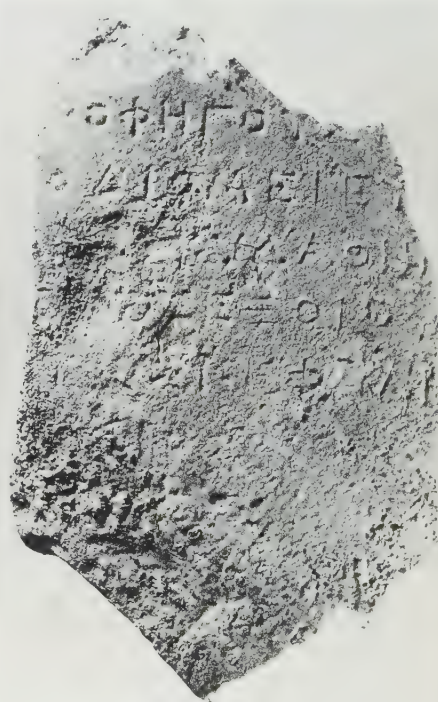
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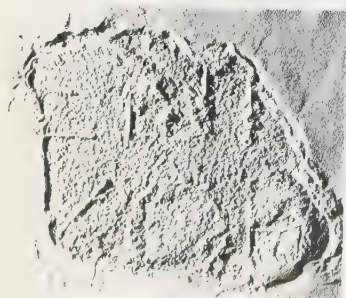
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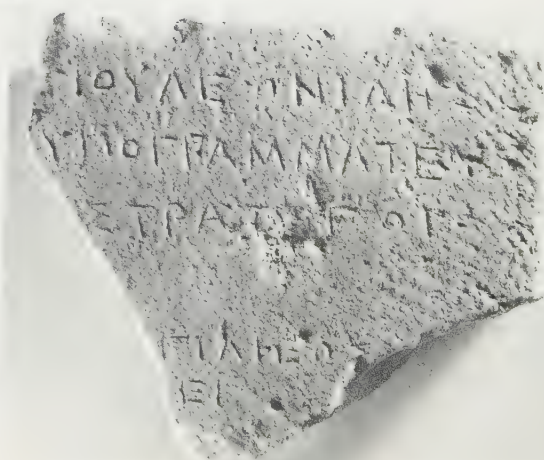
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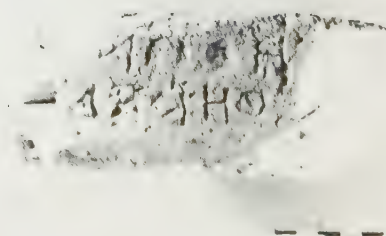
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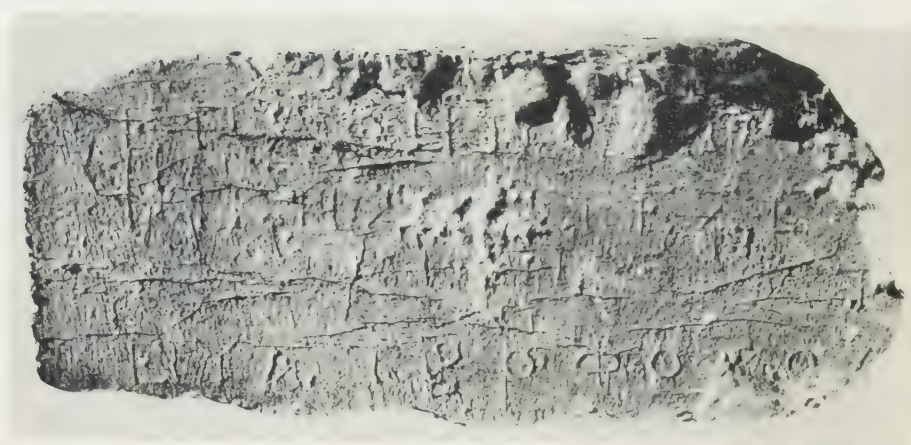
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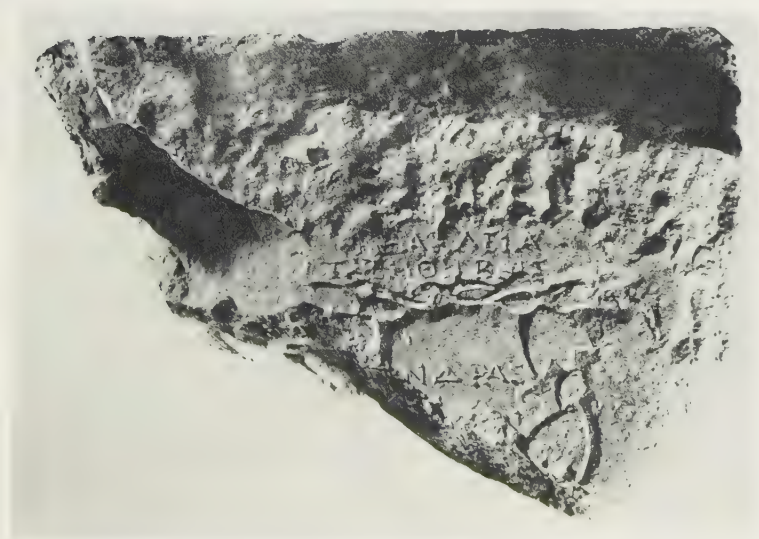
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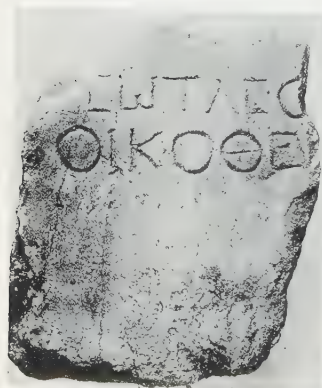
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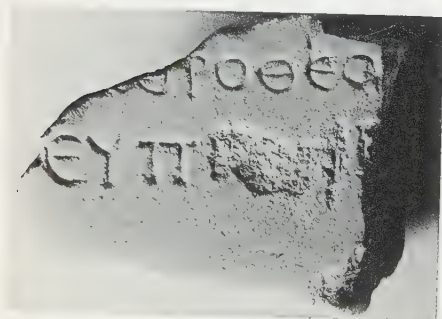
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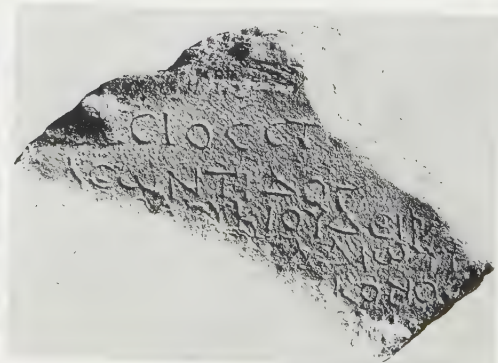
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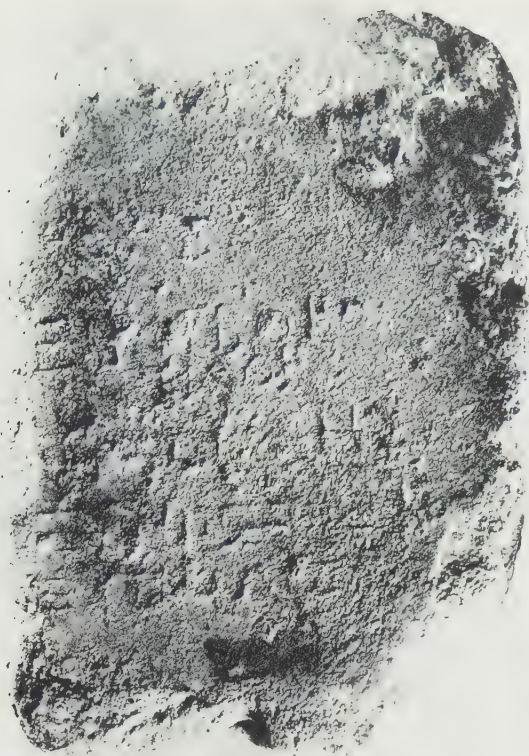
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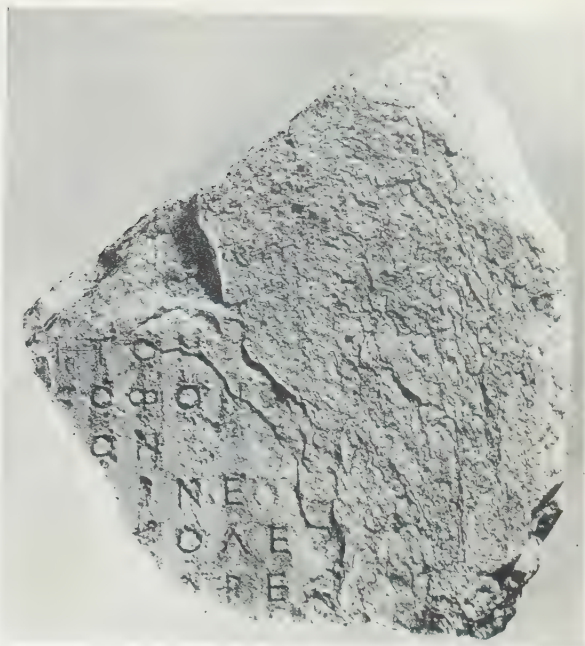
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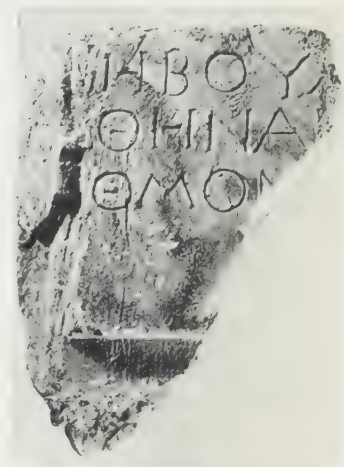
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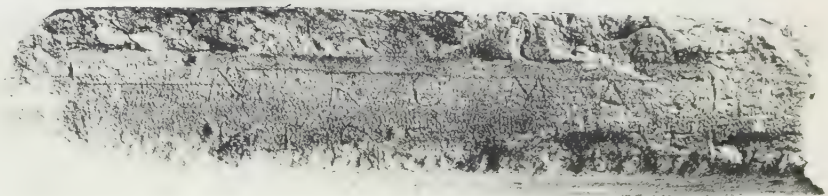
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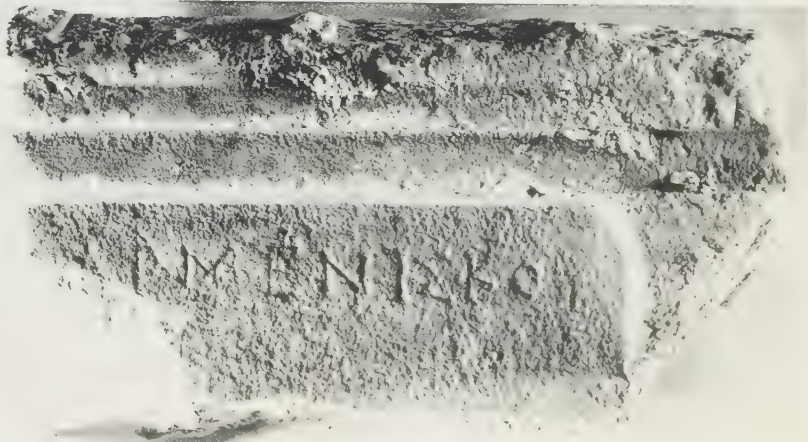
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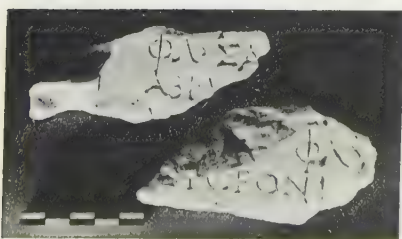
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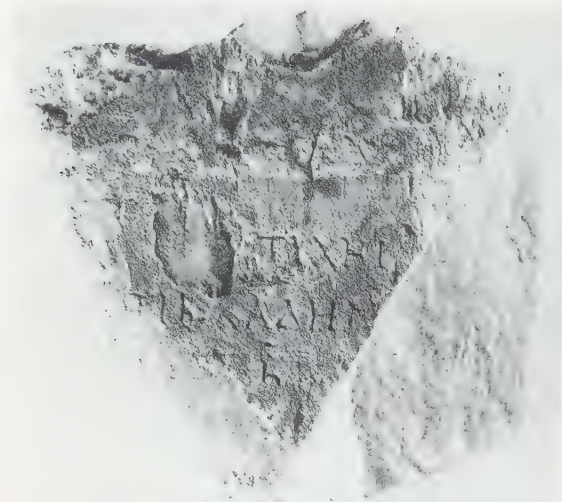
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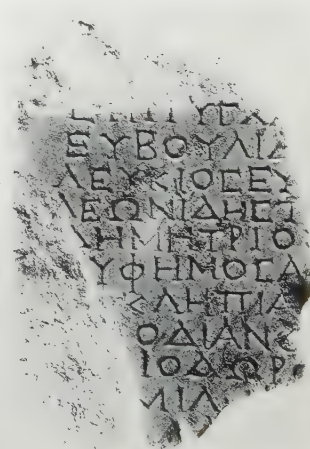
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No. 109



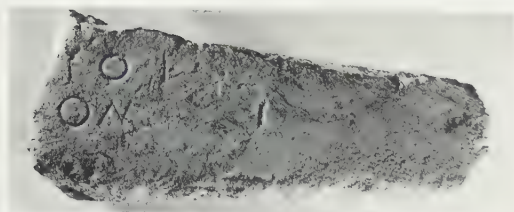
No. 113a



No. 113c



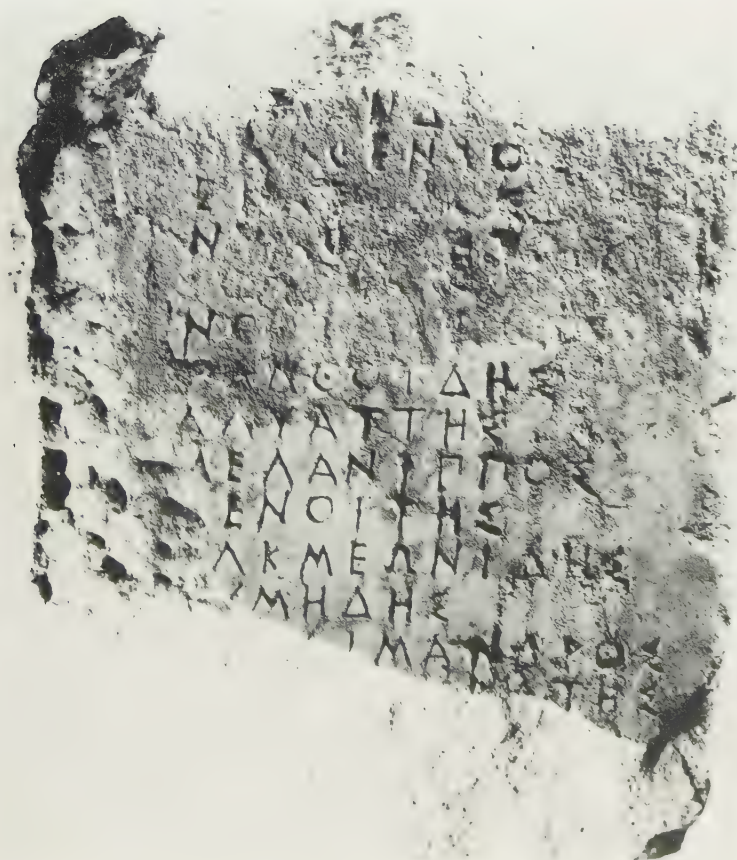
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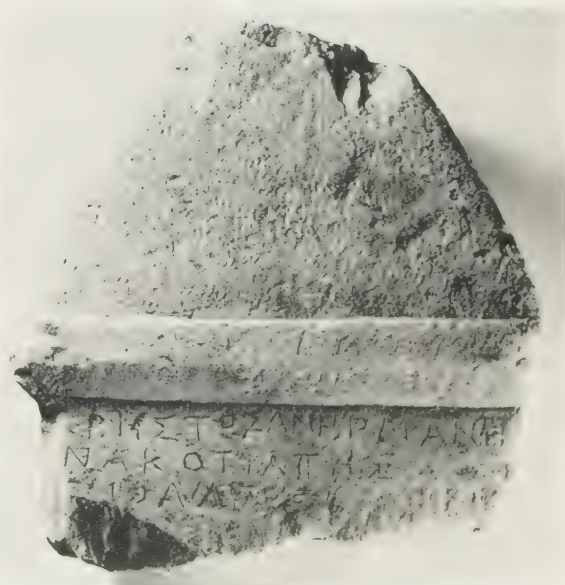
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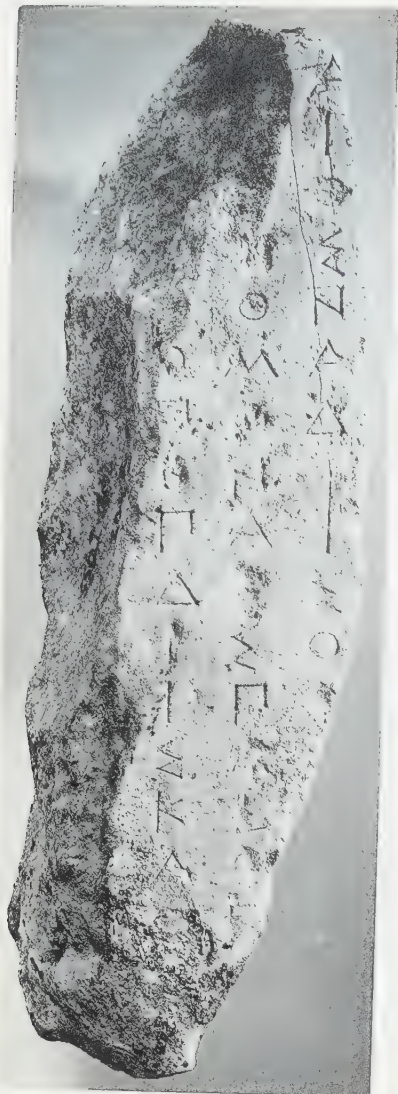
No. 124



No. 114



No. 131



No. 115b



No. 115a



No. 115c



No. 123



No. 132



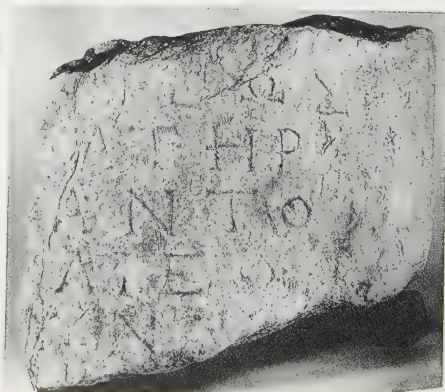
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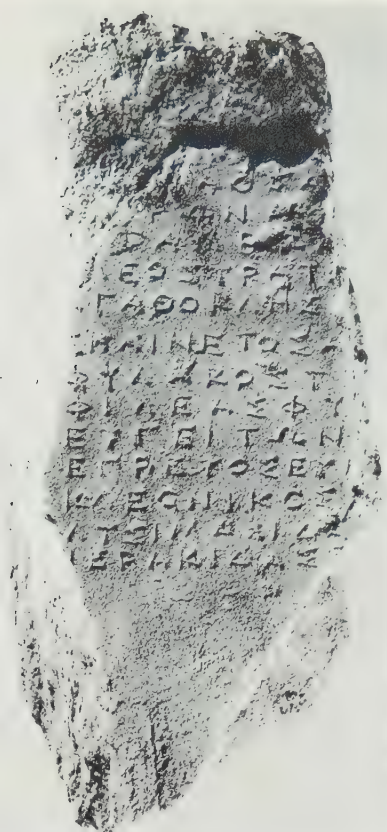
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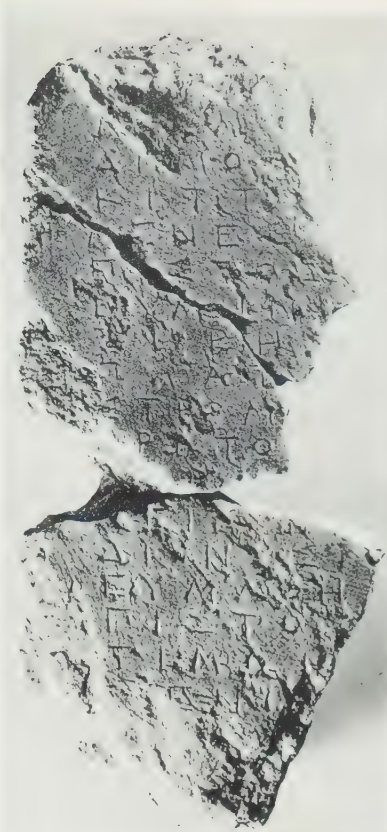
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No. 134



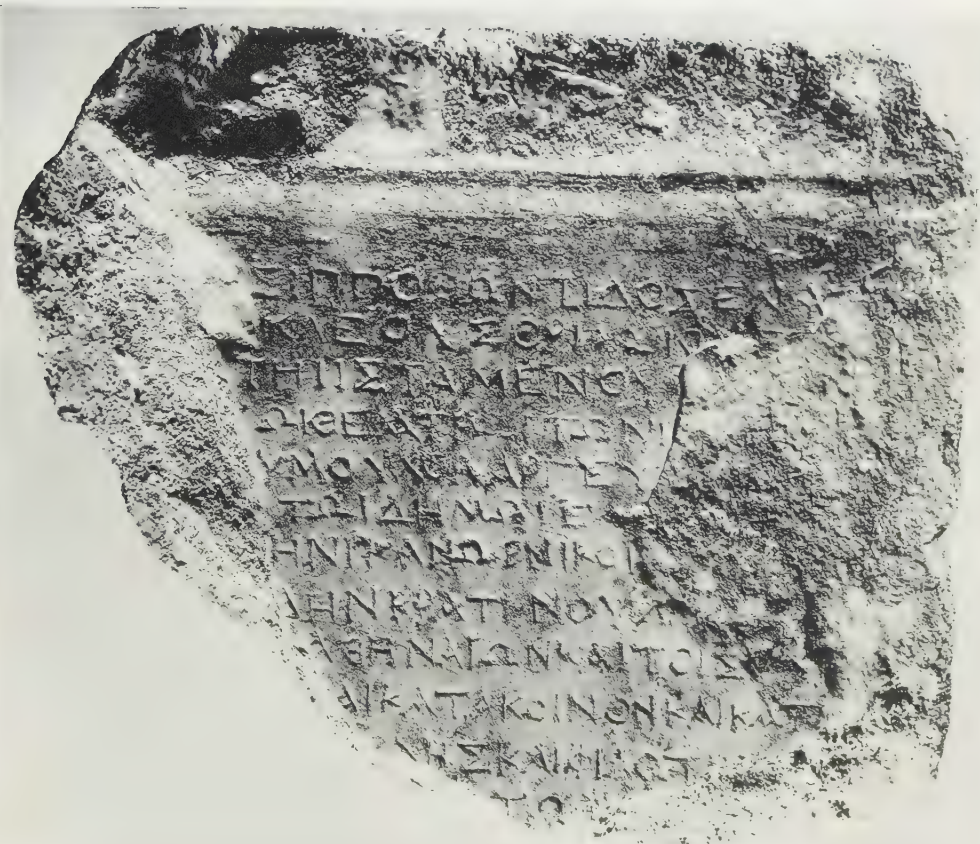
No. 117



No. 118



No. 127



No. 154



No. 139



No. 138



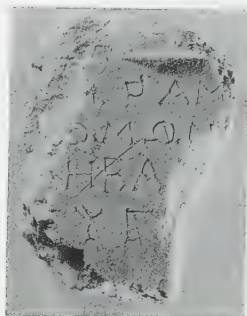
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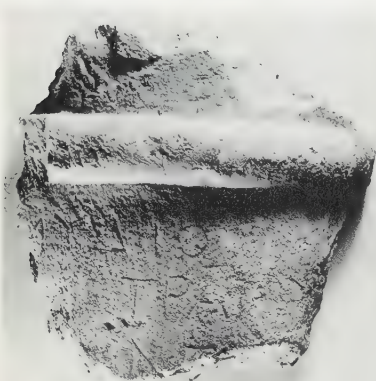
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No. 144



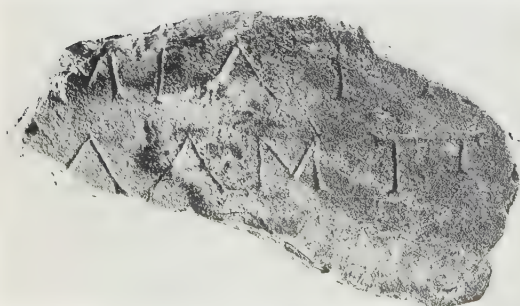
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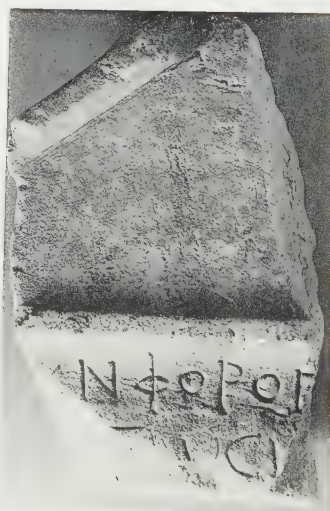
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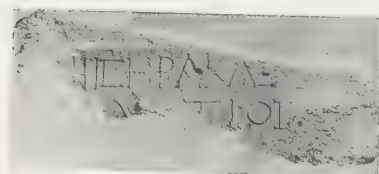
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No. 151



No. 142



No. 150



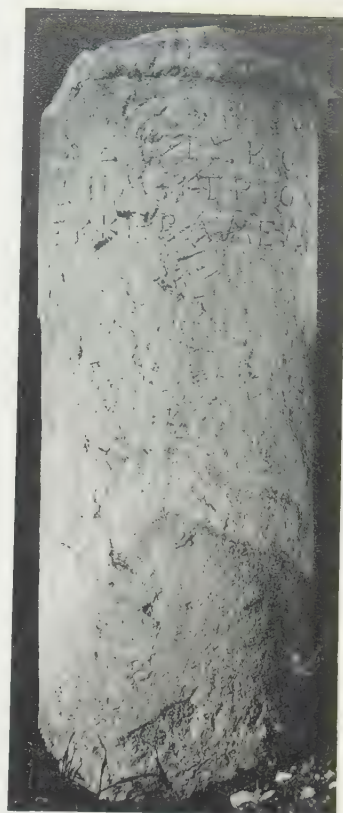
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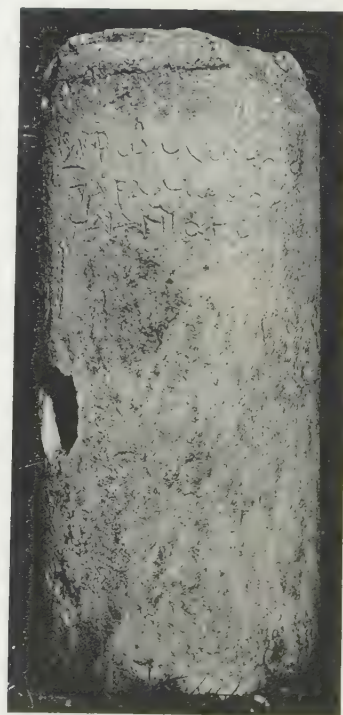
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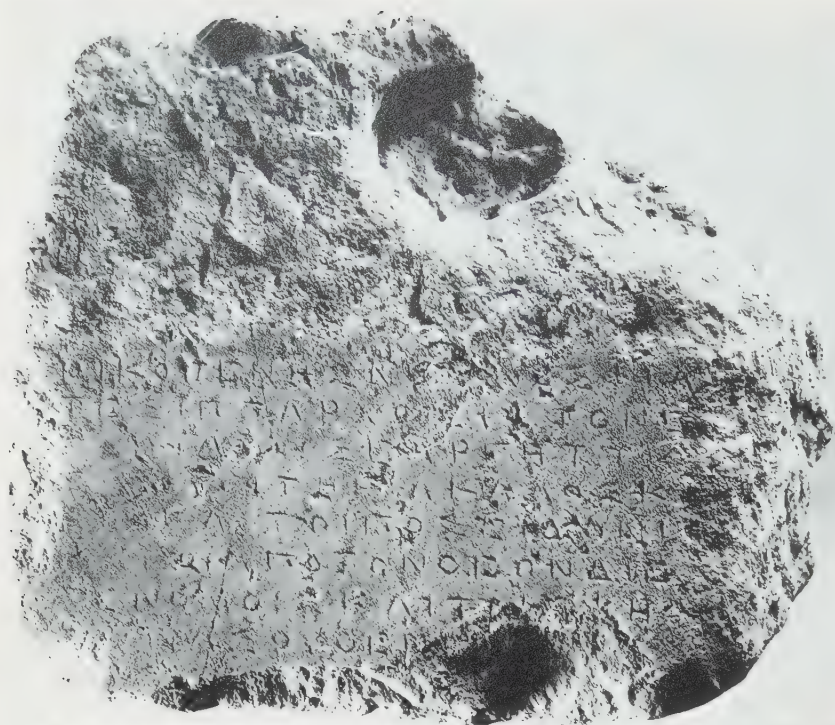
No. 128



No. 133A



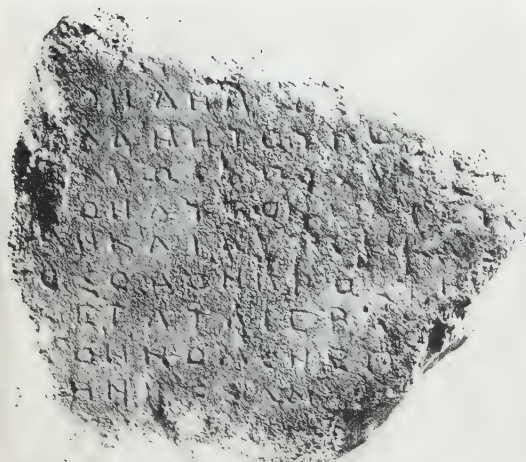
No. 133B



No. 155



No. 156



No. 157



No. 162



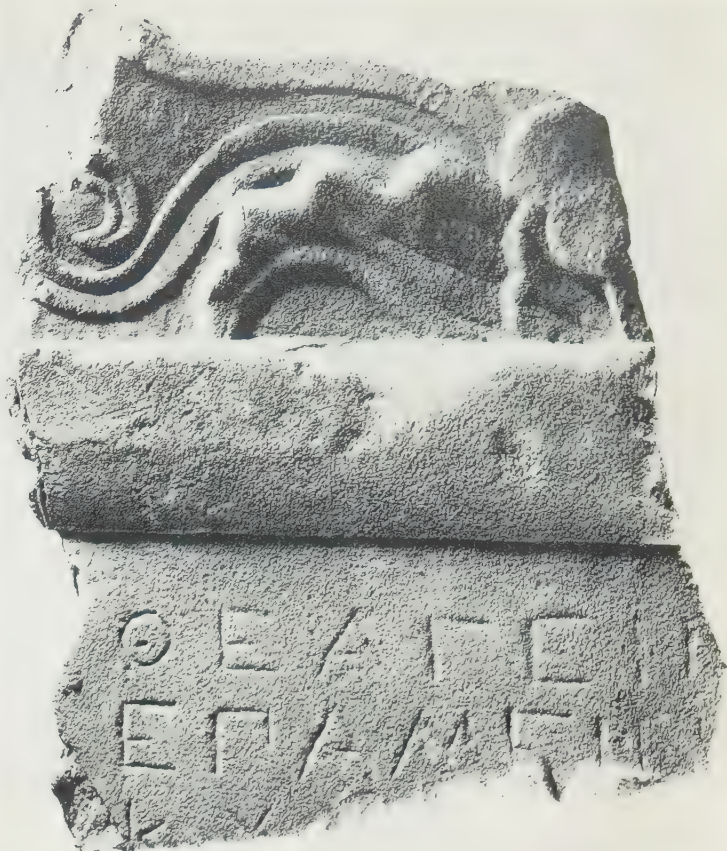
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No. 158



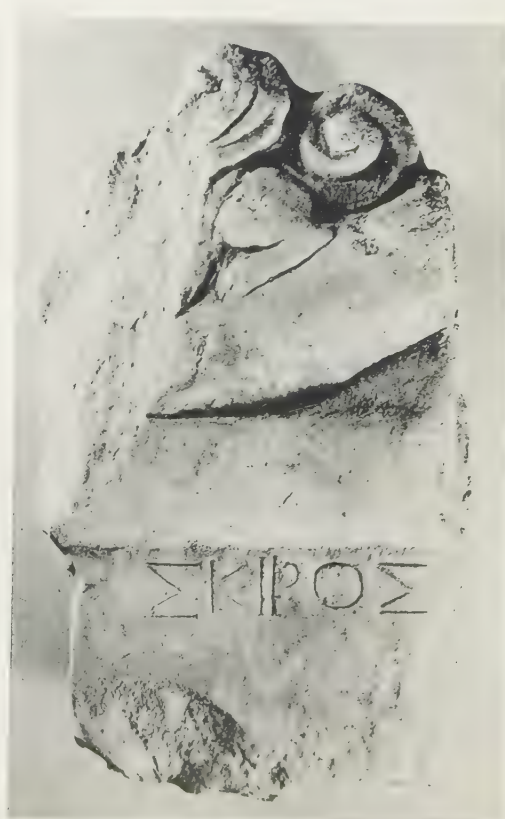
No. 160



No. 159



No. 163



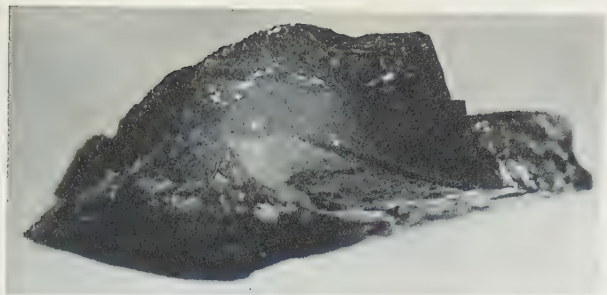
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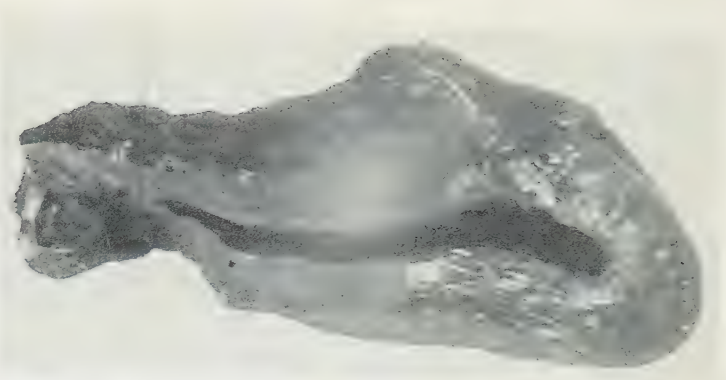
a. View of the Site of Ancient Tarrha, looking North.



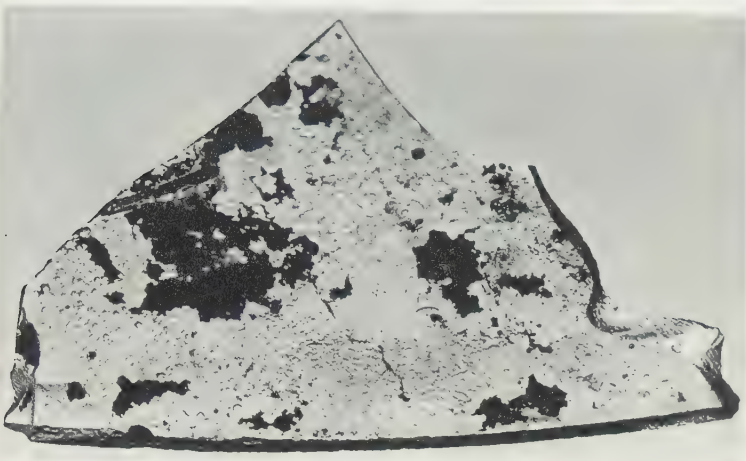
b. View of the Site of Tarrha, looking South to the Coast.



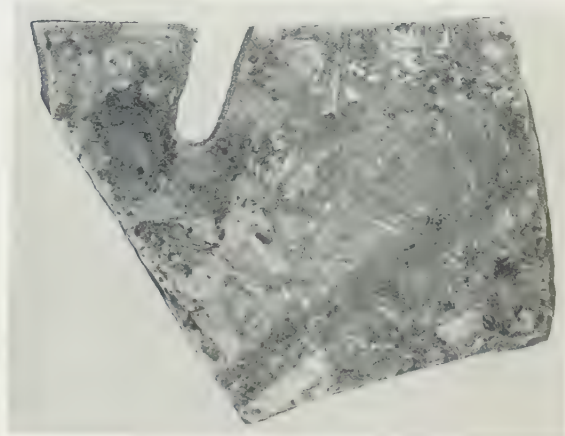
a. Black Deposit



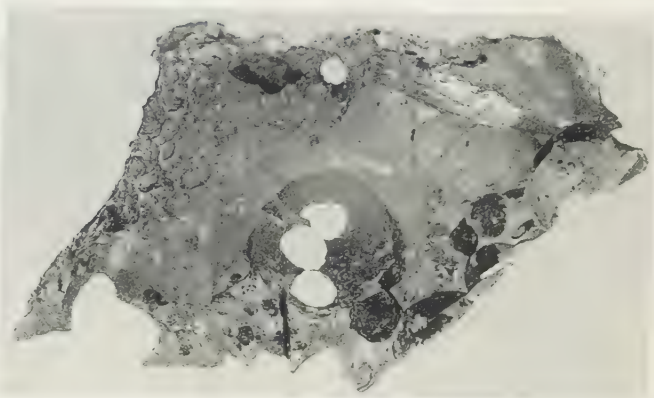
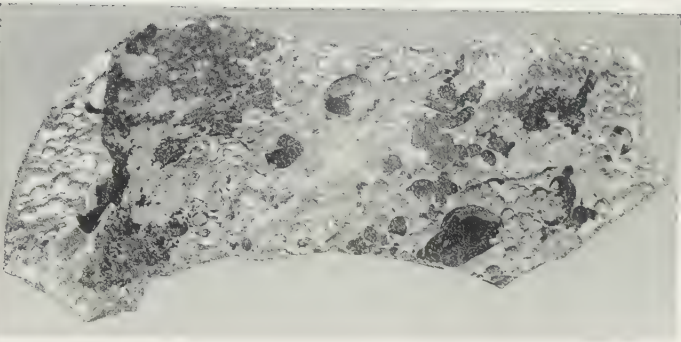
b. Loss of Form



c. Interior Bubbling



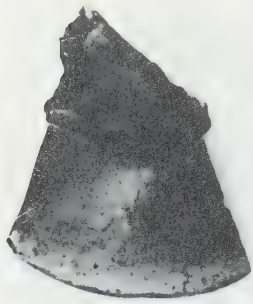
d. Cracking



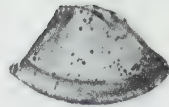
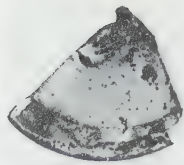
e. and f. Pitting



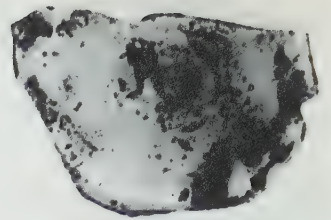
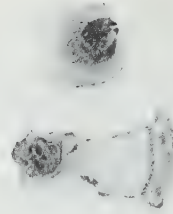
g. Pitting



21



23



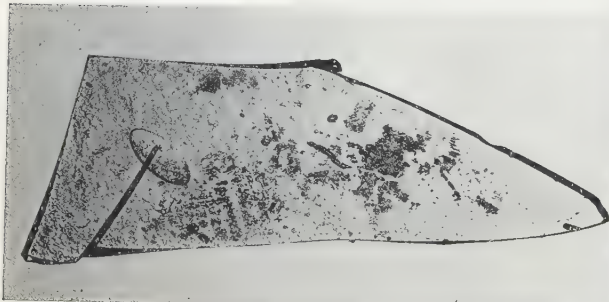
25



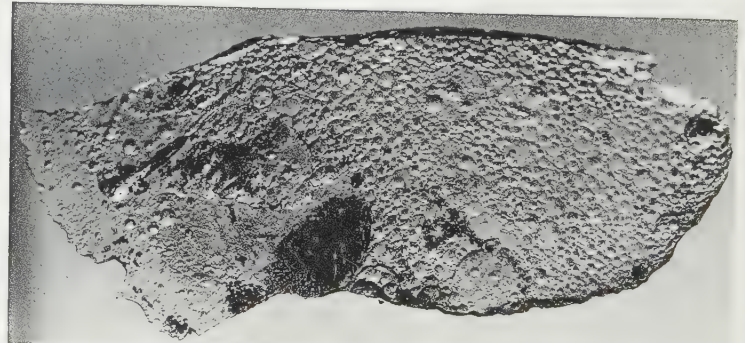
a.



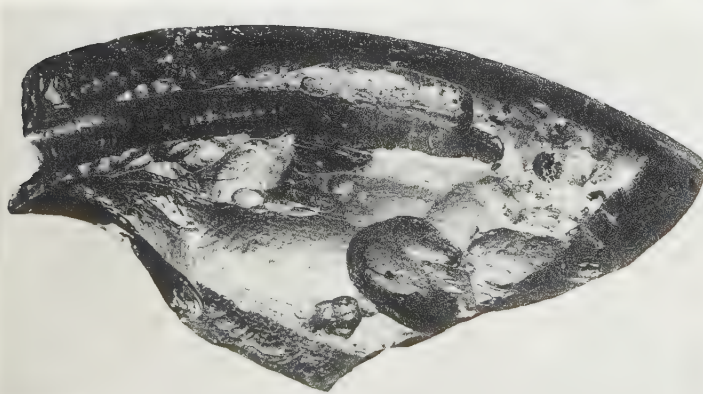
b.



c.



d.



e.



f.

a.-f. Ploughing

THOMAS S. BUECHNER: THE GLASS FROM TARRHA



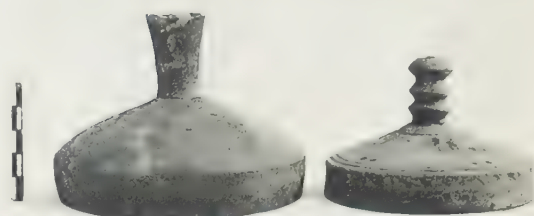
a. Mass of Knucklebones found in Pyre over Grave 7B, Trench 1.



b. Pottery from Pyre over Grave 7B, Trench 1 (Nos. 52, 53).



c. Lekythoi from Trench 1 (Nos. 58, 59, 60, 61).



d. Pyxis Lids from Grave 7B, Trench 1 (Nos. 64, 65).



e. Lekythoi from Grave 7B (Nos. 54, 55, 56, 57).



f. Lekythoi Nos. 54-57, side view.



g. Bowls from Trench 1 (Nos. 66, 67).



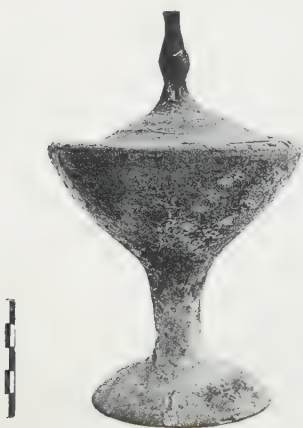
h. Pottery from Trenches 1, 3 (Nos. 72, 73, 74).



a. Silver Jewelry from Grave 7B, Trench 1. Dress Pins (Nos. 7, 8); Hair Rings (No. 9); Finger Rings (Nos. 1, 2).



b. Bezel and Cast of Ring No. 2. Side view of Ring No. 1.



c. Pyxis No. 62, Trench 1.



d. Bone Cylinder (No. 20), Trench 1.



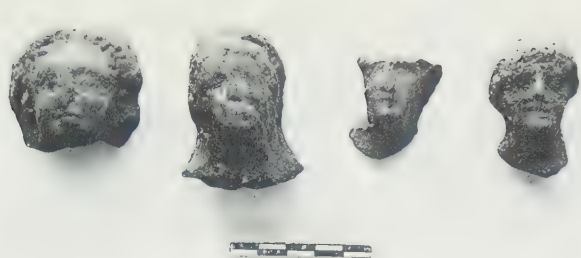
e. Pyxis No. 63, Trench 1.



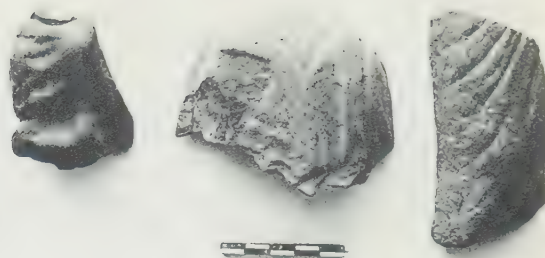
f. Two Jars (Nos. 68, 69), Trench 1.



g. Amphora (No. 70), Skyphos (No. 71), Trench 1.



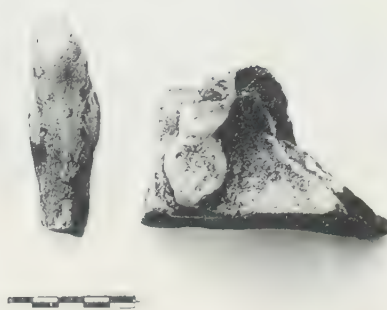
a. Terracotta Figurines (Nos. 21, 22, 23, 24).



b. Terracotta Figurines (Nos. 25, 26, 27).



c. Terracotta Figurines (Nos. 28, 29).



d. Terracotta Figurines (Nos. 30, 31).



e. Silver Ring, (No. 4)
Trench 3.



f. Stone Vessels (Nos. 17, 18, 19).



g. Objects from Trench 3 (Nos. 3, 32, 13).



h. Burned Glass Fragments, Trench 1.

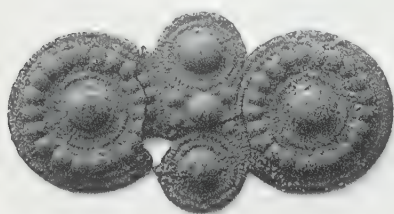




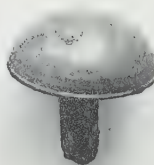
a. Lekythoi, Trench 8 (Nos. 40, 41, 42, 43).



b. Lekythoi and Saucer, Trench 8 (Nos. 44, 45, 46, 47).



c. Silver Ornament, Trench 8 (No. 10).



d. Bronze Boss, Trench 8 (No. 14).



e. Iron Spike, Trench 8 (No. 16).



f. Silver Jewelry, Trench 8 (Nos. 5, 6, 11, 12).



g. Pottery, Trench 8 (Nos. 48, 49).



h. Pottery, Trench 8 (Nos. 50, 51).



a. Red-figured Lekythoi, Trench 8 (Nos. 38, 39).



b. Trench 8, Grave 1 with Grave Stele.



No. 38 (Side View)



No. 39 (Side View)



c. Trench 8, Grave 2 in foreground left, Pithos at right.
Grave 1 in background, Late Wall above.



d. Lamps (Nos. 33, 34, 35).



e. Loomweights (Nos. 36, 37).



a. Trench 5, East Side of Stuccoed Wall with Blocked Doorway.



d. Inscribed Grave Stele (No. 75).



b. Trench 7, Doorway of Building, looking North.



e. Inscribed Grave Stele (No. 76).



c. Standing Roman Building, from Northwest.



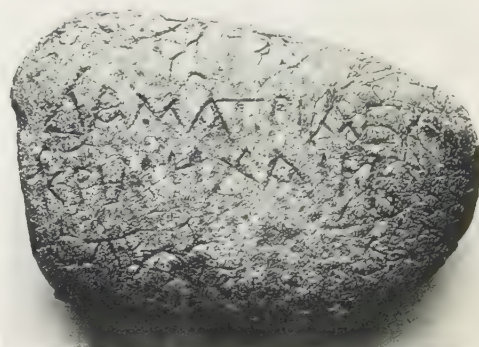
a. Section of Fortification Wall, Trench 6



c. Ancient Blocks in Church Foundations.



b. Foundations of Church of the Panaghia.



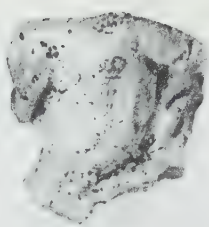
d. Inscribed Grave Monument (No. 77).



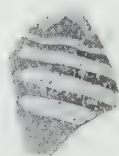
e. Inscribed Grave Monument (No. 78).



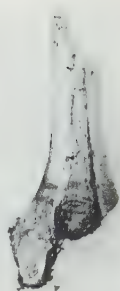
TG1



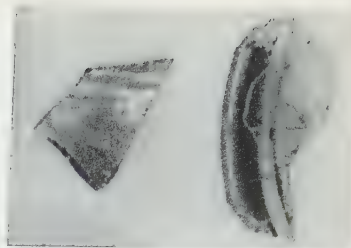
1



2



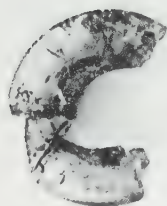
4



6

7

TG18



8



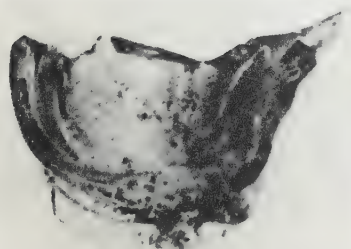
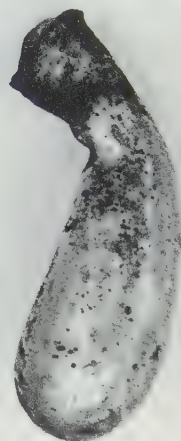
11



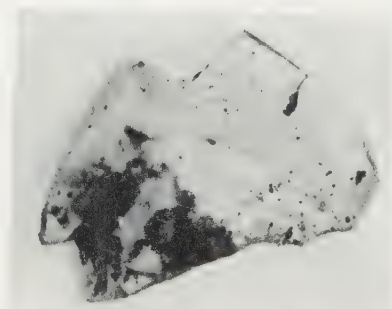
9



12



13



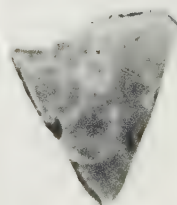
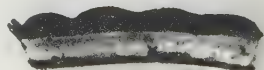
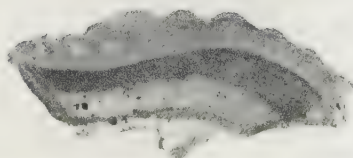
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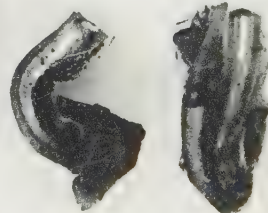
15



16



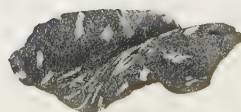
17



18



20



26

TWO BOEOTIAN DEDICATIONS

(PLATE 39)

AT the crest of a ridge of Mount Goulas, about twenty kilometers southwest of Thespiiai, and within the walls of an unidentified ancient fortification (now called Pyrgos) were found two unpublished inscriptions which provide evidence for the worship of Artemis the Huntress at this site.¹

1 (Pl. 39). Cylindrical statue base of gray limestone.

Height 0.22 m.; upper diameter 0.40 m.; lower diameter 0.44 m. The bottom appears to have been reworked, and the original height was probably greater. The back third of the base is unworked. Its top surface preserves two foot-shaped cuttings to receive a bronze statue; length of cuttings 0.14 m. (left foot) and 0.16 m. (right foot). Height of letters 0.012-0.020 m.

post med. saec. IV a.

Δεινοφίλα
Τροχινιδάο
Ἀρτάμιδι Ἀγροτέραι
ἐνύπνιον φιδῶσα

The left diagonal of the final *alpha* in line 1 is reasonably clear and seems almost to touch the preceding *lambda*; the right diagonal is faint, and the crossbar has been obliterated by a break.

2 (Pl. 39). Cylindrical statue base of gray limestone.

Height 0.54 m.; upper diameter 0.47 m.; lower diameter 0.54 m. The top surface preserves two cuttings to receive a bronze statue; of these, that on the (statue's) left is foot-shaped, though cut less regularly than those of No. 1; that on the right is also roughly foot-shaped but deeply cut only at the back, becoming very shallow toward the front, so that it may have held only a dowel. Length of cuttings 0.15 m. (left foot) and 0.17 m. (right foot). An irregular, shallow cutting between these may have held a support for the statue. Height of letters 0.015-0.026 m.

[Δ]εινοφίλα
Τροχεινιδάο
ἐνύπνιον
φιδῶσα Ἀρτάμιδι
Ἀγροτέραι

¹ We discovered these inscriptions at Pyrgos in April 1959 and wish to thank Mr. John Threpsiades, Ephor of Antiquities, for kind permission to publish them.

None of the initial letter of line 1 is preserved, and only the upper parts of both diagonals of the initial *alpha* of the last line are clear. The lines tend to slope downward from left to right. This inscription is cut so much more crudely than No. 1 that only the similarity of the texts implies that they are contemporary.

The bases supported statues of similar scale, but both the slight variation in size and the difference in relative position of the two cuttings on each base make it clear that the statues were not identical and that they probably had different stances. It is somewhat unusual that one person should make two dedications at the same sanctuary and upon the same motivation, though similar instances can be found.²

Not only is this Deinophila unknown, but the name itself is otherwise attested only once: a Dinophila, daughter of Ismeinodoros and wife of Archias, is found in a land-lease inscription of the late third century from Thespiiai.³ The rarity of the name and the proximity of these instances of it suggest that these two women may have been related. Trocheinidas is apparently unknown from any other source.

Dedications made as the result of dreams are not uncommon; perhaps the best-known examples are the stelai recording dreams and miraculous cures at Epidauros, the only other inscriptions, apparently, in which *ἐνύπνιον* occurs.⁴ A late inscription from Patmos records a dedication to Artemis Patmia *καθ' ὕπνου*,⁵ but there is no evidence that Artemis was the subject of such dreams oftener than other deities.⁶

Both inscriptions have the Boeotian forms one might expect (e.g., *Ἀρταμῖς, φιδῶσα*), but, although *iota* is regularly written for *ei* after the fifth century,⁷ the older form appears here in the patronymic of No. 2 and in the dedicant's name in both inscriptions. *Digamma* continues in use in Boeotia until *ca.* 200 B.C.⁸

The texts offer no indication of the date of the two dedications, and the lettering of No. 2 is so crude as to be entirely indeterminate. The more carefully cut letters of No. 1, however, with their small but distinct serifs, suggest a date in the late fourth or early third century.

The worship of Artemis Agrotera is attested at only one other site in Boeotia; her name appears in a single inscription from the near-by town of Thisbe.⁹ The two dedications from Pyrgos, however, provide sufficient evidence for the recognition of a

² E.g., five dedications with identical texts from the Asklepieion in Athens: *I.G.*, II², 4482, 4483, 4484, 4485, and E.M. 9552. Cf. *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 75-76.

³ *B.C.H.*, XXI, 1897, p. 556, lines 39, 40-41, 42, 43.

⁴ *I.G.*, IV², 1, 121, 122.

⁵ *S.I.G.*³, 1152.

⁶ Cf. from Athens: *I.G.*, II², 4326 (to Athena); 4486 (to Asklepios, Hygeia, and all the other gods). From Epidauros: *I.G.*, IV², 1, 513 (to Pity); 549 (to Pantheon). From Crete: *Inscr. Creticae*, I, p. 172, no. 26 (to Hygeia). From Delos: *Inscr. de Délos*, 2114 (to Isis); 2115 (deity lost).

⁷ C. D. Buck, *Greek Dialects*, Chicago, 1955, p. 31, sec. 29.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 152, sec. 218.8.

⁹ *I.G.*, VII, 3564.

hitherto unknown sanctuary of Artemis Agrotera, and its situation, high on a rocky ridge above the valley of Thespiiai, is not incompatible with the worship of the protectress of wild animals.¹⁰ One of the buildings within the fortifications at Pyrgos was tentatively identified as a temple by H. G. Lolling;¹¹ inscription No. 1 is reported to have come from near this building and suggests a possible identification of the deity worshipped there.

JAMES R. McCREDIE
ARTHUR STEINBERG

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

¹⁰ Compare the remarks of I. Pantazides, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1884, col. 214, where he restores the epithet Agrotera in a decree concerning sacrifices to Artemis at Phyle (*I.G.*, II², 1299, lines 30-31).

¹¹ Through the kindness of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens we were able to consult H. G. Lolling, *Griechenland*, *Ergebnisse der Reisen aus den Jahren 1876 und 1877* (Als Ms. gedruckt, 1878), commonly cited as the *Urbaedeker*. Lolling describes the ancient remains at Pyrgos in some detail.

THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENTS AT EUTRESIS SUPPLEMENTARY EXCAVATIONS, 1958

(PLATES 40-53)

EUTRESIS in Boeotia, investigated by Hetty Goldman in the years 1924-1927, continues to be a principal source of our knowledge of the Bronze Age on the Greek mainland. It is a rich, well-stratified site; the excavations were conducted with skill and precision; and the definitive publication¹ provides an admirably clear report of what was found.

Although much of the hill was left untouched in the campaigns of the 1920's, the areas examined were sufficient to furnish reliable information about the Mycenaean and Middle Helladic settlements and about the remains of the three principal stages of Early Helladic habitations. Only the very earliest strata, lying on and just over virgin soil, proved relatively inaccessible. These were tested in six deep pits;² but owing to the presence of later structures, which were scrupulously respected by the excavators, the area at the bottom of the soundings was limited, amounting altogether to no more than 45 square meters. Two of the shafts revealed circular recesses cut in the hardpan, apparently the sites of huts; and the earliest deposits contained broken pottery of Neolithic types, mixed with relatively greater quantities of Early Helladic wares.³

The nature and significance of these earliest remains at Eutresis have been subjects of speculation during the past generation of prehistoric research. In the spring of 1958 Miss Goldman visited the site with the authors of this report and discussed the question again. It was agreed that a further test of the most ancient strata was worth undertaking, and a suitable region was noted for another deep sounding, considerably larger than any of the pits that had been excavated in 1927. Miss Goldman asked us to make this supplementary investigation, a proposal which we eagerly accepted. She generously provided the necessary funds.

A brief campaign was carried out in September, 1958, permission having been granted by the Department of Antiquities to the American School. Mr. John Threpsiades, Ephor for the district, lent his authority as representative of the Archaeological Service. Supervision of the digging was shared by the authors of this report, E. G. Caskey also keeping the field notes while J. L. Caskey did the surveying and took the photographs. Evangelos Lekkas was foreman, directing the activities of a dozen men.⁴

¹ Hetty Goldman, *Excavations at Eutresis in Boeotia*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1931.

² *Eutresis*, pp. xviii-xix, 9, 10, 76, 227.

³ *Eutresis*, p. 12.

⁴ The workmen comprised three experienced diggers, P. Nikolopoulos and K. Raptopoulos of

Work began on the first of the month, was impeded by unseasonable rains on several days, and had to be suspended on September 14 after a severe storm had brought damaging floods to Boeotia and Phokis. It was resumed and completed on September 25 and 26. The objects found were taken to Athens and kept in the working quarters of the Stoa of Attalos for study; here Mrs. Grace F. Muscarella made drawings of the pottery. In July, 1959, the collection was deposited in storerooms of the museum at Thebes, the main building of which was under reconstruction.

We would express special thanks to Mr. Threpsiades for his assistance and good advice; to the British School at Athens for a loan of three tents; and to the staff of the Agora Excavations for invaluable facilities. We are grateful also to the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, where the greater part of this report has been written during a term of residence.

THE EXCAVATION

The area chosen for supplementary investigation was near the top of the hill, in the southwestern section of the old excavations (*Eutresis*, plan II c). A main trench, A, laid out by magnetic compass, ran 11.20 m. east and west and was 4 m. wide. It took in Miss Goldman's Pit III, Building O, and the northwestern part of House L. A second smaller sounding, Trench B, 3 m. long by 1.50 m. wide, was made just south of the western part of House M. The relationship of these trenches to the walls known previously is shown in Figure 1. For vertical measurements we used Miss Goldman's datum.⁵

TRENCH A

Accumulations of the past 30 years were removed and digging began at a level around + 3 m. along the north side of Trench A. Building O (Early Helladic III) was much dilapidated and almost no traces of contemporary deposits remained. On the

Old Corinth and P. Kalios of Myloi, and men from the villages of Levktra (formerly Parapoungia) and Kapareli in Boeotia. N. Didaskalou, assistant technician at the Corinth museum, cleaned the pottery and did some of the mending at the site, completing the work later in Athens. The Boeotians, some of whom were sons of Miss Goldman's former workmen, were cooperative and remarkably quick to learn the technique of digging.

⁵ An east-west baseline for surveying was established with a theodolite, 0.50 m. south of Trench A. It was marked by iron spikes at 10 m. intervals, one being at the western edge of the excavated area, another south of House M. These were covered over and left in place after the campaign, to serve again if ever needed. Two of the surveying points are indicated on the plan, Fig. 1. Vertical measurements, calculated by the original surveyor, Miss D. H. Cox, from virgin soil in Pit I (*Eutresis*, p. xix), were based by us on the flat stone at the south end of the more easterly cross wall in House M, the altitude of which had been recorded as +4.58 m. (*Eutresis*, plan II b and fig. 44).

shelf just north of our trench a few short segments of walls were still in place (Pl. 40, b).

The little horseshoe-shaped structure was removed and the surviving remains of House L (E. H. II) were then exposed and reexamined (Pl. 40, 3). Minor architectural details that had remained hidden from the earlier excavators were noted and some pottery was collected from patches of undisturbed floor-deposits. A large bothros

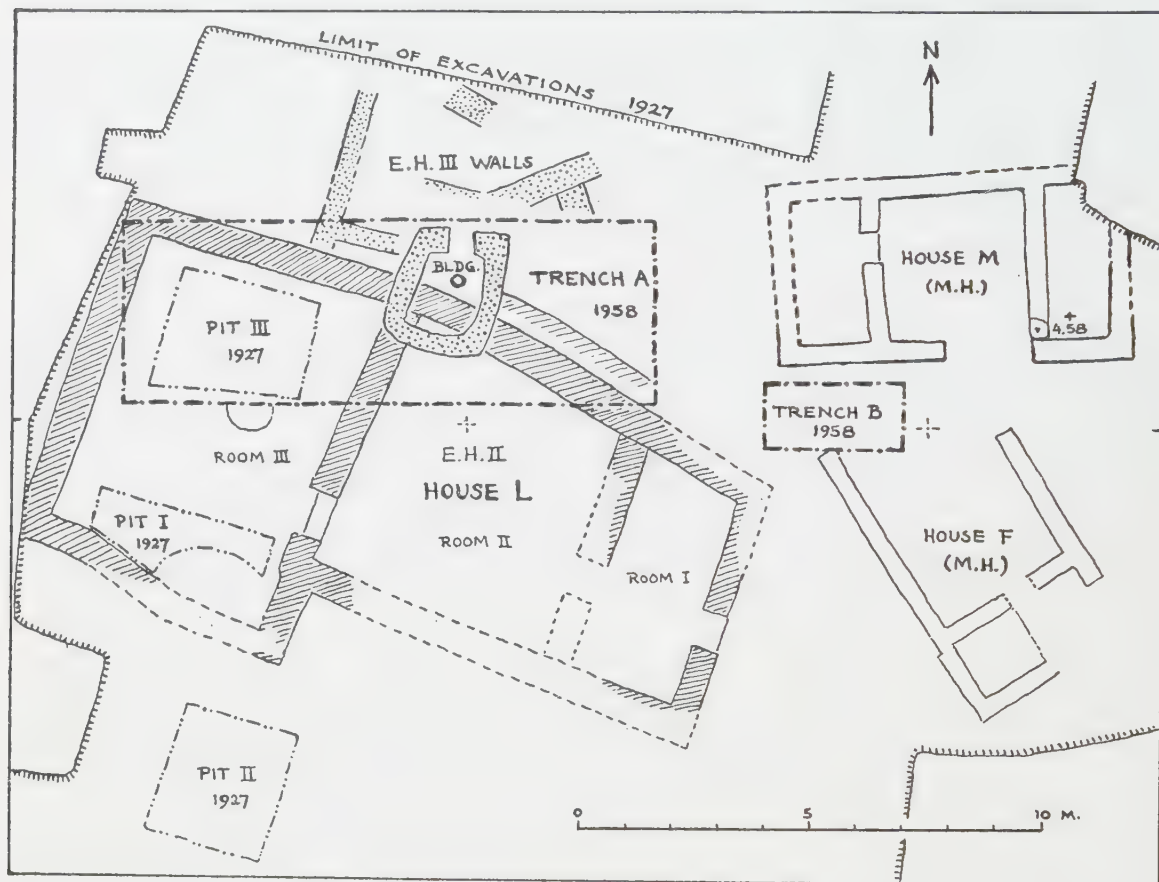


FIG. 1. General Plan, Showing Position of Trenches A and B (after *Eutresis*, plans II B, II C).

was found in Room III, west of the pan-hearth (*Eutresis*, fig. 13). Outlines of a large cavity filled with loose earth began to appear north of Room II.

With much regret we sacrificed the part of House L that lay within the trench, in order to reach the underlying strata. Below Room III another building soon emerged, and as excavation proceeded it became evident that this had stood for a considerable length of time, being wholly rebuilt at least once (Pl. 41, a, b). The later stage is designated in this report as House 6, the earlier as House 9. Pottery associated with House 9 was of types assignable to Early Helladic I, but at this

level the filling of the deep depression in the northeastern part of the trench still yielded wares of Early Helladic II in great quantity.

Architectural remains were scanty in the next earlier strata, consisting chiefly of successive stone pavements which were constructed now of moderate-sized cobbles, now again of quite small rounded pebbles or gravel (e.g. Pl. 41, c-e). These pavings, irregular for the most part and probably incomplete, were first encountered around $+1.83$ m. and continued to be found through the next meter of deposits, almost to virgin soil.

Remnants of two structures assignable to an early stage of E. H. I came to light at this low level. One, in the western part of the trench, was a straight wall. The other, in the northeastern part and just below the area of subsiding strata that had been observed from the level of House L downwards, was the socle of a broad curving wall. It formed an arc of a circle roughly 6.40 m. in diameter (Pl. 42, a). At the center of this hypothetical circle was a great well-like shaft descending into the earth, filled with debris, too deep for us to dig out. This somewhat awesome pit we called the Chasm (Pl. 42, b).

Under the earliest stone structures was the pinkish clayey virgin soil, its surface irregular and cut by numerous pits and cavities of various shapes and depths (Pl. 42, c, d). Generally they were rounded in outline, 0.50 m. to 1.50 m. in diameter, and 0.10 m. to 0.60 m. deep. All contained sherds of early pottery; at least one, Pit X, completely covered and sealed by the first of the pebble pavements, held an unmixed deposit of Neolithic wares.

TRENCH B

A small sounding was made in order to relate the upper Early Helladic and first Middle Helladic strata to the series tested in Trench A. Digging began at the present general level in this sector, around $+4.50$ m. Traces of a cobblestone paving were found near the top, then part of a gravel paving. Next came a stratum of burnt debris 0.25 m. thick. Below this was brown earth, without walls or discernible floor-levels. Excavation was halted at $+3.30$ m.

In the following account we present a description of the remains in chronological order with brief catalogues of the objects found. The successive deposits and strata are grouped under headings I to X. Material from the earliest periods is presented in relatively greater detail than that from the later, better known, contexts. Commentary upon the evidence observed is reserved to the closing section of the report.

GROUP I. PIT X.

Pit X (Fig. 3, Plan A) was similar in appearance to several of the other cavities in virgin soil but its contents were different. Therefore it is described here separately.

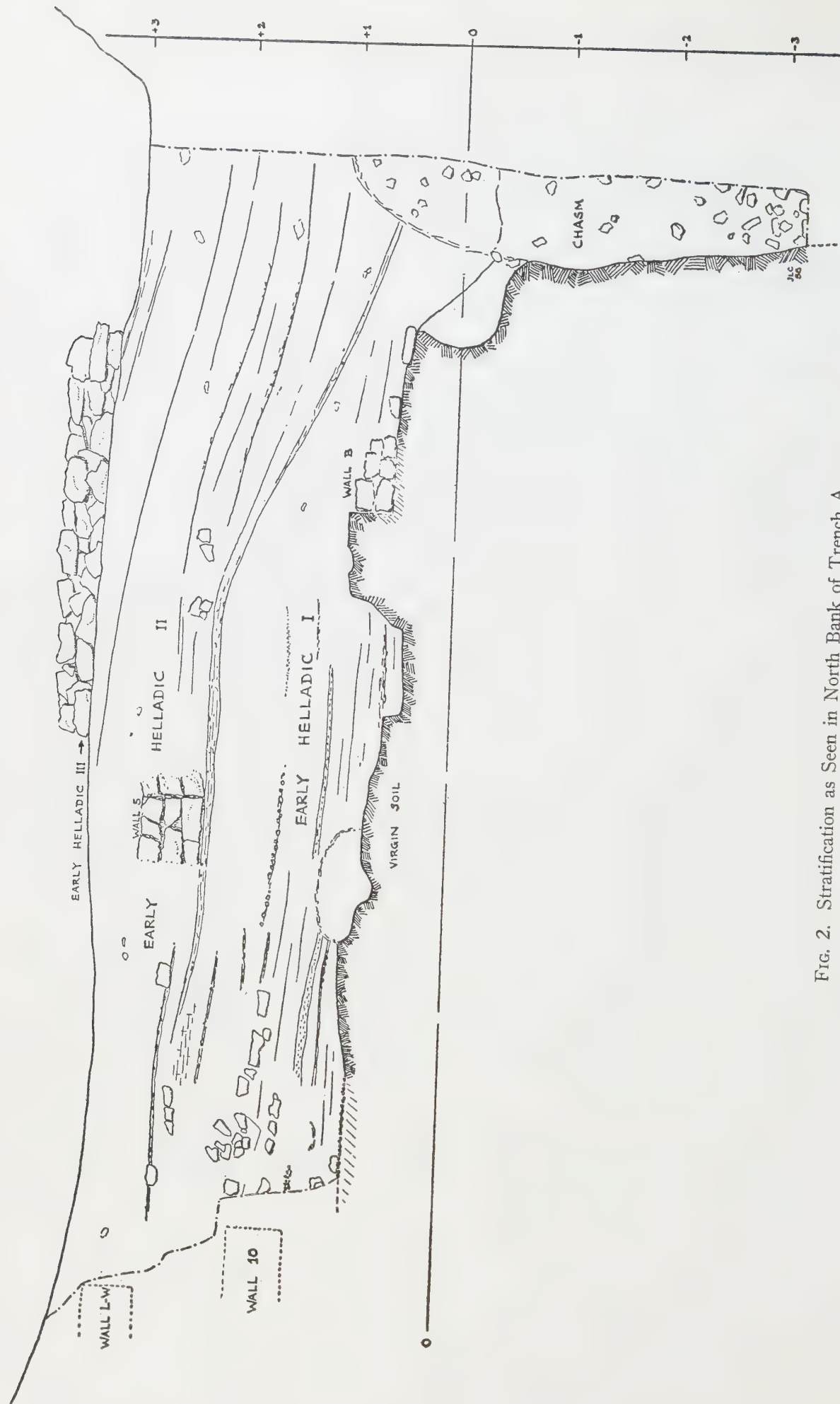


FIG. 2. Stratification as Seen in North Bank of Trench A.

It was nearly circular, regular in outline, about 1.35 m. in diameter and 0.55 m. deep, its bottom at +0.35 m. Adjoining it and extending westward to Pit Y there was a broad shallow depression only 0.10 m. to 0.15 m. deep. Pit X lay beneath the earliest of the tight pebble pavements, which was 0.04 m. to 0.05 m. thick and rested at an average level of +0.92 m. It contained dark earth and burnt matter. From it were recovered one-third of a tinful of pottery, a fragment of a figurine, bits of flint and obsidian, and some animal bones.

POTTERY

Red-brown glazed ware. Firm, fine-textured buff or light brown biscuit, coated with lustrous glaze that is generally red but may verge on buff, orange, or brown. The glaze resembles, and is presumably identical with, the Neolithic *urfirnis* of Orchomenos and Peloponnesian sites. Shapes: rounded and carinated bowls; jars, e.g. **I.1-2**, Pl. 43; collar-necks and bases (like **II.4-6**, Pl. 43).

Patterned ware; lustrous or semilustrous paint. Fine buff to light brown biscuit, like the preceding; surface burnished; linear patterns in moderately lustrous glaze-paint, e.g. **I.3-4**, Pl. 43.

Patterned ware; dull paint. Moderately fine biscuit, sandy in texture, containing particles of white matter; generally darker in color than the above, less carefully made. The surface may be left plain; more frequently it shows light or moderately thorough burnishing; in some cases it is wholly coated with a thin dull wash, irregularly and smearily applied. Decorative patterns are casually drawn in dull paint: single lines or groups of lines in dark purplish or brownish gray; broad bands in light reddish brown bordered with dark gray or near-black; groups of reddish and gray-black lines. Shapes: chiefly large vessels, e.g. **I.5-7**, Pl. 44; fragments of tall collar-necks (of jugs?) with slightly outturned plain rim, **I.8-9**, Fig. 4, Pl. 44; small jar, **I.10**, Pl. 44; asymmetrical vessel, perhaps askoid, with deep red-brown surface, **I.11-12**, Pl. 44 (cf. *Black Matt-paint on Red*, *Eutresis*, pp. 77-78).

Thin black burnished ware. Fine-textured compact gray biscuit; thin walls; surfaces carefully and thoroughly burnished except, occasionally, in small panels, triangles, or bands, which appear as reserved areas of gray against the black or near-black ground. In these spaces occur patterns of slanting lines, chevrons, and cross-hatching, produced by burnishing; the lines may be very fine and neat, or rough and careless. A few sherds preserve traces of plastic decoration in chains of very small pellets or elongated lozenges. Holes were bored for the mending of cracked vessels. The fabric is discussed as *Burnish-decorated ware*, *Eutresis*, pp. 76-77. Shapes: principally or exclusively deep bowls or beakers with upright, slightly concave sides, and a sharp carination at the joint of sides and lower body; the rims are plain,

occasionally turning outward. Photograph of sherds **I.13-24**, Pl. 43; profiles **I.25-30**, Fig. 4. Burnished patterns, **I.15**, **I.21**, **I.22** (cf. II.22, II.25), Pl. 43. Plastic decoration like II.20-21, Pl. 43.

Coarse semiburnished ware. Rough fabric; clay of biscuit contains foreign matter; sometimes spongy; usually gray, varying toward brown or black; surface incompletely smoothed or burnished. Fragments of large open jar show parallel lines carelessly painted in dull dark paint on gray ground. Other shapes: chiefly open bowls; a few small, e.g. **I.31** with nearly upright rim and **I.32** spreading, with knob or lug (Fig. 4), the rest larger and thicker like those of the heavy burnished class in Group II.

Pithoi. Fragments of very large storage jars. Biscuit moderately fine; surfaces smoothed.

MISCELLANEOUS

Obsidian. Awl or point: Inv. M117. Also three blades, three chips.

Flint. One blade.

Terracotta. Fragment of figurine: **I.33** (Inv. M40), Pl. 52. H. pres. 0.059. Fine micaceous orange-tan biscuit; surface coated, burnished, reddish. Left leg, hip, and buttock preserved, broken away from the right leg and from the body, which were formed of other lumps of clay. Buttock was probably formed of a separate lump, here coalesced with leg. Groove between belly and thigh; vertical groove to mark sex; horizontal groove near bottom of fragment, probably to set off slight pedestal that indicated the foot. At top of thigh, toward front, surface broken away where hand had rested (see commentary).

(I).34 (Inv. M34), Pl. 52. Found in upper filling of the Chasm with pottery of E.H.II, obviously out of context; presumably belongs chronologically with I.33. H. pres. 0.079. Moderately fine clay, gray at core, pink at surface. Navel punched; roll of fat at waist above a broad flat zone; vertical cuts between thighs and between buttocks; median groove in center of back. As in the case of I.33, the surface of the upper thighs shows where the hands have been detached.

GROUP II. DEPOSITS ON VIRGIN SOIL AND IN CAVITIES EXCEPT PIT X.

The principal cuttings in virgin soil are indicated on Plan A, Figure 3, and the general contours may be seen in photographs, Plate 42, c and d. Fillings of the various pits and cavities, as well as other deposits that extended over the rest of the undulating surface, below the level of the earliest structures, were of fairly uniform character. The earth was brownish, here and there holding considerable quantities of carbonized

wood and other vegetable matter scattered in very small particles. There were some animal bones and many potsherds, the latter consistent in types, and a number of miscellaneous objects. Obsidian was plentiful. It seems probable that much of this material belongs chronologically together. Some pieces, particularly the sherds, may of course be appreciably earlier than the general run, but there is no way of separating them stratigraphically and they are therefore recorded here in a single catalogue.

Pits Z and W clearly antedate Wall B (Group III), lying in part below its bedding. Pit W is also seen to be earlier than the Chasm, which cut away some of its northern half, presumably in the next phase of the settlement. Pit Y, at the south-

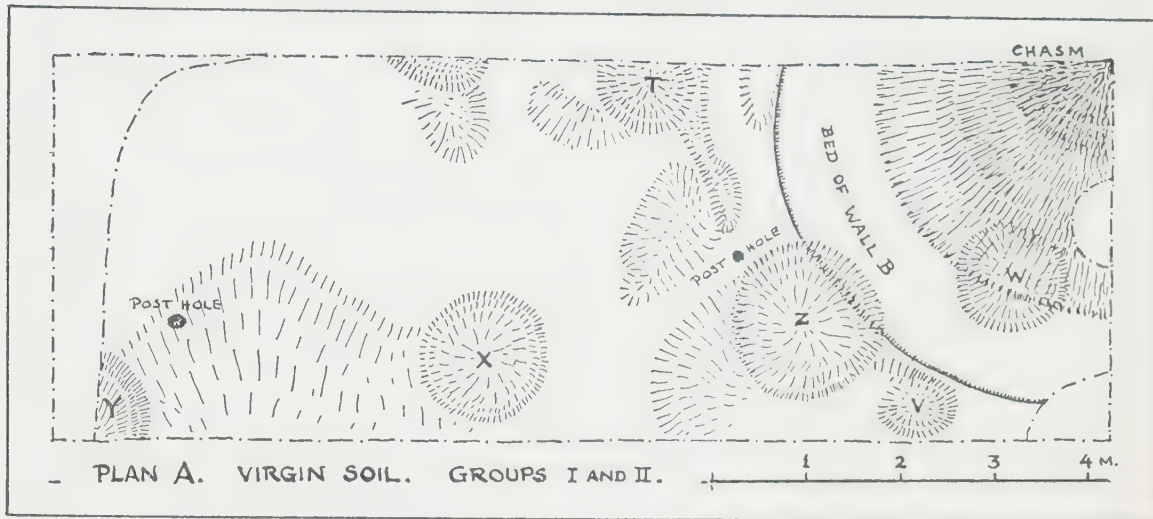


FIG. 3.

western corner of the excavated area, must once have been covered by the first of the pebble pavements (Fig. 5, Plan B), and might be expected to yield objects exactly parallel to those of Pit X; in fact, however, it contained also some pottery of the thick burnished class that was absent in Pit X though plentiful in the rest of Group II. Pit Y lay below the big bothros that was dug from House L in Early Helladic II (see Group VIII and Fig. 10, Plan K). We had no difficulty in distinguishing the contents of the bothros from the older material in Pit Y, but it is possible that the very digging of the deep shaft in the time of House L may have disturbed and partially mixed some remains of two or more strata at the lowest levels. One cannot be sure that this happened; it is safer, however, to consider the pottery of Pit Y with that of Group II in general than to suppose it must all be contemporary with that of Group I.

Two small cavities, 0.12 m. to 0.15 m. in diameter, came to light. One was near the west end of the trench, under the first pebble pavement, the other just northwest

of Pit Z (Fig. 3, Plan A, and Pl. 42, a, lower left). They probably once held upright wooden posts, perhaps parts of early shelters. An irregular channel ran roughly northward from a point near the latter; whether associated or not was uncertain. The channel appeared to have been cut by another pit, T. In several places shallow depressions intersected, or were intersected by, deeper ones. Caked mud lay in some of the hollows, suggesting that water had seeped down into them from the earth above in later times.

POTTERY

Red-brown glazed ware. Fabric as in Group I. A few fragments. Shapes: plain rims of open vessels, **II.1-2**, Pl. 43; base (?), **II.3**, Pl. 43; collar-bases of rounded jars or open basins, **II.4-6**, Pl. 43; upright neck, **II.7**, Pl. 44; large vessels, **II.8**, Pl. 44.

Patterned ware; lustrous or semilustrous paint. Very few small fragments, e.g. **II.9-10**, Pl. 44.

Patterned ware; dull paint. Fabric as in Group I. A few sherds in Pits T, Y, and Z; considerable numbers in the thin stratum of deposits extending over the central and western parts of Trench A immediately above virgin soil. Shapes and patterns in general as in Group I. Large vessels, jugs or jars, **II.11-15**, Pl. 44; cylindrical base, **II.16**, Fig. 4, Pl. 44; fragment **II.17** with dark pattern on red-brown coated ground, like I.11-12, Pl. 44; "butterfly-motive" (opposed triangles) on side, **II.15**, Pl. 44.

Two fragments represent a different variety of ware, light buff in color, fairly rough in texture, with plain uncoated surfaces. **II.18**, Pl. 44, is from a sharply carinated vessel with decoration in dull black. **II.19**, Pl. 44, from the shoulder of a jug or closed jar, has spots of dull brownish paint near the root of the handle.

Thin black burnished ware. Fabric, shapes, and decoration as in Group I. Found principally in the general stratum; a few fragments in Pit Z. Examples, **II.20-27**, Pl. 43.

Heavy slipped and burnished ware. Biscuit moderately coarse, containing uneven particles of stone; grayish brown to lighter tan. Surfaces sometimes carefully smoothed, in other instances casually and irregularly finished; normally coated with a thick slip of fine texture, but in some cases this apparent coating may have been produced by burnishing. The surface is characteristically lustrous, often with a high gloss. Marks of the burnishing tool are usually visible. Colors generally dark, from near-black to gray and brown. The type is presumably included in the category of *Polished ware*, *Eutresis*, p. 83. Shapes: open bowls and small basins; rims rounded or flattened; broad handles like horizontal lugs at or near rim; lugs, often solid or incompletely perforated, with ends bevelled.

Bowl: **II.28** (Inv. P17), Pl. 46. From upper filling of Pit Z. H. to rim 0.114;

H. to top of tab 0.123; D. 0.229; D. bottom 0.061. Restored. Moderately fine brown biscuit with gray core. Surface coated with thick slip, lightly burnished, brown to black. Rim flattened; rising at one side to tab-handle; width of tab uncertain. Bottom slightly concave.

Others bowls and basins: **II.29** (D. more than 0.40), Fig. 4, Pl. 45; **II.30-31**, Pl. 45; **II.32**, fragment with handle swelling from horizontal ridges on body and with white-filled slashes on top of rim, Fig. 4, Pl. 45; rim profiles **II.33-35**, Fig. 4; with solid lugs, **II.36**, Fig. 4, and **II.37**, Pl. 46.

II.38-39, fragments of small flaring basin in reddish brown burnished ware with pattern in dull buff paint, Fig. 4, Pl. 45. D. estimated *ca.* 0.32.

Small vessels in black burnished ware with distinct slip: bowls, **II.40-41**, Pl. 45; jar or pyxis **II.42**, Fig. 4, Pl. 45.

Red slipped ware. A few fragments of small bowls or saucers like those characteristic of Groups III-V, found chiefly in the general stratum; only two or three sherds in Pits Y and Z.

Coarse semiburnished ware. Fabric generally as in Group I. Many fragments, particularly in Pits Y and Z.

Scoop: **II.43** (Inv. P16), Pl. 47. From upper filling of Pit Z. L. restored 0.213; W. at rim restored 0.182. About half, including most of rim, missing. Compact brown biscuit, gray at core; marks of vegetable tempering. Surfaces lightly burnished; interior burnt, exterior mottled brown to black.

Other vessels represented: bowls, basins, open jars; rims rounded or flattened; horizontal lugs; flat bottoms. Traces of streaky paint on a few fragments.

Pithoi. Fragments in Pits T and Z and in general stratum.

MISCELLANEOUS

Obsidian. Blades: Inv. M 115, M 127, and 37 other pieces, including many of broad form. Awl: Inv. M 116. Also 39 chips, 5 large pieces.

Flint. Blade: Inv. M 114; dull red; broad form.

Bone. Tubular handles: **II.44** (Inv. M 37), Pl. 52; L. 0.084. **II.45** (Inv. M 39), Pl. 52; L. pres. 0.081. Awl: **II.46** (Inv. M 30), Pl. 53; L. pres. 0.074; flat, made from rib.

Terracotta. Stamp seal or *pintadera*: **II.47** (Inv. M 35), Pl. 52. From upper filling of Pit Z. L. pres. 0.052, W. 0.038, H. with part of handle 0.019. Tips of seal and top of handle lost in antiquity, breaks worn. Red-brown clay of moderately fine

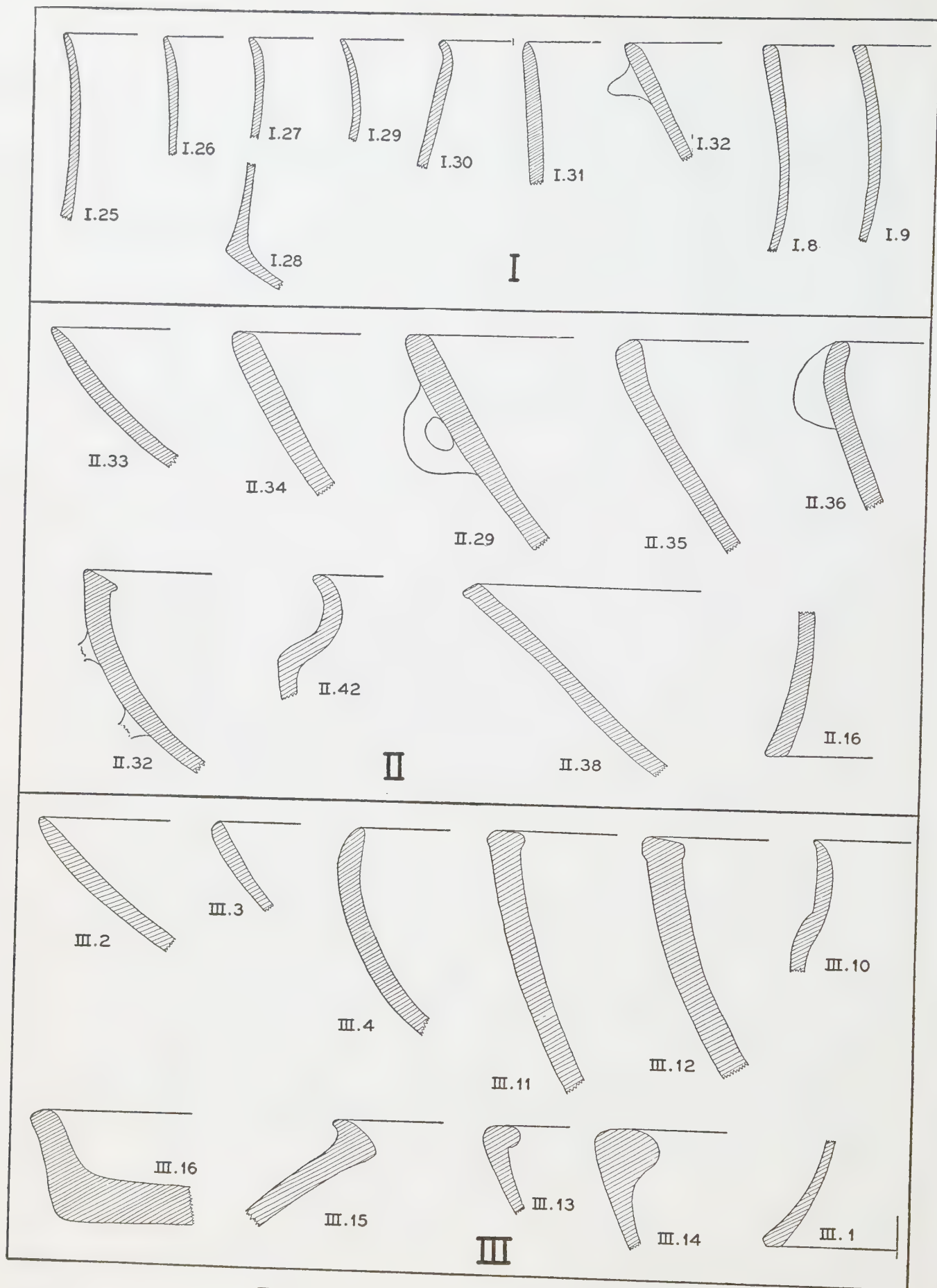


FIG. 4. Profiles of Pottery, Groups I-III. Scale 1:2.

texture; surface smoothed. Whorl: **II.48** (Inv. M 36), Pl. 53; H. 0.026, D. 0.052. Orange-brown clay, mottled gray.

GROUP III. FIRST BUILDINGS AND PAVEMENTS.

In the third group of remains we include the earliest pebble pavement (Fig. 5, Plan B) which covered the deposits of Groups I-II, and the surviving parts of several

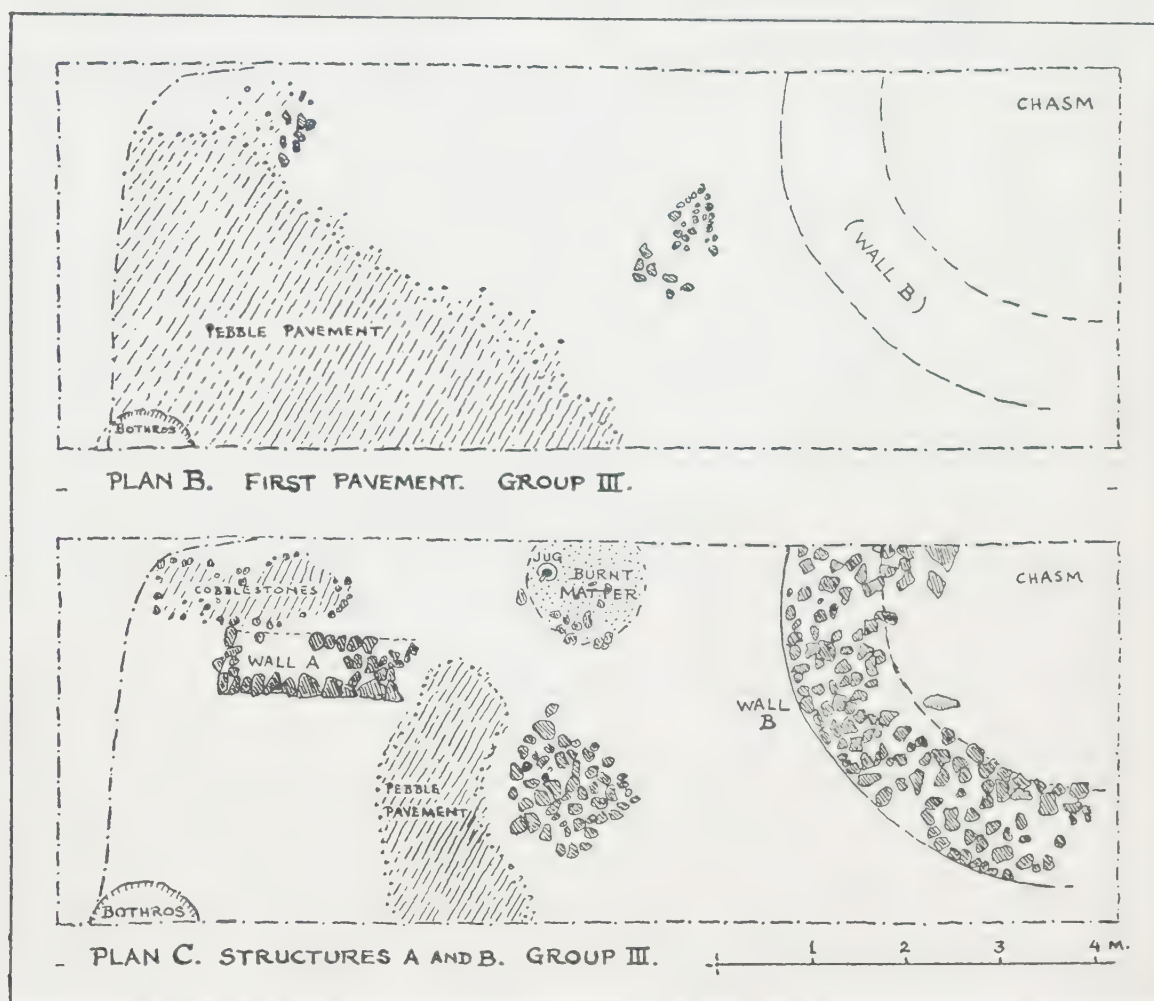


FIG. 5.

other structures that came next in chronological sequence, namely a second pavement, a fireplace, and stone foundations of two buildings (Fig. 5, Plan C).

The first pavement covered a roughly triangular area totalling nearly nine square meters within the space of Trench A. It was made of small pebbles tightly set, resembling the later one shown on Plate 41, e. The top surface was approximately

level at an average of $+0.95$ m. Excavation of Pit III in 1927 stopped at this pavement (the record of a "pebble court" at $+1.27$ m. in *Eutresis*, pl. II c, refers to another paving in the series, our Fig. 8, Plan D). To north and east there were groups of stones. The bottom of the foundations of Wall B rested at this level, but it seems certain that the round building was constructed a little later.

Part of a second pavement, belonging to this subsequent phase, lay over the first, its top surface at an average of $+1.06$ m. It too was made of small rounded pebbles, three to five centimeters in diameter. Near it were the remains of Wall A, about 2 m. long. This was a straight wall, some 0.65 m. thick, running east and west. It rested at $+1.03$ m. and was clearly later than the first pavement, which it overlapped. Some cobblestones lay just north of the wall and another group further east. At the north bank of our trench, about the middle of its length (Fig. 5, Plan C), there was a circular patch of burnt matter with small stones lying in it, probably an open hearth that had been used for some time. The accumulation of ashes was thick, and on them lay a small red jug, III.7, nearly complete.

The most notable structure encountered at this level was in the northeastern part of the trench, a broad curving wall, B, describing an arc of a circle and enclosing the large deep pit which we call the Chasm. A bedding for Wall B was cut into the virgin soil to a depth of some 0.25 m. to 0.40 m. (section, Fig. 2). The wall had an average thickness of about 1.05 m., its foundations being made of irregular stones of moderate size (Pl. 42, a). It was much dilapidated, standing in only a few places to a height of two courses, and the superstructure was entirely lost. Exact restoration is not possible, but Wall B appears to represent a circular building about 6.40 m. in diameter (Fig. 6).

A large depression in the general contours of the strata, observed at the level of House L (E.H.II) and continuously from there downward, had contracted like the cone of a funnel as the excavation proceeded. At the level of Structure B we came to the shaft of this funnel, roughly circular, descending vertically into the virgin soil. The shaft may be about 1.50 m. in diameter, judged by the part that could be seen, but even this segment was difficult to investigate, being in the extreme corner of our trench. The position appears in a photograph, Plate 42, a, taken before the close of digging; the rim of the shaft scraped clean is shown in Plate 42, b. Excavation was carried as deep as possible, to 3.20 m. below datum zero (Fig. 2). There we were obliged to stop, since the banks to north and east were made up of rather loose fill with sizeable stones, still within the shaft, and the danger of a collapse became too serious to risk. As may be seen in Plate 42, d, to clear a space all around Structure B and the Chasm would have required very extensive digging through deep accumulations of later debris, a task that could not be undertaken in the time available.

The top of the shaft, like the cone of the funnel above it, held much pottery of types assignable to Early Helladic II. Lower in the shaft the pottery was less plentiful,

and seemed to correspond with the styles of E.H.I. These earlier pieces are treated in the following catalogue with the material of Group III in general. Altogether a considerable quantity of pottery was recovered from this stratum, along with miscellaneous objects and many animal bones.

POTTERY

Total quantity about seven tinfuls.

Patterned ware; dull paint. Fabric as in Group I. A handful of sherds, including a fragment apparently from a pedestal, **III.1** (Fig. 4).

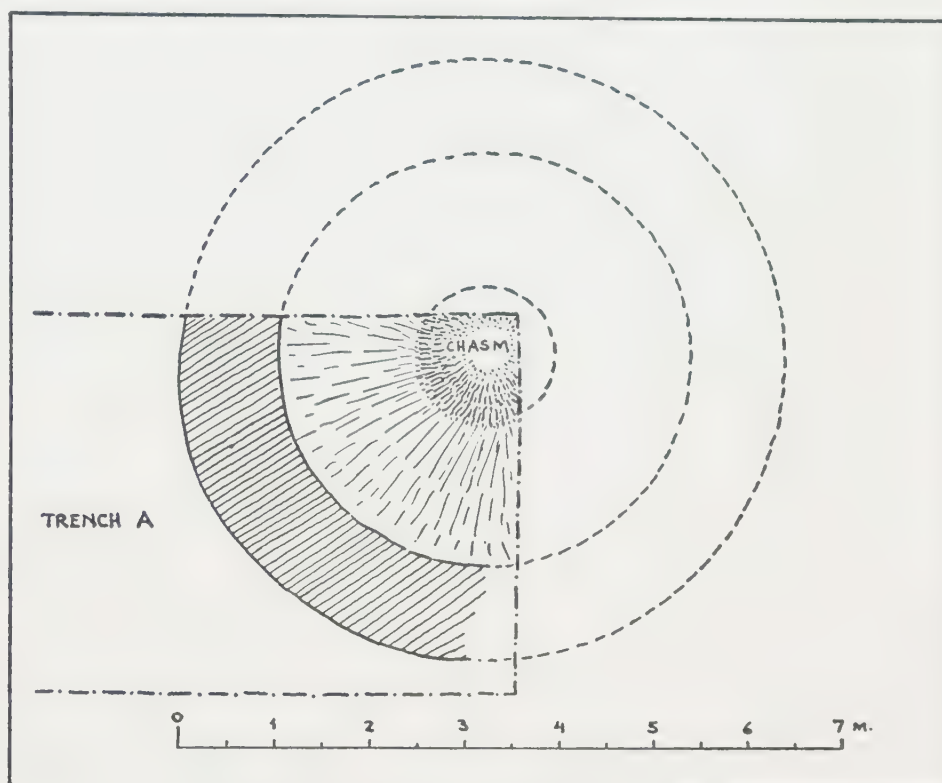


FIG. 6. Building B, Restored in Outline.

Thin black burnished ware. Fabric as in Group I. About ten sherds.

Heavy slipped and burnished ware. Fabric as in Group II. A moderate number of fragments, chiefly from large open bowls or small basins like II.34-36; perhaps all earlier than Group III.

Red slipped ware. Moderately fine biscuit with occasional impurities, lumps, and particles of stone; surface coated with slip and well burnished, often to a high luster;

normally deep red, varying to brown, sometimes discolored grayish. It is included as one of the types of *Polished ware*, *Eutresis*, p. 83. Occurs plentifully in this stratum, making up some 25 per cent of the total. Shapes: small bowls or saucers, e.g. **III.2-3**, Fig. 4; large open bowls, e.g. **III.4**, Fig. 4; pyxides; jugs, e.g. **III.5**, Pl. 46 and **III.6**, Fig. 7, from filling of the Chasm, and the following:

Jug: **III.7** (Inv. P 12), Pl. 46. Found on hearth at +1.06 m. H. to rim 0.101; D. 0.126. Chips missing; restored. Moderately rough orange-tan biscuit; surface smoothed, coated on exterior with thick red-brown slip; well burnished; worn. Rim thickened on outer side; profile of neck has characteristic double curve; bottom slightly concave; handle round in section, spreading at upper and lower attachments.

The good slipped ware occurs in a variant which may be called red washed ware, having a much thinner coating, usually lighter in color and showing little luster.

Closed jar: **III.8** (Inv. P 32, a-b), Pl. 47. H. pres. 0.167; D. as restored 0.355; D. rim 0.174. L. of fragment b with handle 0.115. Both fragments filled out with plaster; the curve of the shoulder as seen at left in the photograph is too broad. Hard yellowish buff biscuit of sandy texture, gray at core. Surface smoothed and apparently coated on exterior and on interior of rim and lower body with buff milky wash, over which appear traces of orange-red paint, possibly laid on as a decorative pattern; much worn. Very small horizontal lug on shoulder. The jar originally had two broad handles, or hollow grips,⁶ one of which is preserved in fragment b.

Horizontal lugs occur frequently at or near the rims of bowls. They are solid, sometimes pierced vertically.

Fragment with lug: **III.9**, Pl. 47. Found in the lower filling of the Chasm but possibly intrusive from later deposits. L. of lug 0.105. Buff biscuit; surface coated, brown, slightly lustrous, but unlike the normal red slipped type. Apparently a rounded bowl with plain rim flattened at top. Ends of lug drawn out as disks.

Burnished ware. Moderately fine to moderately coarse biscuit; surfaces burnished, sometimes producing a "floated" or technical slip; colors dark gray-brown, gray, black, or mottled, occasionally with reddish or olive tinges (see *Polished ware*, *Eutresis*, p. 83). Parallel to red slipped ware, but the differences are not accidental. Shapes: shallow one-handled saucers or "spoons" (see Group IV); bowls.

Small ribbed jar or bowl: **III.10**, Fig. 4, Pl. 47. Gray-brown. Vertical ribbing on body made by pressure with round-tipped implement.

Light-colored plain ware. Fine to moderately fine biscuit; surfaces smoothed,

⁶ Various called "ribbon loop handles," *Eutresis*, fig. 116; "large loop handles," C. W. Blegen, *Zygouries*, fig. 99; "tubular handles," W. A. Heurtley, *Prehistoric Macedonia*, fig. 57; "Schlaufenhenkel," K. Müller, *Tiryns*, IV, pp. 48-49. They were grasped on the outer surface, which offers excellent purchase.

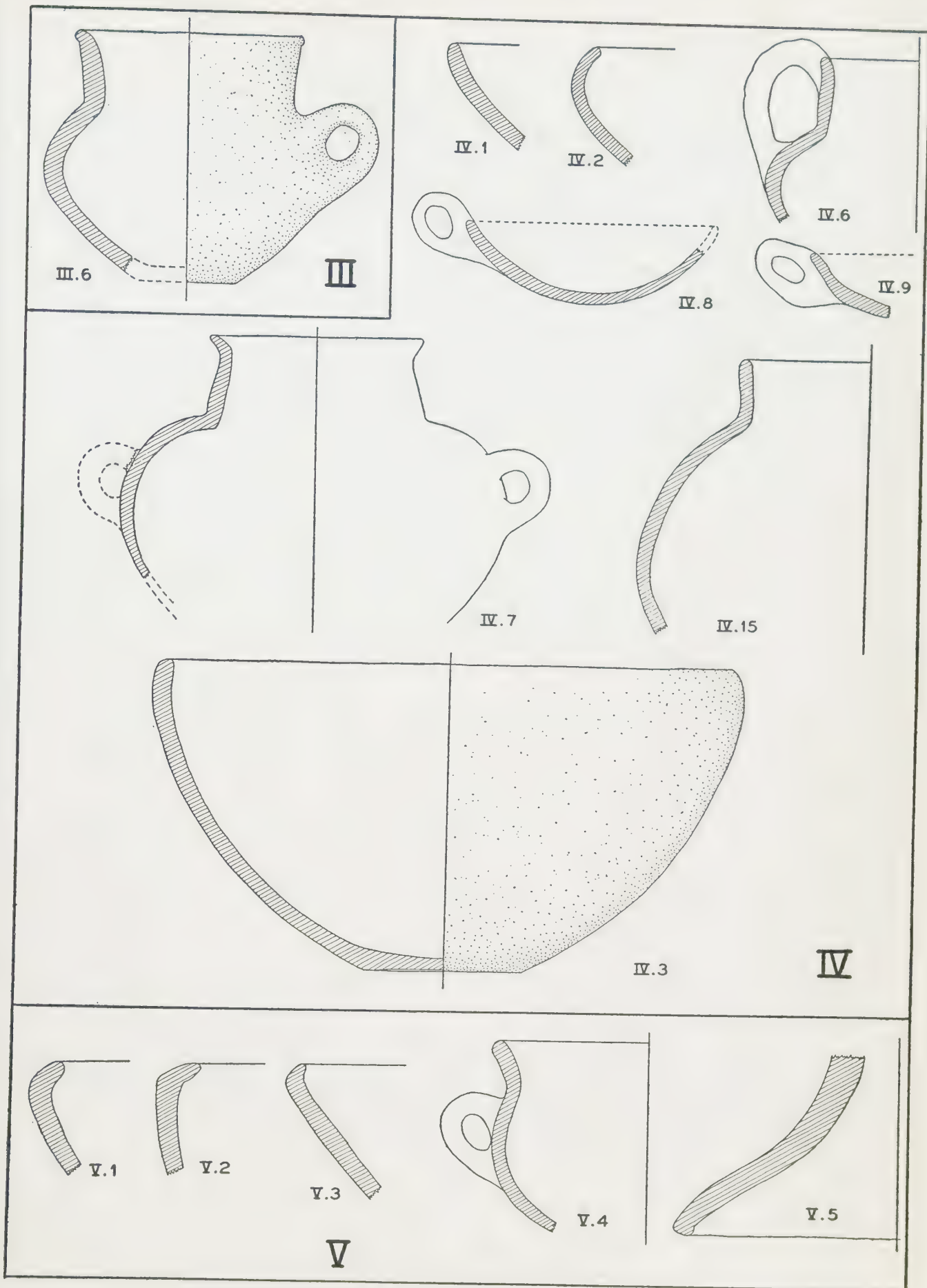


FIG. 7. Profiles of Pottery, Groups III-IV. Scale 1:2.

sometimes burnished; colors near-white to pale yellow, pinkish, and light buff, reminiscent of Corinthian fabrics. (Miss Goldman's *White ware*, *Eutresis*, p. 83). Shapes: small bowls or saucers with flaring or incurving rims, large and small jars (and jugs?) with flat or slightly concave bottoms; broad hollow grips at sides of large vessels; mat impressions on bases. No whole examples.

Coarse ware. Rough biscuit with particles of stone, moderately coarse to very coarse; colors gray to brown; surfaces usually smoothed, occasionally showing light incomplete burnishing. Shapes: open jars or deep basins with rims flattened and thickened, e.g. **III.11-12**, Fig. 4; vessels with pronounced roll on inside of rim and relatively thin walls, form of lower body uncertain, e.g. **III.13-14**, Fig. 4; rounded jar with contracted mouth, **III.15**, Fig. 4; flat pans, e.g. **III.16**, Fig. 4, Pl. 47; parts of stands probably used at the hearth (cf. IV.16-17, Pl. 47). Mat-impressions on flat bottoms of large vessels.

Pithoi. A score of fragments.

MISCELLANEOUS

Obsidian. Blades: Inv. M. 45-49, M 51, M 122, M 124, M 126, M 128-130, and 124 other blades and fragments; 123 chips; 3 large pieces.

Flint. Blades: Inv. M 52, M 125 (dull red), M 123 (gray), and one uninventoried; one large piece.

Stone. Beads: **III.17** (Inv. M 32), Pl. 53; D. av. 0.011, Th. 0.004; light green steatite. **III.18** (Inv. M 33), Pl. 53; D. av. 0.009, Th. 0.003; bluish green steatite.

Bone. Tubular handle: **III.19** (Inv. M 41), Pl. 52; L. pres. 0.061; made from leg bone, polished; incised chevrons.

Terracotta. Scraper (?): **III.20** (Inv. M 25), Pl. 52; L. 0.04, W. 0.025; made from sherd with pinkish buff biscuit, thick pale buff slip.

Spool: **III.21** (Inv. M 26), Pl. 52; L. 0.049; D. 0.048-0.051; yellowish tan biscuit, clumsily fashioned; central groove showing fingerprints.

Whorls: **III.22** (Inv. M 19), Pl. 53; H. 0.041, D. 0.046; pinkish buff biscuit. **III.23** (Inv. M 24), Pl. 53; H. 0.02, D. 0.04, pinkish buff biscuit.

GROUP IV. LEVELS +1.20 M. TO +1.60 M.

The structures and levels of habitation described under Group III were succeeded by others in the next phases of occupation.

A third in the series of pebble pavements lay in the western part of our Trench A

at an average elevation of $+1.20$ m. (maximum $+1.32$ m., minimum $+1.17$ m.). Its position and shape appear in Plan D (Fig. 8). This is the "pebble court" that was seen in 1927 at $+1.27$ m. in Miss Goldman's Pit III. It was found by us well preserved, retaining its rectangular form at least on the north side. To the southwest it seems to have spread outward. The stones shown on Plan D toward the east of the

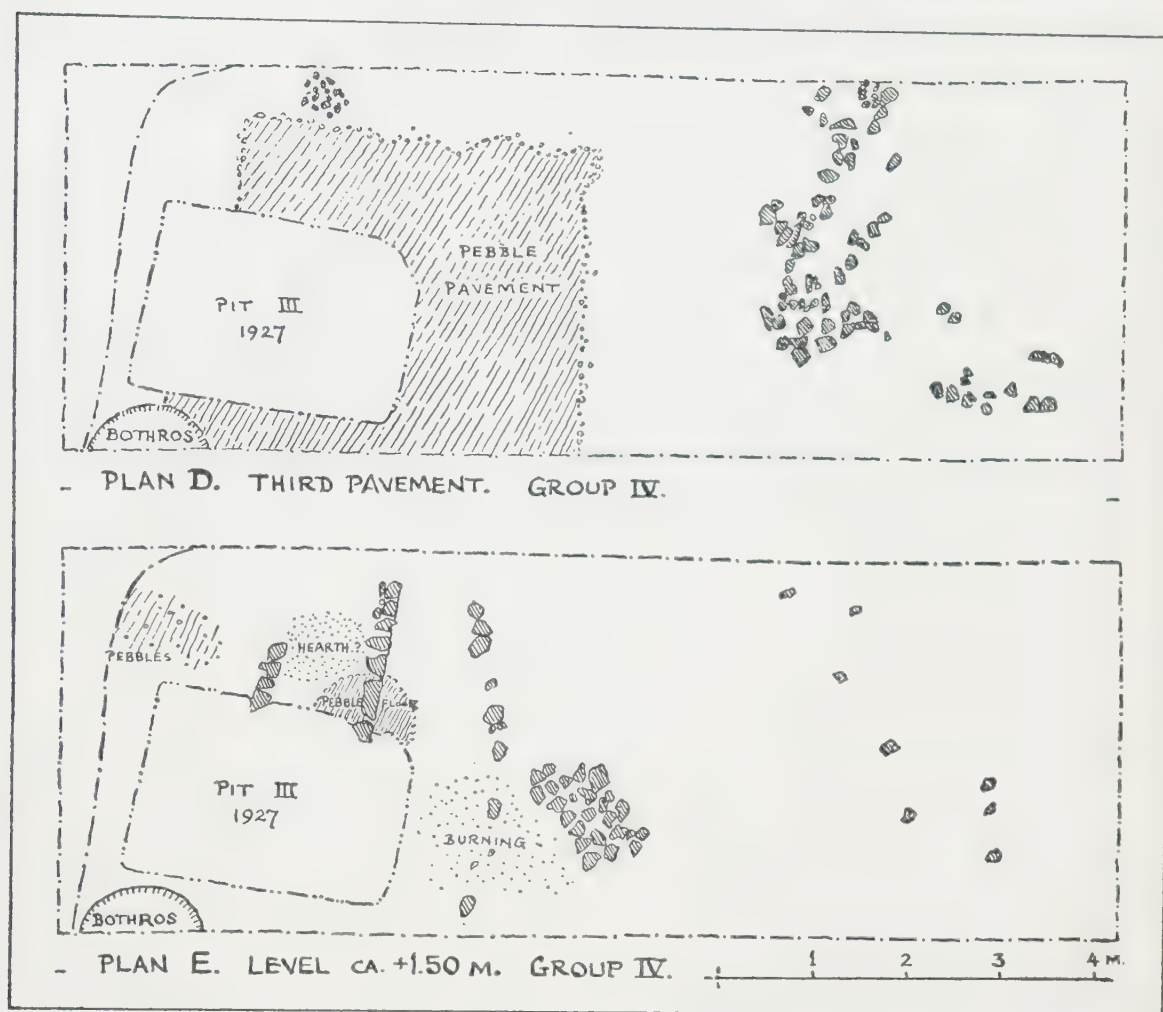


FIG. 8.

trench lay at random on the rim of the Chasm, the upper part of which remained an open hollow.

Plan E (Fig. 8) shows remains of the next stage, small floors of pebbles, patches of burning, and lines of stones that may once have been parts of walls. They were found resting at levels around $+1.50$ m., on earth and deposits that had accumulated

above the rectangular pavement. It is useless to speculate about the structures that are represented by these scanty remains. They were not all exactly contemporary; one of the lines of stones north of Pit III crosses a circular flooring, which must have been slightly earlier.

The strata considered together here as Group IV probably reflect the passage of considerable time. Styles of pottery and other objects did not change rapidly, however. A representative selection of the material is described below.

POTTERY

Total about five tinfuls.

Heavy slipped and burnished ware. Fabric as in Group II. Only a few sherds were found; these may have worked up from below.

Red slipped ware. Fabric generally as in Group III. Plentiful in Group IV, the quality of the biscuit apparently deteriorating slightly and the color verging more toward brown as time went on. Shapes: bowls, e.g. rims **IV.1-2**, Fig. 7, restored profile **IV.3**, Fig. 7, fragments **IV.4-5**, Pl. 46; smaller saucers; a few "spoons" (see also Burnished ware); small jugs, e.g. **IV.6**, Fig. 7, Pl. 47, with incised lines on shoulder and slanting grooves on handle; small jars, e.g. **IV.7**, Fig. 7; larger jars.

Some vessels were coated with thinner red wash, lighter in color and less lustrous than the typical red slip. A few pieces have a red-brown coating that resembles glaze and may be a forerunner of the substance generally used in Groups VII-VIII (E.H.II).

Burnished ware. Fabrics as in Group III. Shapes: "spoons," small shallow saucers with single ring-handle rising slightly above rim, e.g. **IV.8-9**, Fig. 7, **IV.10-12**, Pl. 46; small jars with vertical ripple markings on sides; jar with collar neck.

Incised fine ware. The fabric in general resembles that of Burnished ware, Groups III and IV. Several fragments were found, like those described in *Eutresis*, pp. 80-82. Patterns consist chiefly of series of incised straight lines, sometimes in cross-hatching, and punctated dots, all originally filled with white matter. Decoration occurs on the outer side of rims, e.g. **IV.13**, Pl. 46, on flanged lids, e.g. **IV.14**, Pl. 46, and on one flat handle. Note also incision on pithoi.

Plain ware. Fabric as in Group III. Found plentifully in the strata of Group IV and in increasing amounts from the earlier to the later. A number of pieces show careful burnishing. Shapes: jug with oval handle set from rim to shoulder; many jars, some with high cylindrical necks and outturned rims, one with handle set vertically on body; flat bottoms.

Coarse ware. Fabric as in Group III. Shapes: bowls; jugs; various jars, e.g.

IV.15, Fig. 7 and one with hole-mouth; thin-walled vessels with rims much thickened on inner side, like III.13-14; stands used probably at hearth, e.g. **IV.16-17**, Pl. 47; flat and concave bottoms; horizontal solid lugs.

Handles possibly from "frying pans" of cycladic type: **IV.18-19**, Pl. 47.

Small cup or feeding bottle: **IV.20** (Inv. P 19), Pl. 47; H. 0.078, D. 0.095. Two-thirds missing; restored. Brown biscuit with gray core, vegetable-tempered. Surface smoothed. Fragment of tubular spout found near by may belong to this vessel but does not join.

Pithoi. Numerous fragments of very large storage jars; walls up to 0.045 thick. Top of rim with bands of incised hatching and a row of punched circles. Fragments with applied plastic strips or bands.

MISCELLANEOUS

Obsidian. Blades: Inv. M 53, M 56, M 58, M 61, M 68, and 127 other blades and fragments. Awl or point: Inv. M 67. Scraper: Inv. M 62. Cores: Inv. M 59 and one other. Also 77 chips and one large irregular piece.

Flint. Blades: Inv. M 54, M 55 (red), M 60 (greenish brown), and one other. Also one chip, one core, and one irregular piece.

Chert. Blade: Inv. M 66 (yellow-tan).

Bone. Awls: **IV.21** (Inv. M 27), Pl. 53; L. 0.073; complete. **IV.22** (Inv. M 28), Pl. 53; L. pres. 0.052; point missing; made from split rib.

Terracotta. Whorls: **IV.23** (Inv. M 18), Pl. 53; H. 0.045, D. 0.05; dark brown. **IV.24** (Inv. M 20), Pl. 53; H. 0.043, D. 0.045; dark reddish brown, blackened; thick surface layer applied to a core. **IV.25** (Inv. M 21), Pl. 53; H. 0.043, D. 0.049; orange-brown. **IV.26** (Inv. M 22), Pl. 53; H. 0.029, D. 0.05; pinkish buff to gray, darkened.

GROUP V. LEVELS FROM +1.60 M. TO +1.90 M. HOUSE 9.

Remains of at least three successive phases of occupation are here combined as Group V. The development continued to be gradual; there was no evidence of unusual interruption or sudden change in the cultural sequence.

A wall composed of stones in a single course ran north and south across Trench A, along the end of Pit III, at a level around +1.60 m. (Fig. 9, Plan F). Immediately associated with it on the east was a pebble pavement, at +1.62 m. (Pl. 41, e; visible also in c and d), the fourth in the series above virgin soil, and beyond this an area covered with fine gravel. In the northeastern corner of the trench was the depression caused by the Chasm, again with a few loose stones along its rim. The wall pre-

sumably belonged to a building on the west; there were traces of a floor at +1.64 m. but no further remains of the house were found at this level.

The next phase is marked by a fifth pavement, this time not of small pebbles but of medium-sized stones of irregular shape that might be called cobbles (Fig. 9, Plan G; Pl. 41, c, d). Its top surface lay at an average level of +1.83 m. There was a U-shaped gap, where stones had perhaps been removed later for use in other construction. A channel some 0.20 m. wide, visible on the plan and in the photographs, divided the cobblestones and ran roughly northeast toward the Chasm. The pavement covered the wall of the preceding phase.

In the third phase a building which we designate as House 9 occupied the space exposed in the western end of the trench (Fig. 5, Plan H; Pl. 41, a, b). It might perhaps better be called a room, since other integral parts of the building may lie on any of three sides. It is oriented roughly to the cardinal points. Wall 9 on the north and Wall 11 on the east had an average thickness of 0.40 m.; Wall 10 on the west, which we left in place, was apparently somewhat heavier. The width of the room from east to west was 3.25 m. Its floor, on which few remains of habitation were found, lay at +1.89 m.

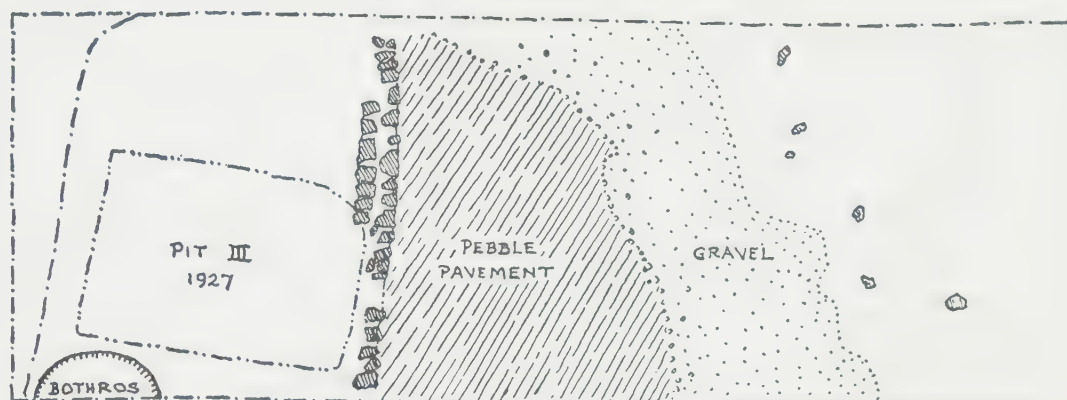
POTTERY

Smaller quantities than in Group IV; total about three tinfuls.

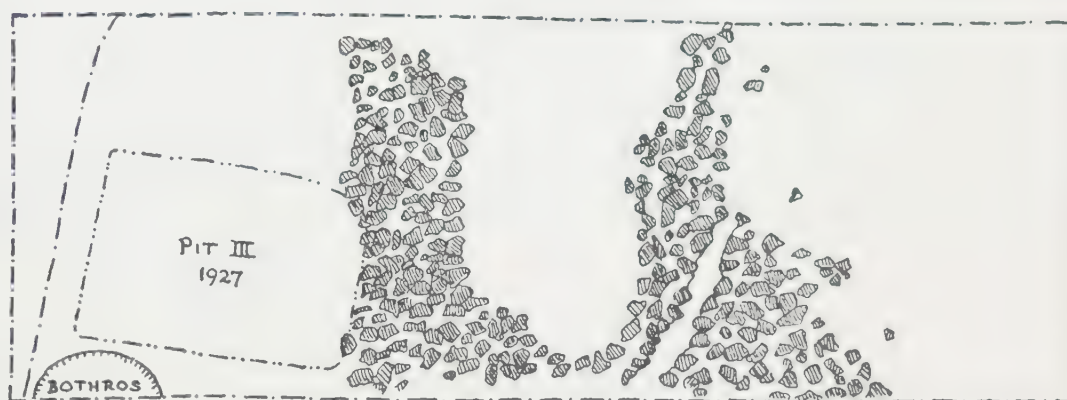
Slipped and burnished wares, red-brown to gray-black. The fabrics of these classes, which resembled each other in some respects in the preceding phase, now become still more alike. Some pieces of each retain their special qualities, e.g. the deep red slip, but the greater number cannot be assigned with certainty to one category or the other. An appreciable number show mottled colors; some few are black on one side and red on the other. The composition of the biscuit is as before; walls of vessels appear somewhat thicker. Shapes: large and small bowls, occasionally with nearly straight tapering rim profiles, usually with incurving or carinated rims, e.g. **V.1-3**, Fig. 7; small bowl or saucer with short offset rim; **V.4**, Fig. 7, rounded bowl with one or two small vertical handles and distinctly splaying rim; one large low ring-base and one high ring-base or pedestal (occurring here for the first time); "spoons" in dark gray-brown ware; jug; vertical lug; long horn-like lug or attachment.

Plain ware. Fabric as in Groups III-IV; a few pieces light red; a few greenish. Quantity about one-quarter of total. Shapes: small saucers, burnished; small and large bowls, some with slightly thickened rim; jugs; jars with collar-neck or flaring rim; spout of askoid vessel; broad hollow grips; vertical ribbon handle; bottoms flat and concave.

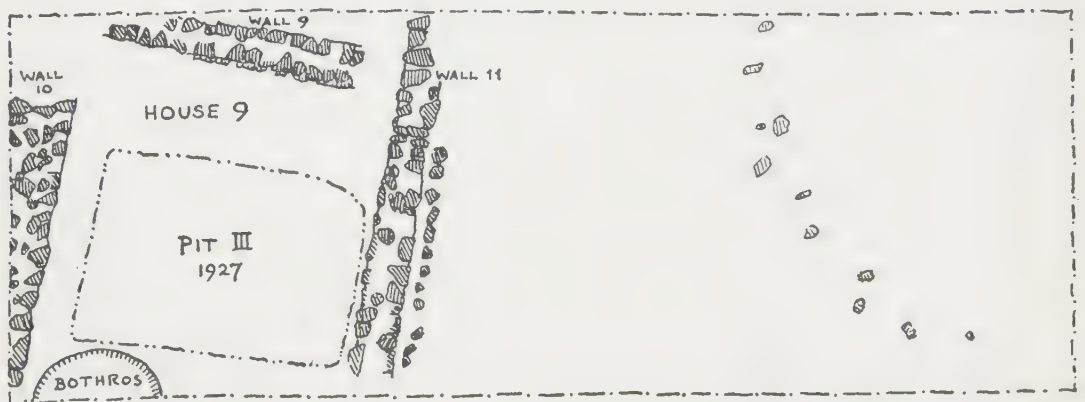
Coarse ware. Fabric as in Group IV; usually micaceous, some of spongy texture. Shapes: bowls or basins; closed jar with flaring rim; **V.5**, Fig. 7, funnel-shaped frag-



PLAN F. FOURTH PAVEMENT. GROUP V.



PLAN G. FIFTH PAVEMENT. GROUP V.



PLAN H. HOUSE 9. GROUP V.

FIG. 9.

ment, probably from a pedestal; a few ring-bases; fragments of stands for use at hearth.

Pithoi. A few fragments; one with triangular impressions in a pattern on the rim.

Glazed ware of E.H.II type. A few small fragments, including two of sauceboats and others of small bowls, with coatings of grayish brown glaze. These are probably intrusive from above, perhaps coming in part from the big bothros of House L in the southwest bank of the trench, which we failed to recognize at the upper levels (see Group VIII). Possibly, on the other hand, they represent stages in the development of the later types, as we have noted in connection with a handful of similar sherds that appeared in the material of Group IV.

MISCELLANEOUS

Obsidian. Blades: Inv. M 63, M 65, plus 67 other blades or fragments. Awl: Inv. M 81. Core: Inv. M 64. Also 40 chips.

Flint. Two blades.

Terracotta. Pendant: **V.6** (Inv. M 42), Pl. 52. From floor at +1.64 m. under House 9. H. 0.0285, W. 0.028, Th. 0.006. Orange-buff biscuit. The object was worked from a potsherd, the broad side opposite the perforated tip being the rim of the vessel. Hole bored from both sides.

GROUP VI. HOUSE 6. LEVELS +1.90 M. TO +2.20 M.

Above House 9 of Group V lay the walls of House 6, similar in size and orientation, almost certainly a rebuilding of the former (Fig. 10, Plan J). Its north and east walls, 6 and 7, were 0.55 m. to 0.60 m. thick; the west wall, 8, like wall 10 below it, was apparently somewhat thicker. The room was 2.70 m. wide, and its floor of earth, not very distinctly marked, lay at a level around +2.08 m. East of the house there was an open space. At the farther end of our trench the broad funnel above the Chasm continued at this time to serve as a rubbish pit if not for some more solemn purpose. It proved impossible to isolate the pottery that was deposited in this pit in the time of House 6 from that which may have come in from higher levels. In general the earlier wares were relatively more plentiful in and around the house, the later types at the eastern end of the trench; this suggests some contamination.

POTTERY

Slipped and burnished wares, red-brown to gray-black. Fabric as in Group V. Shapes: Small bowls or saucers and medium-sized bowls with convex sides and incurving rims; jars.

Plain ware. Fabric generally as in Groups III-V; fine to semifine, light colors, yellow, some tan. Shapes: small bowls or saucers of higher type with ring-base and of lower type with flat bottom; jugs; jars.

Coarse ware. Fabric as in earlier groups, but with many fragments of light

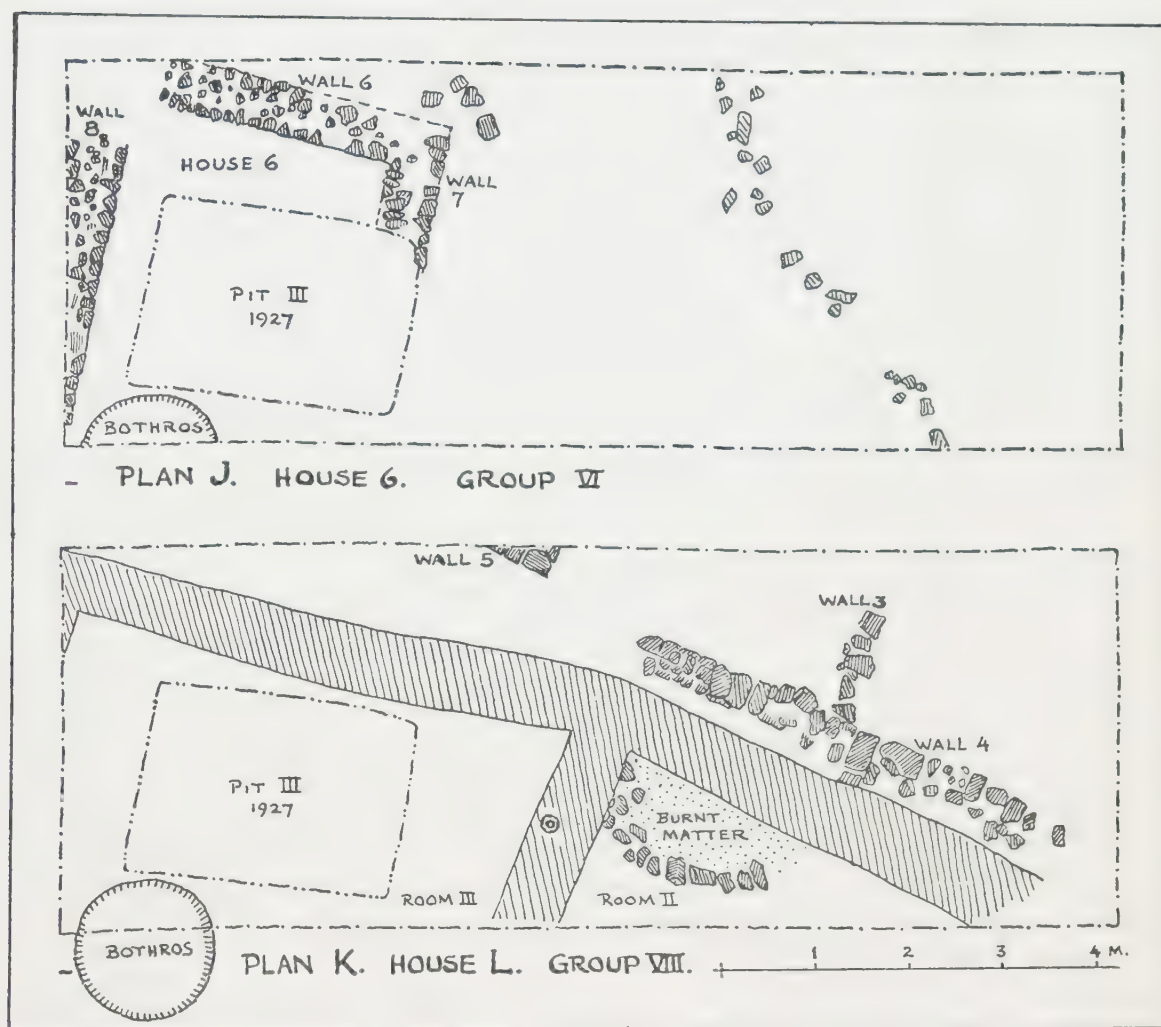


FIG. 10.

color and of types that are characteristic of Group VIII. Some of the latter are probably intrusive. Shapes: small bowls and saucers; medium-sized bowls; cup; large open bowls or basins, some with coating of glaze on interior (cf. Group VIII); jars with broad hollow grips; baking pans; pedestal-base; large flaring base, plastic rope-pattern.

Glazed ware of E.H.II type. Fabric as in Groups VII and VIII. In House 6

and the western and central parts of the trench about 30 small sherds of this ware were found, chiefly fragments of small bowls and saucers, a few certainly from sauceboats. At the eastern end of the trench, in the area of the Chasm, sherds of this ware made up more than half of the total. Some had undoubtedly come down from above, but it is not impossible that pottery of this type was made in the time of House 6.

Nine small fragments of a sauceboat with bits of rectilinear pattern in dark glaze on a light ground were found in the filling of the Chasm.

Fine mottled ware. Biscuit of fine texture, thin and hard, coated with a light colored slip, basically yellow but frequently mottled olive, bluish gray, and black (cf. VIII.27, Pl. 51). The slip tends to flake off. Five sherds were found in House 6, a score or more in the Chasm, representing sauceboat, askos, and pyxis. (See Group VIII and cf. *Eutresis*, pp. 97-98).

MISCELLANEOUS

Obsidian. From the area of House 6: parts of 17 blades and 7 chips. From the area of the Chasm: blade, Inv. M 70; arrow head (?), Inv. M 71; trapeze, Inv. M 84; flake, Inv. M 85; piercer (?), Inv. M 86; plus 112 other pieces of blades and 73 chips.

Flint. From the area of the Chasm: blades, Inv. M 69 (olive brown), M 87-88 (red), M 89 (mottled red to green); core, Inv. M 90 (red).

GROUP VII. STREET AND LEVELS AROUND +2.30 M.

Stones, gravel, and deposits of scattered rubbish showed that a street had run in a northwesterly direction through the central part of Trench A. It may well have existed during the later years of House 6, passing close to the northeast corner of the building (Fig. 10, Plan J). It continued to pass through this area after House 6 was demolished and until House L was built in the next period. No other structures belonging to this intermediate phase came to light, but some pottery and other objects can be assigned here in their proper chronological sequence.

POTTERY

Slipped and burnished wares, red-brown to gray-black. Fabric as in Groups V-VI; somewhat rough and friable. Fragments of small and medium-sized rounded bowls; long horizontal lug below rim; fragments of jug or jar.

Glazed ware. The standard fabric of Early Helladic II (*Eutresis*, p. 97). Moderately fine to very fine biscuit, thin, well baked; surfaces coated with glaze (E.H. *urfirnis*) that fires red, brown, gray or black, sometimes glossy and iridescent, sometimes fairly dull. Plentiful in deposits of Group VII. Shapes: saucers; sauceboats;

jug with long thin neck; basin with glaze on interior only; ring-bases and pedestals; horizontal handles.

Fine mottled ware. Fabric as described under Group VI. A few fragments in Group VII. Shapes: sauceboat; askos.

Plain ware. Some fine textured, burnished; the rest rougher, yellow to light pinkish buff, as in Groups III-VI. Shapes: saucer with outturned rim; bowl; jug; jar; large ring-base.

Burnished ware with stamped pattern. Fragment of jar or pyxis: **VII.1** (Inv. P 33), Fig. 11, Pl. 48. H. pres. 0.065; D. rim estimated 0.25. Moderately fine compact orange-brown biscuit, thickly coated with brown slip, highly burnished. Pattern of vertical and horizontal bands made by deep punching with triangular tip of tool, leaving zigzag lines; punched rings in broad panel; cavities filled with white matter. See sherds VIII.52-53, probably from same vessel.

Coarse ware. Fabric as in preceding groups; some highly micaceous. Shapes: bowls; miniature cup; open jars; closed jar with collar-neck; tripod leg; flat bottoms; ring-bases; spout; lugs.

MISCELLANEOUS

Bronze. Tweezers: **VII.2** (Inv. M 10), Pl. 53; L. ca. 0.07; flat strip of bronze, slightly narrower at bend than at tips.

Obsidian. Blades: Inv. M 104-105, M 108, M 111, plus 22 pieces of others. Trapeze: Inv. M 106. Scraper: Inv. M 112. Also 14 chips.

Flint. Blades: Inv. M 107, M 109 (red).

Quartz. Bead: Inv. M 13, W. 0.01 by 0.0095, Th. 0.0055. Nearly square, with round perforation at center.

Black stone. Polisher: Inv. M 14, L. 0.029, W. 0.012; irregular in shape, rubbed flat at one end, pointed at other.

Terracotta. Whorl: **VII.3** (Inv. M 9), Pl. 53; H. 0.04, D. 0.046; orange-brown, burnt gray.

GROUP VIII. HOUSE L AND SURROUNDINGS.

House L, the largest and most important building of Early Helladic II that was excavated by Miss Goldman at Eutresis, has been described thoroughly by her in the general report (*Eutresis*, pp. 15-20, 26). Here we need to mention only the part reexamined in 1958 and to record a selection of the objects found.

A section of the house occupied about half of Trench A, its north wall running from northwest to southeast. The north end of the partition wall between Rooms II and III fell within our area. These are shown in Plan K (Fig. 10) and in a photograph, Plate 40, c; they appear to have been displaced slightly by pressure and dilapidation since 1927. Here and there within the rooms we found traces of the floors untouched in the earlier excavations. The first level of occupation in Room II was at an average of +2.30 m. In the northwest corner of this room there was a curving row of stones enclosing a thick deposit of burnt matter, sandy in texture and pinkish white, presumably the remains of an oven or hearth. When this was in use there may have been an opening near it in the north end of the cross wall between Rooms II and III. Certainly in the final stage of occupation a section of the wall had been taken down, for we found a complete saucer lying just above the stones of the socle (No. VIII.12; its position marked on Plan K). Perhaps the original doorway further south (Fig. 1) had been replaced in the course of a remodelling. Room II gave evidence of long continued occupation, the latest floor lying some 0.55 m. above the earliest.

In the western room, III, we found traces of an early floor at an average of +2.50 m., a second around +2.70 m., and a third at +2.85 m. Associated with the first of these was a very large bothros, which had not been seen by Miss Goldman and was not recognized by us until we had cut away a part of its north side (Plan K, southwest corner). Around 1.40 m. in diameter at the top and 1.70 m. deep, it had penetrated all but the earliest of the preceding strata (see Plans B-J). It was situated due west of the pan-hearth and north of the stone bench that had been found in the excavations of the 1920's (*Eutresis*, fig. 13, A and B). Filled with animal bones, ashes, and rubbish that included large quantities of broken pottery, this bothros had gone out of use after the first occupation of House L and had been replaced by the smaller pit that was discovered between the pan-hearth and the bench.

The north wall of House L follows one line along Room III and is then drawn inward toward the south as it borders Rooms II and I (Fig. 1). Although it is unwise, as Miss Goldman has remarked, to offer explanations of early buildings in terms of our own logic, one practical reason may now be observed for the shift in direction that is taken by this wall. In the time of House L the great funnel of the Chasm still made a conspicuous depression immediately north of Room II. The position of the wall was undoubtedly determined by this topographical feature. Further to strengthen the foundations a retaining wall, 4, was built along the north side. In 1958 we also found a spur, Wall 3, extending northward; this seems to have marked the western side of the pit.

What appeared to be a corner of another building, contemporary with House L, was seen projecting into our trench from the north. It is indicated in Figure 2 and Figure 10, Plan K as Wall 5.

Since pottery and other objects of the period represented by Group VIII have been published extensively in the comprehensive report of Eutresis and are well known from other sites also, the following catalogue lists only a small selection of the very large body of material collected. Each part of the catalogue is divided into three sections: A, objects from the floors of House L and from contemporary deposits to the north; B, objects from the bothros in Room III; C, objects from the filling of the Chasm.

POTTERY. (A)

Burnished wares of E.H.I types. These occur in negligible quantities, having come up from earlier strata.

Glazed ware. Fine hard biscuit, coated with a thin glaze that is lustrous without burnishing. There are many variations. When the surface is smooth and well prepared the coating may be very shiny; on a rougher surface it tends to be moderately dull. The color varies with the thickness of the glaze and the degree of firing, from iridescent black and dark gray to grayish brown, brown, red, and orange-tan. Open vessels are normally coated all over, but the glaze may occur only on the exterior or only on the interior or in bands and stripes. No fine patterned ware was found. Shapes:

Saucers. Fragments of many hundreds. A conspectus of the forms appears in Figure 11 and on Plate 50. **VIII.1** (Inv. P 9), Fig. 11, Pl. 50; H. 0.034, D. 0.153; black. **VIII.2** (Inv. P 18), Pl. 50; H. 0.035, D. 0.141; black. **VIII.3-4**, profiles only, Fig. 11. Inv. P 2, not figured; H. 0.072, D. 0.13; brown. **VIII.5** (Inv. P 4), Pl. 50; H. 0.047, D. rim 0.12; orange-tan to gray; rim drawn out into three tabs.

Bowls. Some plain shallow, e.g. **VIII.6**, Fig. 11; others deep.

Sauceboats. Scores of fragments. The form with deep cylindrical bowl normally has a vertical handle, that with shallower rounded bowl has a horizontal handle. Ring-bases; a few low pedestals. Miniature: **VIII.7** (Inv. P 13), Pl. 49; H. *ca.* 0.10; restored; dark brown.

Open jars and basins. Many examples, with a variety of rim profiles and surface coatings, e.g. **VIII.8-9**, Fig. 11, and **VIII.10-11**, Pl. 51.

Also askoi, pyxides, pans.

Fine slipped and burnished wares; fine mottled ware. Refined biscuit, like that of glazed ware. The coating appears in many variations. Normally it has a palpable thickness and sometimes flakes off. The luster appears to depend upon burnishing. In some cases there may be a floated or technical slip produced by burnishing alone. Not infrequently this is difficult to distinguish from the glaze of the preceding class. Colors range from gray-brown to brown, red, and yellow-buff; the last is often mottled with olive, silver-gray, and black (fine mottled ware). Shapes:

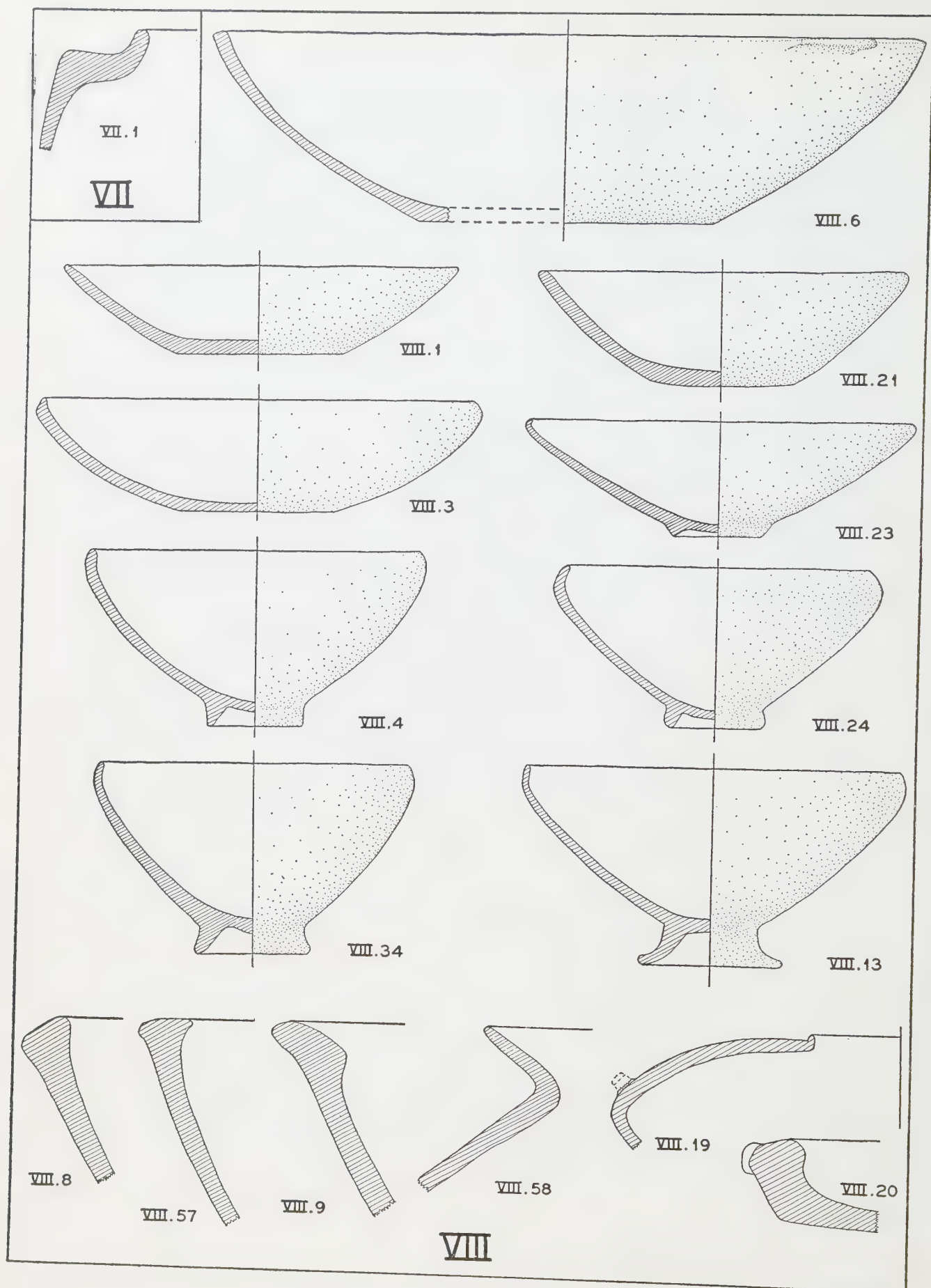


FIG. 11. Profiles of Pottery, Groups VII-VIII. Scale 1:2.

Saucers. **VIII.12** (Inv. P 1), Pl. 50; H. 0.06, D. 0.121; brown. Inv. P 3, not figured; H. 0.065, D. 0.122; brown-tan, coated with milky wash. **VIII.13** (Inv. P 14), Fig. 11, Pl. 50; H. 0.08, D. 0.145; surface dull, mottled. **VIII.14** (Inv. P 15), Pl. 50; H. 0.08, D. 0.14; yellowish buff. Inv. P 23, not figured; H. pres. without foot 0.041, D. 0.148; mottled yellow to black.

Sauceboats. Many fragments. **VIII.15** (Inv. P 10), Pl. 49; H. pres. 0.249; biscuit blistered; mottled gray to brown.

Small jug. **VIII.16**, Pl. 51; upper part coated white, lower red.

Askoi. Numerous. **VIII.17** (Inv. P 27), Pl. 49; H. restored 0.165; very fine surface, mottled orange-brown, yellow, blue-gray. **VIII.18** (Inv. P 28), Pl. 49; H. 0.162; very fine surface, brown.

Pyxides. **VIII.19**, Fig. 11, Pl. 48.

Plain ware. Some fine, burnished; some moderately fine to moderately coarse. Shapes: saucer; bowl; sauceboat; jug; jar; pyxis.

Coarse ware. Fabric as in Groups VI-VII. Shapes: cup; bowl; jug; jar; pan, e.g. **VIII.20**, Fig. 11.

POTTERY. (B)

Glazed ware.

Saucers. **VIII.21** (Inv. P 20), Fig. 11, Pl. 50; H. 0.049, D. 0.14; tan mottled black. **VIII.22** (Inv. P 25), Pl. 50; H. 0.061, D. 0.114; brown. Inv. P 30, not figured; H. 0.066, D. 0.123; dark brown, mottled black. **VIII.23-24**, Fig. 11.

Also sauceboats, closed jars.

Fine slipped wares.

Saucers. **VIII.25** (Inv. P 5), Pl. 50; H. 0.064, D. 0.127; tan. **VIII.26** (Inv. P 21), Pl. 50; H. 0.078, D. 0.117; coated with buff milky wash.

Sauceboats. **VIII.27**, Pl. 51; fine mottled ware, light buff and black.

Jug: **VIII.28** (Inv. P 11), Pl. 51; H. restored 0.18, D. 0.161; coated with light buff wash; handle spreads at root.

Fragment of handle with incised ornament: **VIII.29**, Pl. 48; gray, slipped, in technique probably not related to the other pieces listed in this class; rectangular bar broken at left and cylindrical bar broken below, as seen in photograph; spiral groove on upper surface of disk, horizontal and vertical lines bordering rows of punctated dots on sides, filled with white matter.

Plain ware.

Saucer: **VIII.30** (Inv. P 29), Pl. 50; H. 0.054, D. 0.089; brown biscuit, surface smoothed.

Coarse ware. Rim of pan hearth: **VIII.31**, Pl. 48.

POTTERY. (C)

Glazed ware.

Saucers. **VIII.32** (Inv. P 24), Pl. 50; H. 0.076, D. 0.145; black. **VIII.33** (Inv. P 26), Pl. 50; H. 0.067, D. 0.128; black, mottled red. **VIII.34**, Fig. 11.

Sauceboats. **VIII.35**, Pl. 49; rounded body. Vertical handles, **VIII.36-38**, Pl. 48.

Fragments of double sauceboat(?): **VIII.39** (Inv. P 34), Pl. 49; coated with light brown glaze, mottled gray. A small vessel, the bowl apparently divided from front to back by a vertical partition; at the front troughs branched to right and left, probably with wing-tipped spouts.

Askoi. Fragment of plaited handle, **VIII.40**, Pl. 48.

Pyxides. Single and double lugs, **VIII.41-42**, Pl. 48.

Fine slipped wares.

Saucers. Numerous fragments.

Sauceboats. **VIII.43** (Inv. P 7), Pl. 49; H. pres. 0.204; dull red, mottled black. **VIII.44**, Pl. 49; buff, mottled black.

Askos with incised pattern: **VIII.45**, Pl. 48, fragment of handle.

Fragment of pedestal (?) with openwork: **VIII.46**, Pl. 48.

Burnished ware with stamped patterns.

Bowls and jars; e.g. **VIII.47-54**, Pl. 48. Cf. VII.1.

Plain ware.

Basins, coated with glaze-paint on rim. Many fragments, e.g. **VIII.55-56**, Pl. 51, and **VIII.57**, Fig. 11.

Closed jars. Rim fragment: **VIII.58**, Fig. 11.

Coarse ware.

Cup: **VIII.59** (Inv. P 8), Pl. 51; H. 0.08, D. 0.121; micaceous dark brown, smoothed.

MISCELLANEOUS. (A)

Bronze. Fish hook: **VIII.60** (Inv. M 7), Pl. 53; L. 0.055, D. shaft 0.004; flattened at upper end. Pin: **VIII.61** (Inv. M 8), Pl. 53; L. 0.078, D. shaft 0.005; rectangular in section, pointed at one end, flattened at the other.

Obsidian. Blades: Inv. M 93-95, M 100-102, M 110, plus 117 other pieces. Trapezes: Inv. M 96-97, M 113. Also 17 chips.

Flint. Blades: Inv. M 92 (mottled brown-tan), M 98 (mottled brown-green), M 99, M 103 (red).

Bone. Tube: **VIII.62** (Inv. M 6), Pl. 53; L. 0.15; one end cut to spatulate form, the other grooved at rim by passage of thread.

Terracotta. Ball: **VIII.63** (Inv. M 5), Pl. 53; D. 0.022. Whorl: **VIII.64** (Inv. M 4), Pl. 53; H. 0.037, D. 0.048; reddish brown.

MISCELLANEOUS. (B)

Obsidian. Blades: Inv. M 119-121. Trapeze: Inv. M 118.

Terracotta. Animal figurine: **VIII.65** (Inv. M 44), Pl. 53; H. 0.032, L. 0.05; gray-brown; legs and tips missing; crudely modelled but with some observation of natural forms, e.g. in ridge at back of neck and curve of belly.

MISCELLANEOUS. (C)

Obsidian. Blades: Inv. M 50, M 76-80, M 82, M 91, plus 42 other pieces. Trapeze: Inv. M 72. Flake: Inv. M 57. Cores: Inv. M 74-75, plus three pieces. Also one irregular piece and 170 chips.

Flint. One blade.

Chert. Blade: Inv. M 83.

Marble. Pestle: Inv. M 12; L. 0.054, D. 0.018; cylindrical, worked to flat ridge at one end.

Bone. Awls: **VIII.66** (Inv. M 11), Pl. 53; L. 0.092, W. 0.019; flat, made from split rib. **VIII.67** (Inv. M 29), Pl. 53; L. 0.07, W. 0.015; flat, made from split rib.

Terracotta. Steatopygous figurine found in upper filling of Chasm, described above as (I).34. Whorls: **VIII.68** (Inv. M 15), Pl. 53; H. 0.036, D. 0.052; orange-buff. **VIII.69** (Inv. M 16), Pl. 53; H. 0.029, D. 0.048; light brown. **VIII.70** (Inv. M 17), Pl. 53; H. 0.027, D. 0.039; pinkish buff.

GROUP IX. EARLY HELLADIC LEVELS ABOVE HOUSE L.

Since most of the ground in the area of Trench A had been cleared in the earlier excavations to the level of House L, very little of later date remained to be seen in 1958. Building O and the retaining wall that Miss Goldman had constructed in an attempt to preserve it were distinguishable (Pl. 40, b). We removed these and found a few traces of deposits that might be assigned to Early Helladic III. Short sections of walls belonging to that period could be seen on the shelf north of Trench A (on the right in the photographs, Pl. 40, b, c; cf. the plan, Fig. 1).

Trench B, the small sounding that we made at a higher level to the east of Trench A (Pl. 42, d), yielded sherds of E.H.III wares between +3.30 m. and +3.95m., below a stratum of burnt debris. No walls were encountered.

POTTERY

Gray ware. One small and one minute sherd, possibly of gray Minyan ware, in Trench B, +3.50 m. to +3.80 m.

Patterned ware; dark on light. Semilustrous paint. One sherd with diagonal hatching; eleven with single lines or bands.

Patterned ware; light on dark. Surface coated with moderately dull slip or wash, usually dark brown to black, rarely red-brown. Sixteen sherds. Shapes: tankard; bowl with chevrons on inner surface of outturned rim. (Cf. *Eutresis*, pp. 116 ff.).

Dark coated ware. Similar to the preceding or identical, but without patterns. Numerous fragments. Shapes: tankard; jug or jar; trefoil rim.

Plain buff ware. Fragments of bowls and of jug or jar.

Coarse ware. Fragments of large vessels.

MISCELLANEOUS

(Obsidian found in small quantities, not recorded).

Stone. Fragment of basin or mortar: **IX.1** (Inv. M 2), Pl. 53; H. 0.067, Th. of bottom 0.037.

Bone. Awl: **IX.2** (Inv. M 31), Pl. 53; L. 0.066; made from leg bone.

Terracotta. Spool: **IX.3** (Inv. M 3), Pl. 53; L. 0.047; light brown, rough, perforation off center.

GROUP X. MIDDLE HELLADIC STRATUM IN TRENCH B.

A stratum of burnt matter about 0.25 m. thick was found in Trench B between +4 m. and +4.25 m., covering the deposits of Group IX and antedating the construction of House M. Above the burnt stratum there was a pavement of small pebbles at the west end of the trench (+4.25 m.) and a pavement of larger cobblestones (+4.40 m.), the latter undoubtedly part of the "cobble paving" that is recorded with the figures 4.36 and 4.46 in *Eutresis*, plan II B.

POTTERY

Gray Minyan ware. Fragments of small bowls, ring-stemmed goblets, and jars. One arched handle with excrescent knob at either end.

Matt-painted ware. Bowl with curving rim; jars.

Dark slipped ware. Several sherds, possibly Argive Minyan. Fragment of bowl with outturned rim.

Coarse ware. Jars, partially burnished. Sherd with incised herringbone pattern.

MISCELLANEOUS

Obsidian. Six blades, 25 chips.

Terracotta. Whorls: **X.1** (Inv. M 23), Pl. 53; H. 0.038, D. 0.043; orange-brown. **X.2** (Inv. M 38), Pl. 53; H. 0.027, D. 0.039; dark brown.

COMMENTARY

The architectural remains that were revealed and the objects that were recovered in the brief excavation of 1958 are described and illustrated in considerable detail in the foregoing account, since no further presentation is contemplated. Even at best, however, a series of words, photographs, and drawings gives an imperfect image of the objects themselves, and it is hoped that a representative part of this material, along with that of the earlier excavations of Eutresis, may soon be made accessible to students in the museum at Thebes.

It remains here to comment briefly upon the stratigraphical sequence observed and to cite certain parallels that may shed light on connections with other regions and on the relative chronology. Exhaustive treatment is not called for in this report.

All the pottery and the fragment of a figurine that were found in Pit X are assignable to the Neolithic period. Glazed ware of the type here represented is abundant at Orchomenos and has been gathered at other sites in this region, e.g., at Thespiiai.⁷ It is exactly paralleled furthermore in the Peloponnesos: at Corinth, Mycenae, and Tiryns, in the second major layer at Lerna, and at Asea in Arcadia.⁸ Clearly it does not belong to the very early stages of the period as a whole, but we may be sure that it was invented or introduced, possibly as a development of the red slipped "Sesklo" ware, long before the end of the Neolithic age in Greece. At Lerna it is characteristic of the entire second period, in which eight successive architectural phases have been observed. Pots decorated with patterns in the same kind of glaze, e.g. **I.3**, are contemporary with those wholly coated.

The two figurines found at Eutresis in 1958 may well belong to the period of the glazed pottery. Both are quite certainly Neolithic, although **(I).34** had escaped from its proper stratigraphical context. **I.33** came from Pit X. The steatopygous type is well known throughout Greece. Examples picked up at Thespiiai have been published recently by G. F. Bass,⁹ who comments upon the manner in which the fat bodies were

⁷ *Orchomenos*, II, pp. 31 ff. Thespiiai, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pl. 87, nos. 22, 23, 26.

⁸ Kosmopoulos, *The Prehistoric Inhabitation of Corinth*, e.g. pp. 46-47, pl. I,b ("Corinthian Brown Ware"); Weinberg, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 500-503 ("Neolithic Urfirnis"). Mycenae, *Ergon*, 1955, p. 74 (sherds shown to us by Dr. Papadimitriou). Tiryns, IV, pp. 5-6. Lerna, e.g. *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, pl. 37, d-f. Holmberg, *Asea*, pp. 42 ff. ("Glazed Monochrome or Neolithic Urfirnis Ware").

⁹ *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 344-349.

built up with pellets of clay. This technique was undoubtedly used in the fashioning of the two figurines at Eutresis. Another feature to be noticed is the position of the hands on the thighs. Legs of several figures from Lerna II show that the hands rested in this position; and the upper parts of bodies of others, found at Corinth and quite certainly representing the same type, indicate that the arms projected outward at the shoulders and curved downward, free of the body as far as the groin.¹⁰ Just possibly, Bass's No. 2 may have had this posture. The whole series belongs, we suppose, to one general period of cultural development, the limits of which cannot, however, be closely defined even in Greece. Still less is it safe to suppose that resemblances which may be noted in figurines from other parts of the Mediterranean world or farther afield are indications of exact contemporaneity. Among Neolithic peoples, especially, the margin of subsistence was frighteningly narrow and an ever-present threat to survival; hence the constant preoccupation with fertility and regeneration, and a quite natural choice of the exuberant female body as a prime symbol. Such a symbol it undoubtedly was in many regions and over long periods of time, but not necessarily the same periods in all places.

Pottery with patterns in dull paint (**I.5-12**) is less well known than the glazed class but it is not unparalleled in Boeotia and Phokis. The designs occur in single colors or in combinations of two colors.¹¹ The change from glossy paint to dull seems to have happened toward the end of the Neolithic period in Corinthia and the Argolid.¹² Another fabric that marks our first group at Eutresis, the thin black burnished ware (**I.13-30**), appears also to be characteristic of late Neolithic phases; it occurs near by at Orchomenos and Thespiæ,¹³ in Thessaly,¹⁴ and in slightly different versions in Northeastern Peloponnesos.¹⁵

Group I thus offers evidence that Eutresis was inhabited in the Neolithic period, before the arrival of any elements bearing a stamp of the Bronze Age. We cannot be sure when the Neolithic settlement was first established. Pit X is only a single receptacle, not a series of stratified deposits; no houses of this age have yet been discovered at the site. In the light of our present knowledge, which is admittedly

¹⁰ *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 136, pl. 36, d. Fragments from Corinth, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. LXX, 1-2. S. S. Weinberg made this observation with us.

¹¹ E.g. *Orchomenos*, II, pls. IV, XX; Thespiæ, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pl. 87, nos. 5, 13.

¹² Corinth, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 513-515; Gonia, *Met. Museum Studies*, III, pls. I, II; *Prosymna*, figs. 628-631, pl. III; Lerna, *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 204-205.

¹³ *Orchomenos*, II, pls. I, VII, VIII, 1, IX, 1, X, 1. Thespiæ, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pl. 87, 16-18.

¹⁴ E. g. at mounds near Larissa, *Ath. Mitt.*, LVII, 1932, Beilage XXIV, XXV, 2-4, XXVI, 3, 4, 8. Grundmann assigned these to an earlier and a later stage; the chronological sequence should be established in the current series of excavations by Milošević.

¹⁵ Corinth, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 511-512. *Prosymna*, fig. 635 (a red version, assigned by Blegen to the earlier Neolithic stage; perhaps not related to the black burnished class). Lerna, *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, pl. 36, a-c (patterns incised, not burnished).

inadequate, it seems evident that middle as well as late phases of the Neolithic age are represented by objects in this pit. One must suppose therefore that the filling occurred during a cleaning or levelling of some area in the vicinity.

Pit X and the other hollows disclosed in Trench A were not floors of huts, of the sort found by Miss Goldman. They are obviously too small. On the other hand they must have been man-made, since if they had been natural, produced for example by the roots of trees, we should not have found artifacts within them. Perhaps the simplest explanation is that the early settlers here dug out the clay that they needed for making their shelters, their ovens, and even their pottery. A little below the surface the natural clay would be moist and pliable; hence cavities of the sort here noted. And it is reasonable to suppose that they were later used as places for disposal of rubbish. The same explanation would account for similar hollows in virgin soil at other sites, for example at Lerna.¹⁶

The deposits of Group II contained many of the same wares as Pit X but also considerable quantities of a thick slipped and burnished variety. This we are as yet unable to identify certainly with any well-defined class of pottery at other sites, though it bears of course a general resemblance to heavy burnished wares of many early settlements, e.g. Troy I. The drawing out of the rim, like that of **II.28**, is seen also at Troy in early phases of the Early Bronze Age.¹⁷ Yet it is by no means impossible that the ware belongs to a Neolithic stage in Greece. Patterns in white paint on a dark polished ground (**II.38-39**) occur in the late Neolithic period in Macedonia¹⁸ and in Thessaly¹⁹ as well as at Orchomenos.²⁰ They are found also in the eastern islands of the Aegean and at Troy in contexts of the Early Bronze Age.²¹ In Corinthia and Argolis burnished wares of this sort are notably lacking. The scoop from Eutresis, **II.43**, is roughly paralleled, however, by vessels found at Asea.²² Clay stamps or *pintaderas* like **II.47** are not uncommon in Neolithic contexts in Thessaly.²³

¹⁶ *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 160; XXVII, 1958, pp. 138, 139. Cf. also the hollows found by Tsountas near the main settlement of Sesklo, *Dimini and Sesklo*, cols. 115-118, and Bulle's conjecture about cavities in the clay, *Orchomenos*, I, p. 27.

¹⁷ Troy, I, fig. 224, 33.167, 37.895, fig. 246, 5-9, fig. 257.

¹⁸ E.g. Heurtley, *Prehistoric Macedonia*, figs. 17, 18 (Vardina), fig. 21 (Aivate), fig. 27 (Kritsana).

¹⁹ Near Larissa, *Ath. Mitt.*, LVII, 1932, Beilage XXVI, 6, 7, 9, 10. At Karabayram, Tsountas, *Dimini and Sesklo*, fig. 142 (date uncertain). Tsangli, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, fig. 55, a-1.

²⁰ *Orchomenos*, II, pl. VIII, 2.

²¹ Samos, Heidenreich, *Ath. Mitt.*, LX-LXI, 1935-1936, pls. 39, 40, 63. Lesbos, *Thermi*, pl. XXX. Troy, I, fig. 243, 1-9, fig. 249, 25, 27-29, 32.

²² *Asea*, fig. 84, a, b. Cf. *Dimini and Sesklo*, pl. 16, 3. At Lerna there were heavy vessels of comparable form, without handles, in the upper strata of the second Neolithic layer; and a scoop-like E. H. askos, *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pl. 41, e, also bears a general resemblance in shape.

²³ *Dimini and Sesklo*, cols. 339-343. One of stone from Tsani, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, p. 149. Schachermeyer prudently refrains from deciding how they were used, *Die ältesten Kulturen Griechenlands*, p. 76.

Similar features observed in these dispersed areas can scarcely fix our Group II with any precision. They suggest that the heavy burnished pottery is to be dated at the end of the Neolithic period or in a very early, perhaps preliminary, stage of the Early Bronze Age. The presence of two nearly whole pots and large fragments of others indicates that Group II represents at least in part a collection of habitation debris *in situ*, not merely rubbish that has been displaced, but it must be borne in mind that a good deal of the associated pottery is of the same kind as that found in Group I.

Subject to correction when more is known of these classes of pottery, we would regard the heavy burnished ware as somewhat later than the thin black and dull-painted wares. The users of the heavy vessels were perhaps a new group of settlers, coming, one must suppose, rather from the north than from the south. They may well be the people who filled some of the remaining clay-pits, and probably also the curving depressions of the early huts, with rubbish from demolished dwellings. Whether they were direct ancestors of the succeeding people we cannot say. A few fragments of red or reddish bowls with slightly incurving rims in Group II may perhaps represent the precursors of the typical red vessels of Early Helladic I; but these fragments are so very few in number and were found in such a thin stratum that their presence could be regarded as intrusive.

The remains described as Group III present a picture of further change or development. Ceramic fabrics of the preceding phases die out and are replaced by others; among the latter the red slipped ware of E.H. I is typical and distinctive. Small jugs and jars (e.g. III.5-7), as well as bowls, are characteristic. This is essentially the beginning of the period recognized by Miss Goldman in the "first meter of deposit."²⁴ Here are the first of the pebble pavements, platforms built for the convenience of the inhabitants, perhaps as a refuge from the mud of the Boeotian rainy seasons but not necessarily the floors of dwellings. Walls with good stone foundations were built in this same period.

The round building, B, and the Chasm within it inevitably provoke speculation. Circular structures play a role in the Early Helladic period: one thinks first of the monumental tholos at Tiryns, which is assignable to Early Helladic II (corresponding with the House of the Tiles at Lerna), but also of the smaller though still not unimpressive foundations in the first E.H. stratum at Orchomenos.²⁵ The latter are like our Wall B and belong to buildings of comparable size. The Chasm, however, suggests no contemporary parallels. It is not one of the familiar bothroi, which provided cool storage space or were used primarily as rubbish pits, or served both purposes successively. For that it is much too big. And one can scarcely suppose that it was a

²⁴ *Eutresis*, pp. 80-93.

²⁵ *Orchomenos*, I, pp. 19-25.

well, laboriously excavated from a great height, when the natural spring of Arkopodi was only 200 m. away at the foot of the hill. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that this great shaft and its surrounding wall had some religious significance, presumably connected with the worship of Earth and the chthonian powers. Precisely the association of such worship with bothroi and round buildings is the subject of an extensive study by F. Robert, *Thymélè*, the general conclusions of which seem here to be strengthened by archaeological evidence of unexpectedly early date.

The contents of the shaft, to the lowest level reached in 1958, failed to provide any useful information. Only a little broken pottery of ordinary types was recovered. An extension of the excavation sufficient to allow the complete clearing of the shaft would be a time-consuming operation and might or might not shed further light on the problem. One wonders of course whether the depths conceal objects of intelligible significance and possibly remains of sacrifices. Near the hill of Cheliotomylos at Corinth a well shaft excavated by T. L. Shear in 1930 was found to contain 20 human skeletons and a great number of entire, though broken, pots of types assignable to Early Helladic II.²⁶ This has left another interesting, though rather gruesome, problem unsolved. If, as we believe, the shaft at Eutresis was associated with cult practices, it is perhaps not too fanciful to inquire whether the Corinthian well may have served a related purpose. But for the time being this remains in a realm of speculation.

Horizontal lugs, and rudimentary handles that resemble lugs, are common in Groups II and III. Some are longitudinally pierced, others are solid but with ends hollowed as if there were an open passage (e.g. **II.36-37**). The most elaborate and artificial in form is **III.9**, which has widely flaring tips²⁷ and two vertical string-holes. Typologically the line of development appears to have been from the practical toward the decorative. Often the attachment is merely traditional and vestigial (**II.31**). Another related type of handle begins as a plain wide band of clay attached to the side of the vessel in a tight arch, much like a pierced lug (e.g. **II.29**); it is modified with tapering ends that are sometimes prolonged in horizontal ridges (**II.32**), and ultimately becomes what we have called a broad hollow grip (**III.8**). Handles of the last type, normally set low on either side of the body of large rounded jars, are very strong and well fitted to the grasp. They occur in Early Helladic I and are particularly characteristic at many sites in the first phases of the succeeding period.

The period of time represented by the remains that make up our Groups III-V cannot be precisely determined but must have been fairly long, comprising at least seven successive phases of building activity. Assignable to these are five superposed

²⁶ *A.J.A.*, XXXIV, 1930, pp. 404-406.

²⁷ Cf. *Prehistoric Macedonia*, fig. 37 (Kritsana); *Troy*, I, fig. 261, 17, 18; *Aghios Kosmas*, fig. 123, 7.

stone pavements, the round building of III, some undetermined structures in IV, and a rectangular house in V.

A sample of carbonized wood that was taken from the stratum of Group III at +1.17 m. in the western part of Trench A and another from a deposit of Group IV around +1.50 m. in the central area were tested by radiocarbon (C^{14}) analysis at the University of Pennsylvania in January 1960 and gave dates around 2500 B.C.²⁸ There was a slight discrepancy, the older sample yielding a date four years later than the younger, whereas it is proven stratigraphically to have been earlier by an appreciable margin, presumably several generations. The margin of error calculated by the laboratory would cover this gap, however, and it must be borne in mind that the C^{14} date is that of the death of the organism, not of the destruction of the building in which the wood was used. On the basis of archaeological comparisons with other sites and regions the authors of this report would estimate the absolute date of Group III, and even that of Group IV, as somewhat earlier in the third millennium, but the evidence is admittedly insecure.

Characteristic of Group IV are the small shallow saucers with ring-handles at the rim, which have been called spoons (e.g. **IV.8-12**).²⁹ They are too large to be used like the modern implements; for that size see an example from Lerna.³⁰ But they would serve well as drinking cups and perhaps for the feeding of small children. Uncomfortably hot soup could be cooled in them. Vessels of roughly similar shape occur in the Copper Age in Anatolia.³¹

Fragmentary handles of unusual shape appeared in deposits of Group IV. **IV.18** may be a wishbone-handle, of a type that became common in somewhat later periods in Macedonia; **IV.19** might be considered a related form. But either or both may possibly have come from frying pans of Cycladic origin or derived types.³² Incised ware suggesting close relationships with the islands is also found in strata of Early Helladic I at Eutresis (e.g. **IV.13-14**; cf. *Eutresis*, pp. 80-82). A continuation or a revival of this form of decoration will be seen in E.H. II (**VII.1, VIII.47-54**).

House 9 belongs to the stage of Miss Goldman's "second meter of deposit" (*Eutresis*, pp. 93 ff.). The pottery shows some change and development but the styles

²⁸ The sample from Group III (Excavators' No. EC.2, Univ. of Pennsylvania laboratory No. P-307), dates B.C. 2492 \pm 64. The sample from Group IV (Exc. No. EC. 3, U. P. lab. No. P-306), dates B.C. 2496 \pm 75. We are grateful to the Director of the University Museum and to the staff of the Mediterranean Section, to the Department of Physics of the University, and particularly to Miss E. K. Ralph who conducted the analysis.

²⁹ Cf. *Eutresis*, p. 86, fig. 106.

³⁰ *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pl. 23, c.

³¹ E.g. H. H. von der Osten, *The Alishar Hüyük, Seasons of 1930-32*, Part I, fig. 168, c282; H. Zübeyr, "Ahlatlıbel Hafriyatı," *Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi*, II, 1934, pp. 16-17; *idem* (H. Z. Koşay), *Alaca Höyük Kazısı, 1937-39*, pl. XCVIII, 3.

³² Cf. G. E. Mylonas, *Aghios Kosmas*, pp. 124-125, drawing 63, e.

are essentially those of Early Helladic I. House 6, superposed on House 9 with approximately the same orientation, was clearly a successor but a distinct entity. It ought probably to be taken as marking the transition from one period to another; by the time when House 6 was demolished the ceramic styles of Early Helladic II had been established. Neither of these two buildings showed signs of violent destruction, nor has any other evidence of a general break in the sequence been observed elsewhere at the site. Yet changes occurred rapidly at this time, initiated by some impulse, perhaps the peaceful arrival of a new group of related people, perhaps by some technological discovery that affected the economic condition of the community. Objects of copper or bronze appear in greater numbers. It is just now that sauceboats and askoi become suddenly prominent in the repertory of pot shapes; the relatively heavy rounded bowls of Early Helladic I are replaced by a myriad of lighter saucers;³³ and the characteristic squat pyxis (**VIII.19**) is common. New pottery need not imply social or economic revolution, but the changes at this stage seem to us to indicate more than a casual alteration in taste.

The next major development is seen in House L, a much larger and more elaborate building than any that preceded it in this area. The few new discoveries and observations that were made in 1958 have been recorded above (Group VIII). A bothros of unusual size, found in Room III, may perhaps be taken as support of Miss Goldman's suggestion that the house had religious associations.³⁴ One of the objects from the bothros is a figurine of a quadruped, **VIII.65**. The proximity of House L to the place of the Chasm, which may well have been remembered with respect since earlier times, ought also to be noticed in connection with this suggestion. The building was maintained and occupied for many years, being modified and reconstructed on several occasions. Reasons for its ultimate destruction and abandonment were not apparent; the few traces of ash and carbonized matter that were found in the debris seemed no more than those which occur in all normal habitation deposits of early times.

Objects found in association with House L include a pair of bronze tweezers, **VII.2** (very slightly earlier than the building), a pin pointed at both ends, **VIII.61**, and a very well-made fish hook, perfectly preserved, **VIII.60**. One guesses that people from Eutresis would go fishing in the waters of the Corinthian Gulf, down the valley from Leuktra (Pl. 40, a) at no great distance. They may sometimes, however, have

³³ We choose the word *sauce* as a technical term for the little vessels, deliberately attempting to avoid yet another modification of the overworked word *bowl*. It is not always perfectly applicable since there are countless minor variations in the shapes (Fig. 11, Pl. 50). *Sauce* is acceptable English for **VIII.1** and **VIII.2**; it is a less happy name for **VIII.25** and still less for **VIII.26**. But all these vessels were used essentially for the same purposes and in the same way, both for eating and drinking, and to speak of some of them as "small bowls" is hopelessly confusing. Translation, needless to say, adds further pitfalls: the French *saucière*, adopted also in other languages, equals sauceboat, not saucer.

³⁴ *Eutresis*, pp. 20, 24.

taken the longer path eastward to the Euripos. Importation from the Cyclades, attested by great quantities of Melian obsidian, would come most directly by sea to a port on the east coast of Boeotia,³⁵ unless indeed it was handled by Attic or Corinthian middlemen. Many coastal villages were emporia of obsidian, Aghios Kosmas in Attica being now the best known thanks to G. E. Mylonas's thorough publication.³⁶ At Lerna the authors have also found the material in superabundance, but at Eutresis, an inland site, it was if anything still more plentiful.³⁷ Many pieces are beautifully shaped; the finest, an arrow head (Pl. 53), came in fallen earth and cannot be related to its stratigraphical context.

Another object of special interest is a bone tube, **VIII.62**, from the floor of House L. At one end it was worked into a flat tip, which shows wear from being rubbed. The other end is cut in even section and its rim is indented with fine smooth notches where strings or threads have been drawn over the surface; in miniature it is reminiscent of the familiar stone well-heads that over the years have been grooved by the passage of ropes. We do not know how it was used; probably in some simple, and perhaps obvious, step in spinning or preparing the threads or in weaving. Bone tubes are common implements. At Lerna a pair of them, worn with grooves in just the same manner, was found in a house shortly antedating the House of the Tiles.

In addition to the great numbers of sauceboats, askoi, and little saucers mentioned above, House L and contemporary deposits yielded fragments of jugs and an array of rims of large open basins (e.g. **VIII.10-11**, **VIII.55-56**), glazed, partly glazed, and plain. These belong to the standard repertory of the middle phases of the Early Helladic period over a wide area in central Greece and northeastern Peloponnesos, with distinct similarities in the Cyclades and related forms in Crete. There can be no doubt, we think, that the people who made and used these implements and pots, on the mainland at least, were closely akin in material culture. We suppose that they spoke the same language and held similar religious beliefs (although their burial customs still elude us, very few graves having been found except those of Cycladic or semi-Cycladic type at Aghios Kosmas in Attica). They had technical knowledge to a marked degree, and they seem to have been a vigorous, practical, intelligent, and imaginative people.

Their settlement came to an end rather suddenly but, so far as can be seen at Eutresis, without violence. It was succeeded by another occupation in Early Helladic

³⁵ Hyria at Dramesi? C. W. Blegen, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, pp. 39-42.

³⁶ See also the detailed study by J. M. Yeroulanos of the obsidian in his collection at Trachones, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1956, pp. 73-105.

³⁷ 1427 pieces were recovered; of these, 67 were described and entered in the inventory by Mr. Perry Bialor, who is making a comprehensive study of chipped stone implements in the Aegean area.

III. This is represented by our Group IX. Objects found bear out the observations made previously: pottery decorated with patterns in light-colored paint on a dark ground (the "Agia Marina class") is characteristic; dark patterns on a light ground occur but rarely; sauceboats are not found; the tankard is very common, as is the bowl with outturned rim.³⁸ A layer of burnt debris, which had been recorded by the earlier excavators as overlying the remains of E.H. III in almost all parts of the site,³⁹ was clearly observable in Trench B. Undoubtedly a major disaster overtook Eutresis at this time. The new settlement that succeeded it had all the well-known features of a Middle Helladic town.

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³⁸ From Trench B, a fragment like *Eutresis*, fig. 156, 7. For the shape of the bowl, *ibid.*, pl. IX, 4. The coating of the rim in the latter example looks like one of the few features carried over from E.H. II; cf. the fragment of a basin, **VIII.56**, Pl. 51. At Lerna bowls of this shape have two handles and are completely slipped; they are very plentiful in the corresponding period (*Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pl. 9, a, and a version in gray ware, c; also XXVI, 1957, pl. 42, f.).

³⁹ *Eutresis*, p. 231.

OBJECTS FROM A WELL AT ISTHMIA

(PLATES 54-56)

AN ancient well not far from the center of the Isthmian sanctuary was found by the modern owner of the property, who dug it out to provide water for his household. From time to time it had to be deepened as the water-level receded. In 1953 the original bottom was reached and some fragmentary pottery and other objects were brought up. They were transferred at once to the museum at Old Corinth, where I was able to examine and photograph them before and after they were mended. The pieces were entered in the inventory of the Isthmia Excavations.

The well is about 200 m. southwest of the sanctuary of Poseidon. One of the pots bears a dedication to Demeter, whose precinct in just this region is being investigated by the University of Chicago expedition. Professor Broneer and his colleagues will take up the topographical and historical implications of the discovery in their publications. The present account is primarily descriptive.¹ Of chief interest are No. 1, a black-glazed skyphoid krater with applied figures in relief, and Nos. 16, 17, two bronze armlets or anklets of non-Hellenic origin. A Corinthian skyphos, a cup, three diminutive bowls, five plain jugs, three lamps, and a terracotta figurine, make up the rest of the group and furnish evidence for its date.

1. Skyphoid krater. Fig. 1, Pls. 54, 55.

Inv. IP.384. H. 0.284 to 0.29; D. at rim 0.243 to 0.249; full span handle to handle 0.393; D. body 0.228; D. base 0.125. Broken and repaired; a few small chips missing. Fine compact biscuit, light brick-red to pinkish. Wholly coated, except on standing surface of ring base, with thick lustrous black glaze which has fired red in small areas of interior, rim, both sides, and under base. Surface slightly chipped and worn, especially on rim, handles, base, and projecting parts of plastic figures. Light bright red miltos-paint in horizontal grooves. Dull pinkish or creamy white paint preserved on the object below figure 1, on the club of Herakles, in traces on the thyrsos of figure 6 and earrings of figures 4 and 7.

A dedicatory inscription (Pl. 54) is neatly scratched on the inner surface of the rim above side A, accurately spaced between the handles: $\Sigma\text{O}\Phi\text{A}\Delta\text{A}\text{M}\text{A}\text{T}\text{P}\text{I}$ ($\Sigma\acute{o}\phi\alpha\Delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\tau\rho\iota$) in letters of the fourth century.

It is a capacious vessel, comparable in volume to a small bell krater but in shape resembling a fourth century Corinthian skyphos (cf. No. 2, Pl. 54). The lower part

¹ Many colleagues looked at the objects with me and gave me the benefit of their knowledge and opinions, for which I would record thanks.

of the body contracts in a concave profile to a columnar foot. The handles, set horizontally below the flaring rim, are elaborately embellished with acanthus leaves. Minor decoration of the body comprises bands of ivy, the tendrils incised and the leaves and berries in added color (now mostly lost), below the rim and above the foot; incised horizontal grooves dividing the zones; and impressed quinquefoil palmettes in double columns below the handles and in a band just above the base (Pl. 55).

Two broad zones of vertical ribbing occupy most of the surface. The upper, 0.085 m. wide, bears a series of seven applied figures in relief (maximum projection 0.013 m.). These were obviously made in moulds and pressed against the side of the

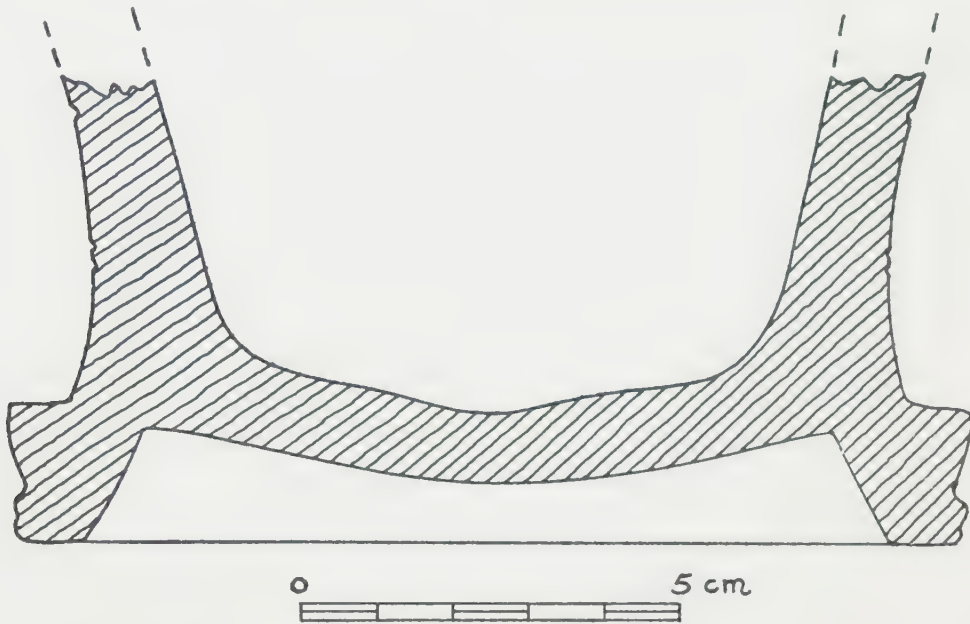


FIG. 1. Foot of No. 1, Skyphoid Krater. Drawing by G. V. Peschke.

pot, to which they adhere firmly. There are slight evidences of trimming and reworking along the edges of each. The figures are as follows:

Side A

1. (Pl. 55). Man in violent posture of ecstasy or agony; head bent forward as he moves to the right, his right hand pressed to his breast, left arm extended, left leg bent and raised in air. Bands above the ankles indicate that he wears boots. A cloak is wrapped over his left upper arm and trails out before and behind his body; or perhaps the strand behind is a tail. Passing obliquely behind his legs is a thyrsos tipped with a bulb at its upper end. An oval object, probably representing the disk of a tambourine seen in quarter-view, stands tilted on the ground below his body.

This is a bacchic figure in a moment of frenzy. The head is indistinctly

moulded but is most like that of a bearded satyr. He is ithypallic, and the cloak and attributes are suitable. The staff and oval object can scarcely be interpreted as spear and shield, nor is the garment that of a warrior in action.

2. (Pls. 54, 55). Girl standing with body bent forward to right, right leg advanced and left bent, looking up at Herakles (figure 3) and clutching his outstretched arm. Her hair is caught up perhaps with a band around her head and trails behind and in a tress beside her neck. A band of soft cloth encircles her body at the breast and folds of the same material hang before her and are visible again below, between her legs and ankles but in the plane behind them; the body is otherwise uncovered.

3. (Pls. 54, 55). Herakles standing, facing left. His head is inclined forward, his body upright; his left leg is straight, the right bent at knee with toes scarcely touching the ground. His straight right arm, thick and short, holds the girl; his left is bent, with hand on hip, holding the club. The club is conspicuous, painted white. Folds of a cloak are draped over his left arm and hang down behind the club. His head was covered, undoubtedly with the lion's scalp, which seems to have hung over the back of his neck and shoulder; reworking of the clay has obscured the details. His face is bearded and he scowls down at the girl under bushy eyebrows.

These two figures make a united group, joined together by the arm of Herakles above and by the ridge of ground at their feet; they must have been cast in a single mould.

The scene is one of the many amatory episodes in the career of the hero. The same or a very similar encounter is portrayed in metal, for example, a silver emblema that was in the Czartoryski collection,² bronze mirrors in the British Museum³ and in the Stathatos collection in Athens,⁴ a feeble copy of late date in the Loeb collection.⁵ Herakles in the Czartoryski, Stathatos, and Loeb pieces has slumped to a half-reclining posture and supports himself on his left arm. The London mirror shows him still standing. He is of course drunk in all these representations. The original on which the Isthmia figure was modelled was a masterpiece. This is the mighty Herakles, striving to maintain command and still almost succeeding, but his body is about to relax; the position of his right foot is aimless and uncertain. He has not been drawing the girl to him but has tried to hold her away, and his strength now fails.

She is not cringing; her power is greater than his and she knows it. Oikonomos in describing the Stathatos mirror called her Auge. J. de Witte was right, I think,

² J. de Witte, *Gazette Archéologique*, 1880, pp. 138-142, pl. 23,b.

³ W. Züchner, *Griechische Klappspiegel (Jahrb., Ergänzungsheft 14)*, KS 92, p. 65, pl. 27.

⁴ G. P. Oikonomos, *Annuario*, XXIV-XXVI, 1946-1948, pp. 133-140, pl. XV; P. Amandry, *Coll. Stathatos, Les Bijoux*, pl. IV, a.

⁵ J. Sieveking, *Bronzen, Terrakotten, Vasen der Sammlung Loeb*, pl. 6.

in recognizing her as Methe, the attendant of Dionysos, winning again in the contest that her lord had won on another occasion but adding the enticement of her womanliness to that of the wine.

4. (Pl. 55). Maenad seated on a rock, upper body in front-view, head turned slightly to left, legs to right. She rests her right hand on the rock and with her left holds up a fold of her himation; her body is clothed in a diaphanous chiton; the material is gathered in thick folds over her lap. Her earrings are white disks. Compare figures 5 and 7.

Side B

5. (Pl. 55). Maenad seated on a rock, similar to figure 4 but reversed, head turned right, legs left. The modelling of the drapery is less distinct.

6. (Pls. 54, 55). Maenad seated on a rock, upper body in front-view, head turned to left, legs to right. Her right arm is raised, hand holding a thyrsos which stands on the ground; left hand on knee; left leg crossed behind right. She wears a Phrygian cap, folded at the top and trailing down on the exposed side to the shoulder. Her body is clothed in a short chiton; knees and lower legs are bare. There is a thick fold of material high on the waist and other folds of drapery hang down at the left. A ridge around the ankle suggests the top of a low boot.

The posture is seen in vase paintings of the late fifth and fourth centuries, often in figures of Dionysos himself, his body normally uncovered from the waist up. Here the maenad has something of Paris in the Judgment scenes, the cap, the dress, the legs that might be showing trousers below the knees.⁶

7. (Pl. 55). Maenad seated on a rock; an almost exact duplicate of figure 4, cast from the same mould (compare, e.g., the right hands). A white dot marks her left earring.

Figures like 4, 5, and 7 are found in vase paintings from the time of Meidias onward through the fourth century.⁷ Whether seated at the dressing table or upon rocks of the mountainside, they are elegant and graceful, daughters of Aphrodite, poised with masterly self-consciousness. Here they are undoubtedly maenads, though the bronze originals from which they were copied may not have had any Bacchic connotation.⁸

All seven figures are thus seen to be associated with Dionysos and the wine that

⁶ Cf. a calyx-krater by the Kadmos Painter in Leningrad, *A.R.V.*, p. 804 (H. Metzger, *Repr. du IV^e Siècle*, pl. XXXVII), and the late fourth century hydria from Alexandria in Munich, F.R., pl. 40 (Pfuhl, *M.Z.*, III, pl. 244, no. 598); also, especially, the figures of Dionysos and Paris on gold rhyta in the Panagjurište treasure, E. Simon, *Antike Kunst*, III, 1960, figs. 3, 4.

⁷ E.g. Metzger, *op. cit.*, pls. II (Berlin oinochoe), VII (New York lekythos), XIV (Athens krater), XVIII (Leningrad lekane), XXXIV (Athens hydria).

⁸ Cf. the goddesses on the Judgment rhyton from Panagjurište, *op. cit.*, fig. 4, pl. 1, 4.

filled the krater. There is little else that links them to each other. The figures were taken from metal, probably bronze, originals and are in most respects good casts from good moulds, with a few signs of hasty retouching. The bronzes were in high relief. They were probably made in the first half of the fourth century, looking back to traditions of the fifth. The pot was made, I think, in the third quarter of the fourth century, a forerunner of the Calenian⁹ and Gnathia vases. Ours is a remarkable piece, without close parallel. Its place of manufacture cannot be determined with any certainty. The clay, in its texture and color, and the glaze could be Attic, but the extravagance and incongruity of the composition are not what one expects to find in Athens at this time. A south Italian provenience is not impossible; objects were brought over long distances and offered at the Isthmus (see Nos. **16**, **17**, below). On the other hand, Corinth itself was the great center for bronze work of the sort here copied¹⁰ and although the fabric of the pot is scarcely paralleled by pieces found locally up to now, Corinthian origin is not to be excluded.

The dedication was made by Sopha,¹¹ a woman of Dorian speech, to Demeter. Since the rim and handles show a little wear, we may suppose that the vase had been used for a brief time at her house before this. Special appropriateness of shape and decoration need not be sought; enough that it be a sumptuous gift to the goddess.

2. Skyphos. Pl. 54.

Inv. IP.378. H. 0.083; D. 0.079. Light buff biscuit of Corinthian clay; black glaze partly worn off.

Contraction of the lower body in this type of skyphos was well established before the middle of the fourth century.¹² Broneer comments on the chronology in connection with the upper filling of a well at Corinth, deposited at the time of the construction of the South Stoa.¹³ A skyphos of shape very similar to our No. **2** was found in Pyre 6, House C, Room 8, in the Athenian Agora; the burning is dated by R. S. Young near the end of the fourth century.¹⁴ The example from Isthmia is to be assigned to the second half of the century, probably the third quarter.

3. Cup-kantharos (fragment). Not illustrated.

Inv. IP. 377. H. of frag. 0.064; D. rim estimated 0.085. Biscuit pink-orange with grayish tinge. Black glaze fired red in patches.

⁹ G. M. A. Richter, *A.J.A.*, LXIII, 1959, pp. 241-249.

¹⁰ Züchner, *op. cit.*, pp. 175 ff. F. Courby, *Les Vases Grecs à Reliefs*, p. 196.

¹¹ A rare name. Cf. Σόφη, *C.I.G.*, II, 3738; Σόφον, *I.G.*, II², 839, line 73 (Bechtel, *Personennamen*, p. 499). The accent is on the first syllable.

¹² D. M. Robinson, *Olynthus*, V, pls. 184-185.

¹³ *Corinth*, I, iv, p. 95 and note 54.

¹⁴ *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 121, pl. 51, c. 4.

The base and handles are missing. The proportions, I think, were like those of Agora P 13529,¹⁵ which belongs to the third quarter of the fourth century. H. A. Thompson's B 17 and B 46 are more attenuated.¹⁶

4. Diminutive bowl. Pl. 56.

Inv. IP.374. H. 0.024; D. 0.057. Biscuit of light gray-buff Corinthian clay; coating of black glaze mostly lost. Flat bottom cut from wheel. Rim upright.

5. Diminutive bowl. Pl. 56.

Inv. IP.375. H. 0.023; D. 0.085. Same clay and glaze. Ring base. Incurving rim.

6. Diminutive bowl. Not illustrated.

Inv. IP.376. H. 0.04; D. 0.072. Same clay and glaze. Ring base. Incurving rim.

7-11. Water jugs. Pl. 56 (Nos. **7-9** not illustrated).

Inv. IP.379-383. All fragmentary, partially restored. H. *ca.* 0.20 to *ca.* 0.33; D. of bodies *ca.* 0.15 to *ca.* 0.26. Moderately fine orange-red to brown biscuit with grayish tinge; thin walls; hard gritty texture. Minor variations in shape: No. **9** has wider mouth and lacks distinct neck; handles normally flattened, that of No. **11** having small reflex tips at rim; bottoms flat, slightly concave, or disklike.

12-14. Terracotta lamps. Pl. 56 (No. **14** not illustrated).

Inv. IP.371-373. Biscuit of fine pinkish clay (No. **14** grayish-pink); good black glaze, chipped. All of Corinth Type VII. No. **12**: H. 0.042; D. 0.072; L. 0.104; Athens Type 25A. No. **13**: H. 0.038; D. 0.057; L. 0.091; Athens Type 25 B.

No. **12**, with handle, is scarcely to be dated after the middle of the fourth century; No. **13**, with lug, is probably later, perhaps third or fourth quarter.¹⁷

15. Terracotta figurine. Pl. 56.

Inv. IM.823. H. pres. 0.116. Head and part of pedestal missing. Moderately soft pink clay with buff slip. Vent at back. Girl dancing, right leg advanced; left forearm extended outward, holding dress; right arm bent and pressed against side of body; right breast exposed.

¹⁵ D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 74, pl. 24, j.

¹⁶ *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 337, 344.

¹⁷ O. Broneer, *Corinth*, IV, ii, pp. 45-46 and I, iv, p. 95, note 57; R. H. Howland, *Agora*, IV, pp. 67-68, 72-73.

This belongs to a large well-known class of dancing figures that had its origins in the fifth century and was popular in the fourth and third. The type is noted by Winter.¹⁸ His No. 7a, with a head (which does not belong), is 0.21 m. high. A fragment from Cyrenaica in the British Museum¹⁹ is from a taller figure, which is dated early in the fourth century. Shrinkage and reworking of the moulds suggest that the example from Isthmia be dated in the later part of the fourth century.

16. Bronze armlet or anklet. Pl. 56.

Inv. IM.821. D. external 0.113, internal 0.07; W. of bosses av. 0.038; Th. of shell minimum 0.005. Blue-green patina. Six of the eight bosses were formed in one piece (now broken, two and four), the other two in a second piece with socketed projections at either end. One end of the shorter piece was hinged to the adjoining end of the longer, where there was a transverse cross-pin. The metal between the bosses is worked into half-reels, more distinctly than in No. 17. The bosses are hollow.

17. Bronze armlet or anklet. Fig. 2, Pl. 56.

Inv. IM.822. Pressed roughly to oval shape: D. external 0.105 to 0.12, internal 0.065 to 0.075; W. of bosses 0.038 to 0.04; Th. of shell minimum 0.002. Green patina. Similar to No. 16 but lighter. The longer piece is broken (two and one-half bosses, and three and one-half). The socketing of the shorter piece appears in the drawing, Fig. 2.

Nos. 16 and 17 are clearly a pair. They were presumably worn on the arms or the legs; if by a man, probably at the wrists; if by a woman, possibly above the elbows or at the ankles or both. The short hinged section was swung outward when the band was to be placed on the arm or leg, and then swung back and hooked into position.

The remarkable fact here is that these ornaments are not Greek but belong to the Celtic people of Central Europe. They have been found most plentifully in the eastern area of the La Tène culture, Bohemia and Moravia, Slovakia, Austria, and Hungary; examples occur farther west in Bavaria and Switzerland, and rarely in northern Italy (district of Bologna) and in eastern France (Marne and Basses-Alpes).²⁰ Elements of the same culture appear in Yugoslavia as far south as the region

¹⁸ F. Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, II, p. 146, no. 7 (four examples, two of which are known to come from Corinth).

¹⁹ R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas*, no. 712.

²⁰ J. Déchelette, *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique Celtique et Gallo-Romaine*, IV, pp. 728-729; O. Montelius, *Civ. primitive en Italie, It. septentrionale*, Sér. B, pl. 112, 14, pl. 113, 5; J. Schráníl, *Die Vorgeschichte Böhmens und Mährens*, p. 233, pl. XLVII, 4; I. Hunyady, *Kelták a Kárpát-medencében (Diss. Pannonicae, Ser. II, 18)*, especially pl. XXXI, 2; J. Filip, *Keltové ve Střední Evropě*, plates *passim* with examples from Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia; B. Benadík, E. Vlček, C. Ambros, *Keltische Gräberfelder der Südwestslowakei*, pp. 122-124, pls. V, VIII, XIV, XXVII;

of Sarajevo. To the best of my knowledge no other *Nussringe* like the pair from Isthmia have been found in Greece.

There are several varieties of bronze armlets or anklets in the repertory of the Celtic Late Iron Age. One type has many small solid bosses, either plain or elaborately

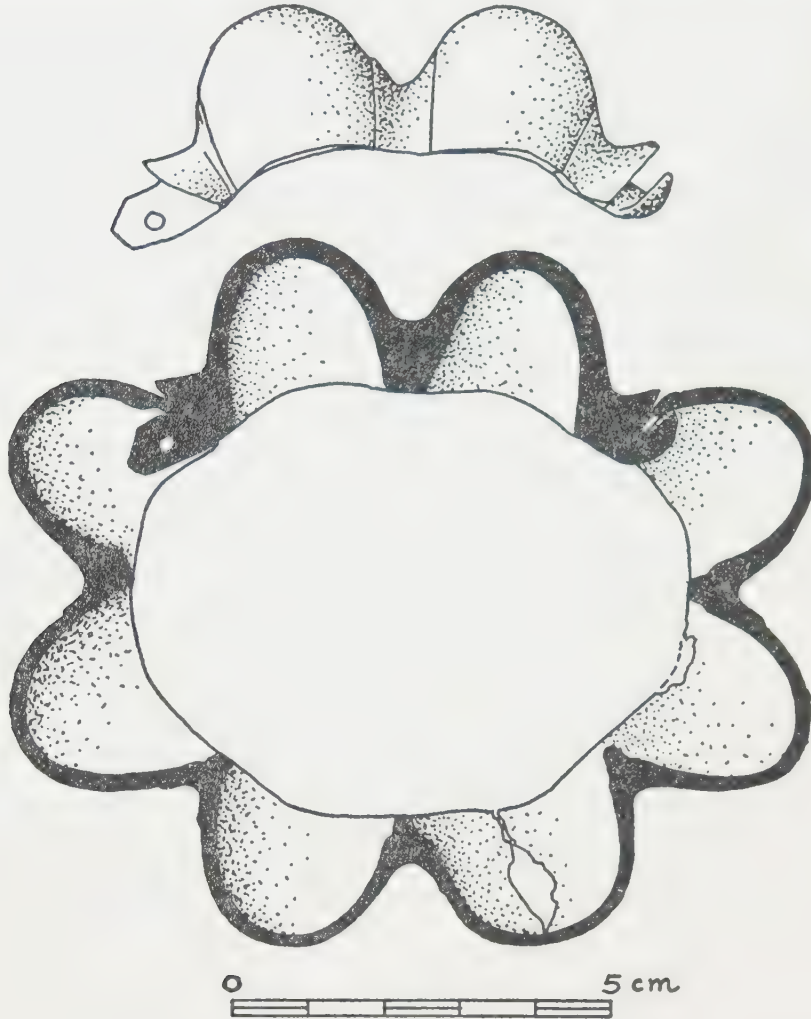


FIG. 2. No. 17, Bronze Armlet or Anklet. Drawing by G. V. Peschke.

modelled with curving ornament. The second principal type, which seems gradually to have replaced the former, has hollow bosses with smooth surfaces, larger in size and progressively fewer in number down to a minimum of three. Examples like our Nos. 16 and 17 are found abundantly in the eastern area in graves assigned to a

R. Pittioni, *Urgeschichte des Österreichischen Raumes*, fig. 473, 1, 3, fig. 475, 6. (I would thank Dr. S. Foltiny and others for directing me to numerous publications of related material).

developed stage of La Tène C, generally equated with La Tène II in Switzerland,²¹ falling in the third and second centuries B.C. The complexities of Celtic chronology and the question whether the armlets might be as early as the other objects in the well at Isthmia are beyond the competence of the undersigned and must be left to qualified specialists.

It is impossible to determine why and when the objects in this group were dropped into the well. Since the krater, No. 1, was a votive offering, one thinks of occasions when shrines were cleared out, for example after some disaster had desecrated the building and its contents or simply when space became too crowded. But in cases of that sort the votives were usually discarded in large numbers; the present group is small, and there is no reason to suppose that many pieces from it were lost before the discovery was reported. The objects recovered are furthermore remarkably varied, including some that were rare and perhaps costly along with others that were exceedingly common. Archaeological investigation of the near-by sanctuary of Demeter may furnish some enlightenment.

Most of the pottery and the terracotta figurines were manufactured probably in the third quarter of the fourth century and almost certainly before 300 B.C.; some may be as early as 350 B.C. If the Celtic bronzes are to be dated necessarily after the turn of the third century, we must suppose either that the objects fell into the well at various times or that they were accumulated and kept together for several decades and then discarded. The latter explanation is the more plausible.

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²¹ Professor J. M. de Navarro in correspondence kindly informs me that armlets of our type are in fact to be dated to a late phase of Early La Tène (LT. I c) rather than to Middle La Tène, but that they are unlikely in any case to occur before 300 B.C. He states that the *Hohnussarmringe* are found only in the graves of women, and adds the interesting and most reasonable suggestion that the pair at Isthmia may have belonged to a captive. On Celtic offerings that have been found under water see his forthcoming article in 40. *Bericht der Röm.-Germ. Kommission*.

HOMER, HESIOD AND THE ACHAEAN HERITAGE OF ORAL POETRY

IN the light of present day Homeric and archaeological studies a re-examination is needed of the relation of Homer to Hesiod.¹ This study of the survival of Achaean oral poetry² in the mainland and in Ionia in the eighth and seventh centuries hopes to throw new light on this relation. The problem which this study poses is whether there is a direct continuity of the Achaean tradition of oral poetry in the mainland from the preclassical to the classical period. Is it possible that there could be a survival of the Achaean oral poetry only in the epics of Homer and not in the mainland at the same period? Is the assumption correct that the Dorian invasion resulted in "no continuity of memory,"³ in a cultural vacuum and that this was filled by the coming of the Homeric poems to the mainland as early as the eighth century? Must we look to the Homeric poems as the *fons et origo* of Hellenic culture on the mainland? Such has been the traditional view. There is new evidence, in my opinion, that requires a re-examination of this problem. In this study I shall undertake to discuss it in the light of recent Homeric oral studies, integrating their conclusions with historical data, archaeological evidence, early metrical inscriptions, and with the

¹ This study embodies the views I set forth on the relations of Homer to Hesiod in my seminar on the early Greek epic given at the Princeton University Graduate School in 1955-56. An earlier draft was read at the meeting of the American Philological Association, December 28, 1957. After the completion of this study there came to my attention A. Hoekstra's paper, "Hésiode et la tradition orale; contribution à l'étude du style formulaire," *Mnemosyne*, X, 1957, pp. 193-225, which independently corroborates my conclusion that Hesiod was an oral poet. In the published version of my study I have omitted the detailed linguistic analysis which covers much the same ground as Professor Hoekstra's study and I concentrate on the phases of the problem which constitute the differences in our approach. For aid in this study I am indebted to the Guggenheim Foundation, the American Philosophical Society, and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens where, as Visiting Professor in 1952-1953, part of the work for this article was done.

² Homer generally uses the term "Achaean" to refer to the Greeks who came from all parts of the mainland to Troy. Linguists recently use the term for the core of the Arcado-Cyprian dialect, which is reflected in the language of the Linear B tablets; cf. C. J. Ruijgh, *L'élément Achéen dans la langue épique*, Assen, 1957. The present study will use the term, in Homer's sense, to designate all phases of the culture of the pre-classical Greeks, other than the Minoans, as they emerge in the Geometric age, the age of Homer. In this study the terms "Protogeometric" and "Protoattic," though properly descriptive of styles of pottery, are also used, on analogy with the terms "Geometric," "Archaic," to denote periods of time and culture. For the eighth century as the date, used in this study, of the composition of the *Iliad* cf. W. Schadewaldt, "Homer und sein Jahrhundert," *Von Homers Welt und Werk*, London, 1950, pp. 87-129; H. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, London, 1950, pp. 452-493.

³ J. M. Cook, "The Cult of Agamemnon at Mycenae," *Γέρας Κεραμοπούλλου, Ἑταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν*, IX, 1953, p. 115.

evaluation of some of the data in the light of my own field work in modern Greek heroic oral poetry.⁴

Outside of several autobiographical references in the *Works and Days* and in the *Theogony* the only solid fact we have about Hesiod is Herodotos' statement that Homer and Hesiod were contemporaries, a fact which is assumed in the ancient lives of the poets and by the author of the *Certamen*.⁵ The priority of Homer to Hesiod and the dependence of one on the other is not the ancient way of thinking but a modern assumption based largely on the presence of Homeric diction in Hesiod.⁶ Yet this assumption immediately runs into the difficulty that there are in these poets many stylistic differences ranging from formulae, marked variations in the use of genitives in *-οιο* and *-ου*, the question of the initial digamma and many other differences noted in past and present linguistic studies.⁷ What is needed is an explanation which will account for the presence in Hesiod of Homeric formulae and for the linguistic differences, an explanation which at the same time will not do violence to the ancient testimony on the contemporaneity of Homer and Hesiod. This problem is now for the first time capable of solution in the light of recent Homeric oral studies by Milman Parry.⁸ Our knowledge now that Homer is an oral poet leads us to ask, is Hesiod, Homer's contemporary, not an oral poet too? Here we are challenged by the opportunity to interpret new knowledge to the full extent of its meaning.

The touchstone of the oral style is the formula, whose convenience in oral improvisation was first pointed out by Meillet and thoroughly illustrated by Parry. It is not

⁴ J. A. Notopoulos, "Homer as an oral poet in the light of modern Greek heroic oral poetry," *Year Book of The American Philosophical Society for 1953*, Philadelphia, 1954, pp. 249-253. A selection of these heroic poems, with a historical introduction, text, translation, commentary, and musical scoring, has been issued by Folkways Records F. E. 4468: *Modern Greek Heroic Oral Poetry from Cyprus, Salonika, Epirus, Crete, and Peloponnesus*, Recorded and with notes by James A. Notopoulos, New York, 1959.

⁵ *Works and Days*, 27-41, 631-640, 650-662; *Theogony*, 22-34. For the lives and the *Certamen* cf. *Vitae Homeri et Hesiodi*, ed. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Berlin, 1929. The date of Hesiod, ca. 700 B.C. on the basis of the Lelantine war, alluded to in *W.D.*, 654-659, is discussed by Wade-Gery in *The Poet of the Iliad*, Cambridge, 1952, pp. 25-29 and in *Phoenix*, III, 1949, pp. 81-93.

⁶ Conversely, some see the influence of Hesiod on Homer; cf. D. Page, *The Homeric Odyssey*, Oxford, 1955, pp. 36-38 where the second and third lines of P. Tebtunis 271²⁴ are identical with *Odyssey* λ, 249-250; H. Mundry, "Anspielung auf Hesiods *Erga* in der *Odyssey* τ 357 ff." *Hermes*, LXXXIII, 1955, pp. 51-68.

⁷ J. Wackernagel, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Homer*, Göttingen, 1916; R. Rzach, *Der Dialekt des Hesiodos*, Leipzig, 1876; P. Chantraine, *Grammaire Homérique*, Paris, 1948, I, pp. 117 ff.; I. Sellschopp, *Stilistische Untersuchungen zu Hesiod*, Hamburg, 1934; J. A. Scott, *T.A.P.A.*, LXI, 1930, abstract XXXI; R. Cantarella, "Elemente primitive nella poesia Esiodea," *Riv. Indo-Greca-Italica*, 1931, pp. 105-149; Hoekstra, *Mnemosyne*, VII, 1954, pp. 297-299 and X, 1957, pp. 202-221.

⁸ For Homer as an oral poet see the bibliography of Parry listed in *A.J.A.*, LII, 1949, pp. 43-44; cf. also bibliography on repetitions and typology in Homer listed in H. J. Mette, "Homer 1930-1956," *Lustrum*, I, 1, Göttingen, 1957, no. 468-524.

merely the presence of the formula but the frequency of its occurrence which constitutes the touchstone of the oral style. In his study of the Homeric style Parry showed that there is a formula in almost every line of Homer, consisting of entire lines or phrases occurring before or after the caesura, the linking of which explains better than before certain linguistic phenomena in Homer. These formulae often fall into systems flexibly constituted for ease in oral verse-making. In an investigation of post-Homeric poetry Parry showed a relative absence of formulae, except for certain literary effects, thus confirming, by using what in biological experiments is called "a control," the oral style of Homer. If Hesiod's style is comparably as formulaic as Homer's then we have the answer to our question.

It was in his article in the *Harvard Studies* that Parry, while studying the role of the formula in poetry after Homer, first became aware that Hesiod is an oral poet. His investigation of this problem was, however, cursory, relying for his statistics on Rzach's *editio maior* of Hesiod which, while it lists all the Homeric influence, yet makes no differentiation between the occurrence of Homeric formulae, repeated exactly as metrical equivalents, and passages from Homer which, though not metrically equivalent to Hesiod's phrases, are similar or express similar thoughts. Had Parry applied strictly and thoroughly his own technique of formulaic analysis to Hesiod's poetry he would have established that Hesiod was authentically an oral poet. He intended to do this in a later study which his untimely death prevented. Parry, in his study of the problem, also made use of Kretschmer's valuable doctoral thesis, *De iteratis Hesiodeis*,⁹ but its real contribution was overlooked. In this thesis Kretschmer lists the repetitions which occur within Hesiod's poetry, not merely formulae from Homer but many Hesiodic formulae (listed by a star) which are not found in the Homeric poems. It is now obvious, in the light of oral poetry where, as in modern Greek heroic poetry, we have regional formulae mixed in with those which occur in all parts of the oral tradition, that we are dealing here with formulae of the Boeotian school of poetry. These formulae are only in part explained by regional differences; formulae, as we know, are integrally connected with the subject matter of oral poetry, and since the subject matter of Homer's poetry is largely different from Hesiod's it is natural that Hesiodic poetry will exhibit some different formulae, often attended by linguistic differences. Here then is a body of mainland formulae whose role was not realized by early Hesiodic scholars, who had no knowledge of the workings of oral poetry, nor by editors of Hesiod who, as was the case earlier with Homer, bracketed many single lines or groups of verses which reproduce some other part of the poem in a similar or identical form.¹⁰ Kretschmer's thesis, when viewed today in the light of Parry's work, turns out to be a basic contribution in determining the oral style of

⁹ P. F. Kretschmer, *De iteratis Hesiodeis*, Vratislaviae, 1913.

¹⁰ Cf. P. Walcott, *Cl. Quart.*, VI, 1956, p. 198.

Hesiod. For when we set the data of this thesis and the Homeric repetitions listed by Rzach in the context of the oral technique of composition, the results reveal the oral rubric of Hesiod's style. A comparison of the repetitions within the poems of Hesiod and Homer respectively leaves little doubt as to the oral character of their poems. The results of Kretschmer's thesis are shown in the following:¹¹

	Repetitions of groups of lines	Repetitions of lines	Repetitions of phrases before the caesura	Repetitions of phrases after the caesura	Repetitions of phrases in the middle of the line	Repetitions which occur in whole or in part in the same position in the verse	Total
<i>Theogony</i> (1022 vv.)	5	38	74	206	7	8	338
<i>Works and Days</i> (822 vv.)	1	9	32	64	1	3	110
<i>The Shield</i> (480 vv.)	1	10	22	40	3	3	79
Total (2380 vv.)	7	57	128	310	11	14	527

It follows that 23% of the Hesiodic *corpus* consists of repetitions of lines or phrases found in other parts of Hesiod's poems. This compares with 33% in the case of Homer, for out of 27,853 verses in Homer, 9,253 are repeated or contain repeated phrases.¹² This proportion of 23% and 33% respectively, a phenomenon found nowhere in subsequent Greek or Latin poetry, is the litmus test of the oral style.

The formulaic character of Hesiod's style appears more clearly when we analyze, in Parry's manner, the first hundred lines respectively of the Hesiodic *corpus*:¹³

Poem	Lines	Formulaic lines	Percentage of formulaic lines
<i>Works and Days</i>	1-100	77	.77
<i>Theogony</i>	1-100	80	.80
<i>The Shield</i>	1-100	90	.90

Parry's formulaic analysis of the first twenty-five lines respectively of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* shows the following:¹⁴

<i>Iliad</i>	A 1-25	22	.88
<i>Odyssey</i>	a 1-25	23	.92

In determining the formulaic texture of the Hesiodic *corpus* the following categories of formulae were used: 1) formulae in Hesiod not found in Homer; 2)

¹¹ Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

¹² These statistics for Homer are from C. E. Schmidt, *Parallel-Homer*, Göttingen, 1885, p. viii.

¹³ In this analysis I have made use of Rzach's *editio maior*, Kretschmer, and C. F. Russo, *Hesiodi Scutum*, Firenze, 1950. In addition to these I have discovered, through use of Gehring's *Index Homericus*, some analogical formulae not noted before. A typescript of this analysis, as well as that for the early Greek elegy, is on deposit at the Trinity College Library.

¹⁴ Parry, *H.S.C.P.*, LI, 1930, pp. 118-121.

formulae formed by the play of analogy; 3) Homeric formulae found in Hesiod. With respect to the first category, it has been noted that they are the remains of a mainland tradition of poetry which survives in Hesiod, and, as we shall see later, in eighth century metrical inscriptions. Scholars have long noted that stylistic differences from Homer in the formulae and diction of Hesiod show the presence of an oral tradition related to yet independent of Homer. Some of these formulae fall into systems not found in Homer. Some reappear in the *Homeric Hymns* and the early Greek elegy¹⁵ which is largely formulaic as may be seen in the following analysis:

Poet	Poem	Lines	Formulaic Lines	Percentage of formulaic lines
Kallinos	<i>Elegy</i> 1,3,4	23	19	.83
Tyrtaios	<i>Elegies</i> 2-9	147	87	.59
Solon	<i>Elegy</i> 1	76	45	.60
Theognis	<i>Elegy</i>	1-100	41	.41

In addition we have a new category of formulae of which Parry has made us aware in Homer and which Hesiodic scholars prior to Parry had not taken into

¹⁵ In this analysis I have made use in Kallinos, of T. Hudson-Williams, *Early Greek Elegy*, Cardiff, 1926, and E. Diehl, *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, editio stereotypa editionis tertiae (1949), Leipzig, 1954; in Tyrtaios, of Hudson-Williams, Diehl, and A. Monti, *Tirteo, Studio Critico e testi con Raffronti Omerici*, Turin, 1910; in Solon, of Hudson-Williams, Diehl, and N. Riedy, *Solonis elocutio quatenus pendeat ab exemplo Homeri*, Munich, 1903; in Theognis, of Diehl, and R. Kuellenberg, *De Imitatione Theognidis*, Argentorati, 1887. Analogical formulae were determined on the basis of consultation of Gehring's *Index Homericus*. The formulae in the early elegy deserve a reexamination on several grounds. First, their Homeric provenience is by no means the only explanation; they could come from the mainland tradition of oral poetry and we have evidence that outside of Kallinos and Tyrtaios the strongly personal and ethical character of the elegy is closer to Hesiod than to Homer. Even in the lyric there is scepticism that the poets imitated specific Homeric verses. J. A. Davison, in his review of Otto von Weber's *Die Beziehungen zwischen Homer und den älteren griechischen Lyriker*, Bonn, 1955, in *Cl. Rev.*, New Series, VIII, 1958, p. 23, remarks "As I have already suggested (*Eranos*, LIII, 1955, pp. 139-140), it is possible that when two poets use the same (or closely similar) words, neither is necessarily acquainted with the other's work, but both may be drawing upon some common stock. This problem of the common stock is especially difficult in early Greek poetry. . . ." If the Achaean oral epic survived on the mainland, as I hope to show, the Homeric provenience of formulae in the early elegy and the lyric will not be as settled as our fixed modes of literary thinking indicate. Nor is the literary character of early elegy certain. The frequency of formulae in Kallinos (83%) points in the direction of oral poetry. In Tyrtaios (59%) and Solon (60%) the frequency of formulae is less yet far greater than is shown in the texture of later poetry. Difficulties presented in adapting hexameter formulae to the pentameter and change in subject matter with which formulae are associated are factors to be taken into account. The situation in Tyrtaios and Solon is uncertain. In Theognis we have a clear case of transition from oral to written literature. We have a similar phenomenon in Cyprus today where the poems of some *ποιητρίδες* (itinerant bards) show less formulaic texture; though traditional formulae still survive in their poems, they are fewer and are present only for traditional ornament and atmosphere rather than for their use in easy verse-making. Information on the decline of an oral society is needed to throw light on the transition of literature from oral to literary.

account. That is, formulae created by analogy, phrases which metrically are of the same type as others, e.g. ἡρώων, αὐτοὺς δε (A3) which is the metrical equivalent of ἡρώων τοῖσιν τε (E 747, θ 391, α 101).¹⁶ They involve the play of analogy which underlies all traditional diction. Parry noted such word groups with broken lines which indicate phrases of the same type as others. There are many such analogical word groups in Hesiod as well, such as,

τέκε πατρὶ μιγείσα	(Th. 53; cf. α 73, λ 266)
κρατερῶν τε Γιγάντων	(Th. 50; cf. Δ 87)
κτῆμασ' ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίοις	(W.D. 34; cf. η 150)
ἀγήνορα κάρφει	(W.D. 7; cf. λ 562)
κασιγνήτων τε φόνοιο	(Shield 17; cf. ω 484)
Βοιωτοὶ πλήξιπποι	(Shield 24; cf. Β 104)

The final category of formulae used in the analysis comes from Homer; they are listed fully by Rzach. These Homeric formulae in Hesiod exhibit the same systematization of oral diction, the same linguistic mixture, the same metrical exigencies which Parry showed in his studies of the Homeric oral style.¹⁷ Variations in Hesiod from the Homeric formulae expressing the same ideas have not been listed unless they conform to the same metrical pattern. These variations have been interpreted as a decomposition of the Homeric style or as adaptations by Hesiod from the Homeric text, but recent linguistic studies show the proper explanation, namely, that they belong rather to the mainland epic and sometimes they go back to the oldest strata of Achaeian poetry.

From this comparative analysis of formulaic texture in the passages chosen from Homer and Hesiod it is evident that the Hesiodic *corpus* is so close to Homer in percentage of formulaic lines and so far above any found in later Greek poetry that the Hesiodic style is oral. This conclusion finds corroboration in a valuable piece of autobiographic evidence in the *Works and Days*, namely, that Hesiod took part in a contest of oral poetry in Euboea and won the prize of a tripod which he dedicated to the Helikonian Muses.¹⁸ It also fits in with the traditional character of genealogies in Hesiod's poetry, of traditional precepts exhibited in the second part of *Works and*

¹⁶ Parry, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-121.

¹⁷ Cf. Hoekstra, *Mnemosyne*, X, 1957, pp. 193-221.

¹⁸ *W.D.*, 654-659. If ὕμνος (line 657) has the same meaning as in *Odyssey*, θ 429, the poem which Hesiod sang was probably the average length of a Homeric ἀριστεία episode, possibly on the glorious deeds of the hero Amphidamas. The contest involved singing (ἀοιδῆς); he dedicated the prize tripod to the Muses who are the inspirers of oral poetry. These Muses who dwelt on Helikon are, as Allen has pointed out (*Homer, Origins, and Transmissions*, Oxford, 1924, p. 89) not the Muses of the *Iliad*; the Muses of Helikon are the inspirers of the mainland poetry. These contests are an old mainland tradition. Homer's Thamyris (B, 594-600) participated in such a one when he rashly challenged the Muses (cf. Virgil, *Ec.*, IV, 55 ff.) who destroyed his powers of oral improvisation by destroying his memory (ἐκλέλαθον).

Days, with the traditional oral prologue of invocation to the Muses, a commonplace in the Greek epics.

The large number of Homeric formulae in Hesiod brings up the subject of Hesiod's conscious imitation of the text of Homer. Scholars who see the direct influence of Homeric texts on Hesiod are compelled to disregard the Herodotean statement, which makes the poets contemporaries, and thus lower the date of Hesiod so as to allow for Hesiod's use of the Homeric texts to the extent noted by Rzach. For the presence of the Homeric texts on the mainland at so early a date they point to Homeric themes on Geometric vases.¹⁹ Recent archaeological studies, however, are making this argument very tenuous and studies in oral poetry are making it irrelevant to the question. Aside from the oral texture of Hesiod's style there are difficulties in putting the Homeric texts on the mainland in the eighth and seventh centuries. The "generalized" character of Geometric art makes it difficult, as Hanfmann points out, to identify a mythological subject with a scene.²⁰ The most recent study of this topic by Webster veers away from explaining these vases in terms of the *Iliad*.²¹ Rather he finds that Geometric painting tells us something of early pre-migration Attic poetry. A few vases of the Protoattic period,²² dated *ca.* 650 B.C., have Homeric

¹⁹ For Homeric influence on Geometric vases cf. F. Jacoby, *Hermes*, LXVIII, 1933, p. 4; Schadewaldt, *op. cit.*, p. 104; Lorimer, *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, p. 105; P. Mazon, *Introduction à l'Iliade*, Paris, 1948, pp. 266-269. Recently Hampe (*Die Gleichnisse Homers und die Bildkunst seiner Zeit*, Tübingen, 1952, pp. 26-30) has studied a scene on the neck of a Geometric vase in Munich dated in the eighth century. He identifies it with the scene in the *Odyssey* which shows Odysseus on the upturned ship with his crew swimming among the fish consequent to their eating the sacred cattle of Helios. Hampe is careful not to come out boldly for the influence of the *Odyssey* on the mainland as early as the middle of the eighth century. Two interpretations are possible. If the identification with the *Odyssey* is correct, we have an instance of the existence on the mainland of the *Odyssey* saga prior to Homer's later reshaping of it in Ionia. It is quite possible, however, that the picture does not illustrate the *Odyssey* saga but reflects a genre from the dangerous life of the sea. Various interpretations have been given as to what exactly the ship scenes on Geometric vases represent. For the most recent study of them cf. G. S. Kirk, *B.S.A.*, XLIV, 1949, pp. 93-153. Scholars also find other representations from Homer, such as the Aktorione—Molione scene on the Agora jug, the abduction of Helen by Paris on the lebes in the British Museum, and other scenes on Geometric vases, fibulae, and relief vases from the second half of the eighth century. Cf. Hampe, *op. cit.*, p. 30 and notes, and *Frühe Griechische Sagenbilder*, Athens, 1936, pp. 74-81; J. M. Cook, *B.S.A.*, XXXV, 1934-35, pp. 191-192, note 4, and pp. 206-208 where he gives corrections for the early dating in Hampe's *Sagenbilder*; Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-Figure*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951, p. 7. Such identifications, however, are doubtful because no proved mythological scenes exist before the Protoattic period.

²⁰ Hanfmann, *A.J.A.*, LXI, 1957, pp. 71-72.

²¹ Webster, *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, pp. 49-50.

²² For the classification and chronology of Protoattic pottery cf. Cook, *B.S.A.*, XXXV, 1934-35, pp. 165-219, pls. 38-60. For other mythological scenes in the early Archaic period cf. H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, Oxford, 1931, pp. 124-143; Lane, *B.S.A.*, XXXIV, 1933-34, pp. 162-168; E. Kunze, *Archaische Schildbänder*, Berlin, 1950, pp. 139-174. The non-Homeric themes on these vases imply the existence of a rich storehouse of saga on the mainland. For the importance of the oral

themes.²³ The recent discovery, however, of a hexameter inscription in Ischia, dated in the eighth century, mentions Nestor's cup,²⁴ a fact which can be explained at so early a date only by the existence of Achaeian oral poetry in two streams, the Ionian in Homer and the mainland, both having common formulae and themes. The Homeric themes on Protoattic vases cannot be used as conclusive evidence for the existence of Homeric texts on the mainland. The Achaeian epic, as will be shown, survived the Dorian Conquest, and themes from the *Odyssey*, such as the Polyphemos vases show, could well have been the subject of mainland epics as well as those of Homer. The differences between the versions of the Polyphemos theme on the Protoattic vases and the text of Homer make the Homeric provenience far from a certainty. The presence on Protoattic vases of mythical themes with subjects other than those of Homer adds to our confidence in a vital mainland tradition of oral poetry which could have included in its repertory many of the sagas found in Homer. In an oral society there are no copyrights to themes. Our doubts as to Homeric influence increase as we advance into the seventh and early sixth centuries. Zschietzschmann and Johansen in their studies of early Attic and Corinthian vases independently show that there was a widespread ignorance of the Homeric epics in the seventh and early sixth centuries.²⁵ Their conclusions are in agreement with all the literary evidence as to the late date of the introduction of the Homeric epics into Greece.²⁶

transmission of myths on vases cf. J. Fontenrose, *Python, A Study of Delphic Myth and Its Origins*, Berkeley, 1959, pp. 4-5.

²³ The mainland vases with Homeric themes are: 1) the Menelaos stand picturing Menelaos, who is identified by the inscription *Μενέλαος*, leading four other Achaeian princes (Cook, *B.S.A.*, XXXV, 1934-35, pp. 189-190, note 7; Beazley, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8); 2) the Aigisthos krater showing a cowardly Aigisthos being slain by Orestes (*C.V.A.*, Berlin, I, pls. 18-21; Beazley, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9, pl. 3); 3) the Eleusis amphora recently discovered by Mylonas, on whose neck is painted Odysseus and two companions driving a stake into the eye of Polyphemos (G. E. Mylonas, *The Protoattic Amphora of Eleusis*, Athens, 1958); variations of the same theme are to be found in the Aristonothos krater (E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Munich, 1923, III, pl. 14, no. 65; E. Buschor, *Griechische Malerei*, Munich, 1940, p. 47, pl. 53) and in a vase recently found in Argos (Courbin, *B.C.H.*, LXXXIX, 1955, pp. 1-49); 4) the Ram Jug showing two rams and part of a third, each with a naked youth clinging under, representing the escape of Odysseus and his companions (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXII, 1897, pp. 325-327, pl. 8; *B.S.A.*, XXXV, 1934-35, pl. 53; K. Kübler, *Altattische Malerei*, Tübingen, 1950, p. 18, fig. 52). The Polyphemos vases seem to be confined to Argos, Aegina, Attica. The repeated themes of Polyphemos show that the ceramic artist, like the Homeric poet, composes by means of traditional themes; cf. J. A. Notopoulos, "Homer and Geometric Art; A Comparative Study in the Formulaic Technique of Composition," *Ἀθηνα*, 1957, pp. 65-93. The origin of these themes need not necessarily be Homer, especially in the case of the Polyphemos theme which is a very pervasive folklore theme; for bibliography cf. Page, *The Homeric Odyssey*, p. 18, note 5; R. M. Dawkins, *More Greek Folktales*, Oxford, 1955, pp. 12-24.

²⁴ Cf. *infra* p. 195.

²⁵ W. Zschietzschmann, "Homer und die attische Bildkunst um 560," *Jahrb.*, XLVI, 1931, pp. 45-60; K. Friis Johansen, *Iliaden: tidlig graesk Kunst*, Copenhagen, 1934 (for the summary of this book I am indebted to Beazley's review in *J.H.S.*, LIV, 1934, pp. 84-85). The same situation

Recent re-appraisals by archaeologists of the role of Ionia in the eighth and seventh centuries²⁷ are changing our traditional views as to the relative positions of

is reported by Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 137. The inscriptions on vases have a bearing on the Homeric literary activity of the sixth century in Athens. The labelling of figures is first seen in the Menelaos vase in the middle of the seventh century, followed by the Euphorbos vase of Rhodian manufacture, *ca.* 600. The frequent use of names on vases begins with the decade *ca.* 580-570. Commenting on this phenomenon Cook remarks, "I should imagine such naming had just become fashionable" (*Cl. Quar.*, XXX, 1937, p. 208). I believe a more likely explanation is that the infrequency of names on Geometric and Protoattic vases is to be associated with the general illiteracy of a society largely oral in character. The growth of literacy, reflected in the increase of inscriptions on vases *ca.* 580-570, is to be associated with the growth of literacy in the sixth century Athens. The increasing use of inscriptions on the vases of this period shows that the general public for whom these vases were meant was literate enough so that the vase painter could coördinate the scenes on his vases with the scenes in the Homeric poems which were now becoming popular in the Panathenaia. Furthermore, the growth of literacy enabled the vase painter (who was often a bad speller, as we see in vases) to overcome the iconographic difficulties of generic scenes in earlier vases, such as the Thebes lebes where it is difficult to know whether the scene is the abduction of Helen by Paris, of Adriadne by Theseus or merely a farewell scene between the captain of a ship and his wife.

²⁶ As far as concerns Athens none of our sources refer to the public recitations of Homer before the sixth century (Diogenes Laertios, I,2,57; Plato, *Hipparchos*, 228b; Pausanias, VII, 26,13; Cicero, *De Orat.*, 3,137; Lykourgos, in *Leocr.*, 102; Isokrates, *Paneg.*, 159). The same is true of other parts of Greece. Herodotos mentions the activity of Homeric rhapsodes in Sikyon at the time of its tyrant, Kleisthenes (V, 67). The rhapsode Kynaithos introduced the Homeric poems into Sicily in 504 (Pindar, Schol. on *Nem.*, II, 1); for a defense of the scholiast's date against emendation cf. Wade-Gery, "Kynaithos" in *Greek Poetry and Life*, Oxford, 1936, pp. 72-78. Maximus of Tyre (17,5a) gives further evidence of the lateness of the arrival of the Homeric poems in other parts of Greece. For recent re-examinations of the evidence for a Peisistratid recension cf. J. A. Davison, "Peisistratos and Homer," *T.A.P.A.*, LXXXVI 1955, pp. 1-21 and R. Sealey, "From Phemios to Ion," *Rev. Et. Gr.*, LXX, 1957, pp. 343-351. Davison maintains that although an Ionian text of Homer probably antedates Peisistratos, it was brought to Athens by Hipparchos for the Panathenaia and this marks the introduction of the text of Homer in Athens. Sealey maintains that the answer to the question, when were the Homeric poems written down, is the same as that to the question, when did the book trade arise in Greece, i.e. sometime between 550 and 450. I hope to show in a section of a forthcoming book that the fostering of the epic tradition in its entirety, i.e., Homeric and non-Homeric epics, is largely connected with Greek tyranny which has different dates (7th-6th centuries) in various parts of Greece. An aristocratic environment is necessary for the support of rhapsodes and epic recitations. The tyrants used the epic tradition, carried on orally by the rhapsodes who, like Shakespearean actors, may have had written text as an *aide-de-mémoire* (often not followed faithfully), for ornament, for the entertainment of the people, and for reasons of political policy (cf. Herodotos V, 67 and rumors of Athenian interpolations). I believe with Else (*Hermes*, LXXXV, 1957, pp. 17-46) that the *τραγῳδός* evolved from the Homeric *ῥαψῳδός* and that the Athenian state took over the role of the tyrants in offering entertainment to the people through the drama. The drama and not lyric poetry, as has been believed, undermines the epic tradition. For Aeschylus Homer was already a poet of the past. Homer and the other oral poets then largely become textbooks for the education of the young as we see in the Duris vase, in Plato's account of fifth century education in the *Republic* and in Xenophon, *Symp.*, III, 5. Perikles then renews the policy of the Peisistratids of a Homeric rhapsode recitation in the splendid Panathenaia of 442 (cf. Plutarch, *Per.*, 13,11 and Wade-Gery, *The Poet of the Iliad*, pp. 30-31, 77-78).

²⁷ Hanfmann, "Ionia, Leader or Follower?," *H.S.C.P.*, LXI, 1953, pp. 1-37. For a warning

Ionian culture was slower in maturing in phases other than the epic which usually flourishes in the frontiers of a culture. Archaeologists are now beginning to discard Panionism as an influence on mainland art, and it is emerging that, in comparison with the mainland, Ionia was on the whole backward in art. Ionia was, as Hanfmann points out, not a cultural leader but a colonial frontier region between Greece and Anatolia, "something of a backwater from 700-650 B.C."²⁸ This situation must be clearly kept in mind when one is speaking of an alleged direct Homeric influence on the mainland at the same time. This influence turns out to be a mirage engendered by our long-ingrained modes of thinking which see in Homer the fountainhead of all Greek culture, a notion largely engendered by Plato's statement, *ὡς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πεπαιδευκεν οὗτος ὁ ποιητής* (*Rep.* 606e).

While archaeologists are now making us more cautious in speaking of Homeric influence on the mainland so early, field work in oral literature is making us see it as an *idée fixe* of a literary mentality which is widely at variance with the workings of oral composition. I believe that oral poetry offers us a simpler solution for the presence of Homeric and non-Homeric formulae in Hesiod. One of the most valuable intuitions of Parry were his words on the subject of imitation in oral literature. "It is not the place here," he says, "to explain the varying degrees of repetitions written within the Homeric poem nor the use of Homeric phrases. That will be possible only in a larger study in which one will throw aside the idea of imitation, which has weighed so heavily on the early poetry outside of Homer, and take up repetitions as part of a traditional technique of verse-making. One will learn, I believe, a great deal about the nature of epic diction, of its use for different subjects, and by different poets or schools of poets and of its decline."²⁹ Parry's and Lord's later field work in recording both by dictation and disc the heroic poems of the Serbocroatian *guslars* and my own in Greece corroborate this keen observation. We now know from field experience with practising oral bards that the use of formulaic diction does not constitute grounds for alleged influence by one poet on another, as is the case in written literature, but rather points to the fact that oral poets, districts apart, compose by means of the same ready-made word groups which are part and parcel of a long epic tradition of oral diction. In no way was there evidence of direct copying of one from the other.³⁰

against the tendency to find the origins of Hellenic culture and art in Asia cf. R. M. Cook, "Ionia and Greece in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C.," *J.H.S.*, LXVI, 1946, p. 67; cf. Desborough, *B.S.A.*, XLIII, 1948, p. 271; Payne, *op. cit.*, pp. vii-viii, 124.

²⁸ Hanfmann, *H.S.C.P.*, LXI, 1953, p. 15.

²⁹ *H.S.C.P.*, LI, 1930, p. 90. There was a period in Homeric scholarship when the formulae of Homer were thought to be "literary imitations," cf. Parry, *L'Épithète traditionnelle dans Homer*, Paris, 1928, p. 9.

³⁰ For the workings of oral literature cf. Parry's interviews with Southslavic *guslars* in

Heroic poems recorded in Epiros, Roumele, Peloponnesus, Crete and Cyprus reveal the presence of identical formulae, whose origin is a common tradition and not oral or literary contact between the singers involved. Such was the case also with Homer and Hesiod who drew from a common oral tradition. In the heroic poems of post-classical Greece, such as the Akritan, the klephtic ballads, and the long Cretan narrative poems, besides identical formulae we find regional formulae, which correspond to the non-Homeric formulae in Hesiod. We also find in these heroic poems the creation of formulae by analogy. In sum, genius apart, the modern Greek heroic poems exhibit orally the same problems as confront us in trying to explain the presence in Hesiod of Homeric and non-Homeric formulae. For the only proper explanation we must go and observe oral poets at work. A Balkan bard does not memorize *verbatim* another's poem or vocabulary; he does not even recite his own poem twice the same within the same day. He may learn his basic formulaic vocabulary by hearing other poets in his district in a period of oral apprenticeship; he learns in the same way type-scenes and story themes which are no less traditional than the formulae. But when he reaches a stage of maturity he may borrow episodes from another poet, use the "design" of the story, but he will rework the material in his own way, with his own ornamentation,⁸¹ using traditional formulaic diction.

As the result of our understanding of the workings of oral poetry we must throw aside in oral literature the concept of imitation such as we find to be the case in studying of literary influence among later Greek writers, in the Roman imitation of Greek literature where significant phrases or imagery are involved. Nor are repetitions in these later instances so numerous as we find them in Homer and Hesiod. None of the formulaic repetitions in Hesiod involve conscious imitation of Homer for literary effect as we see in Virgil. The repetitions are invariably significant only as they have metrical value in oral verse-making. Classical scholarship of the past, which had no knowledge of oral literature, interpreted Homeric repetitions in Hesiod in the usual *quellengeschichte* technique of literary imitation. If we give up, as I believe

Serbocroatian Heroic Songs, collected by Milman Parry, edited and translated by A. B. Lord, Cambridge, Mass., 1954, I, pp. 56-67, 225-245, 263-267, 289-292. In particular one should note "... no singer, even if he learned from a song book, reproduces it exactly" (p. 9). One of the singers claimed that upon hearing a song he can repeat it word for word (p. 241). Lord, however, points out in comparing this singer's version and the one from which he learned it through hearing, that there is considerable variation. For a similar situation compare Murko's remarks on an instance of collecting four versions from a singer and the changes noted (M. Murko, *La Poésie Populaire Épique en Yougoslavie au debut du xx^e Siècle*, Paris, 1929, pp. 16-17). These results are independently corroborated by a Cretan singer's two versions, recorded in the same day, on the Airborne Capture of Crete by the Germans in 1941. They differ considerably from each other. For a detailed study of the oral art as practised in Jugoslavia cf. A. B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, Cambridge, Mass., 1960.

⁸¹ For a singer's technique of 'ornamenting' a song cf. Parry, *Cl. Phil.*, XXI, 1936, p. 359 and Parry and Lord, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-241.

we must, this approach to our problem, we must ask what historical grounds there are for assuming a common oral tradition between Homer and Hesiod.

For the answer we must go to the survival of the Achaean tradition of oral poetry in the mainland after the Dorian Conquest. In fact, we know that it survived as late as the Protogeometric age, the date of the Ionian migration. Thucydides is emphatic in placing the migration from the Greek mainland to Ionia, which resulted in the Homeric epics, ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ after the Dorian invasion.³² The migration came from Athens and was not a mere flotsam and jetsam of peoples of the fragmented Achaean world, but an organized Attic-Ionic migration, with a good leaven from Pylos. The pre-eminence of Athens at this time is indicated by the emergence of the new Protogeometric style, with its emphasis on elegance rather than utility. The long interim posited by Thucydides "is roughly the Protogeometric age, during which the 'Hellenic' civilization was in gestation. . . . It was probably when the Protogeometric style began to give away to the Geometric (perhaps about 900 B.C.) that the Hellenic Conquest of Ionia began."³³ If this is the case, we have grounds for believing in the survival of the Achaean heritage from the tenth to the eighth century to influence mainland art and poetry independently of Homer. We hear of no destruction in the mainland after the Dorian invasion, resulting in a cultural gap from the tenth century to be filled by Homer. Thucydides is clear; the Achaean heritage survived in the mainland, and in the Protogeometric period it divided into two streams, the one going with the migration to Ionia, the other staying in the mainland and influencing the poetry and the ceramic art of the mainland, passing on into the classical period the Achaean tradition whose Hellenic character now is re-enforced by the Greek language of the Linear B tablets³⁴ which show "that the new certainty in language adds to the possibility of continuity in other forms."³⁵ Surely the epic was one, as we shall see.

³² Thucydides, I, 12,4.

³³ Wade-Gery, *The Poet of the Iliad*, p. 5. For the archaeological corroboration of Thucydides cf. Hanfmann, *H.S.C.P.*, LXI, 1953, p. 11, where the migration is dated 850, and *A.J.A.*, LII, 1948, pp. 135-155; C. Roebuck, *Cl. Phil.*, L, 1955, pp. 34-35, and notes 62-63; Lorimer, *op. cit.*, pp. 458-460; Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery*, pp. 298-299; Mellink, *A.J.A.*, LIX, 1955, pp. 231-240. The other current view of the date of the Ionian migration is the early part of the Protogeometric period, ca. 1000 B.C.; cf. Roebuck, *Cl. Phil.*, L, 1955, p. 26 and note 5 on p. 37. Hanfmann's dating and some interpretations are criticized by Mellink, *A.J.A.*, LIX, 1955, p. 184; Cook, *J.H.S.*, LXXV, 1955, pp. 157-158. The earlier dating, however, of the migration does not affect the argument about the survival of the Achaean tradition in the mainland, but does bring the Achaean tradition nearer to the destruction of the Mycenaean centers, allowing a longer period for the epic tradition in Ionia, 300 rather than 200 years.

³⁴ Cf. M. Ventrìs and J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, Cambridge, 1956; T. B. L. Webster, "Homer and the Mycenaean Tablets," *Antiquity*, XXIX, 1955, pp. 10-14 and "Early and Late in Homeric Diction," *Eranos*, LIV, 1956, pp. 34-48; L. D. Richardson, "Further Observations on Homer and the Mycenaean Tablets," *Hermathena*, LXXXVI, 1955, pp. 50-65.

³⁵ E. L. Bennett's review of *Documents in Mycenaean Greek in Language*, XXXIII, 1957, p. 555.

Nor was the destruction that followed the Dorian invasion such as to result in a cultural vacuum. Wace sees no sign of any interruption in the evolution of culture. "The 'return' of the Dorians," he says, "or the coming of any other fresh tribes of the Greeks seems not to have caused any racial or cultural break, but only political or physical disturbances in which the seats of the mighty were overthrown."⁸⁶ Perhaps this is too optimistic a view of the facts that the centers of Mycenaean Greece were destroyed, the political organization broken (except perhaps in Athens), the economic basis of Mycenaean society destroyed. The complexity of a highly developed culture was "barbarized" and a new complex had to be rewoven. This, however, is not to question the validity of the survival of oral tradition, for folk-memory, oral traditions, religious practices and beliefs are of a different *order* of things, and only a part of a culture, the real part, however, which enables it to survive and carry on. Yet despite the destruction the Achaean civilization emerges in the eighth century with marked vitality sufficient to characterize it not merely a survival but a revival. Nilsson has shown that classical mythology is a heritage from Mycenaean times;⁸⁷ this heritage could not all come from the Homeric poems for there are myths and sagas in Geometric art, in Boeotian art and poetry, in Archaic art and poetry, and later in drama that are not found in Homer. The heritage of megaron architecture, of religious beliefs and practices shows that the continuity of the Achaean heritage is unbroken. Geometric art appears from the excavations of the Kerameikos to be survival of Mycenaean art and therefore presumably not the result of Dorian influence. Athens had a strong continuity in Mycenaean culture,⁸⁸ and her Geometric vases reflect the existence of non-Homeric local epics.⁸⁹ In Argos and Mycenae we see hero cults⁹⁰ emerging in the eighth century and these are not to be explained by the arrival of the Homeric poems. The eighth century shows emphasis on the heroic age in the poetry of Homer, in the prominence of the age of heroes in the cycles of Hesiod, in mainland art and vases. The eighth century at home and abroad saw its present, marked by a new creative spirit, as a revival of ancestral glory. While the *Iliad* was being created in Ionia in the eighth century the mainland was far from a shadow. Boeotia shows in its poems a moral fibre, such as we only meet later in Solon and Aeschylus. The aristocracies of the mainland, such as the Bacchiadae, the vases for trade and *in memoriam* funeral use, Corinth's leadership in shipbuilding and naval

⁸⁶ Wace, "The Arrival of the Greeks," *Viking*, 1954, p. 222. This paper, slightly altered, is published in *C.W.*, XLVII, 1954, pp. 152-154; cf. Foreword by Wace in *Mycenaean Documents*, pp. xxix-xxxi. See also Nilsson, *Homer and Mycenae*, London, 1933, p. 178; Lorimer, *op. cit.*, p. 461; Desborough, *op. cit.*, pp. 296-299.

⁸⁷ Nilsson, *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology*, Berkeley, 1932.

⁸⁸ O. Broneer, "What Happened in Athens," *A.J.A.*, LII, 1948, pp. 111-114; I. T. Hill, *The Ancient City of Athens*, Cambridge, Mass., 1954, pp. 8-21, 223-225.

⁸⁹ Webster, *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, pp. 49-50 and *Lustrum*, I, 1, 1957, p. 92.

⁹⁰ Cook, *Ἑταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν*, IX, 1953, pp. 112-118.

warfare, colonization movements of the mainland in the West, all these taken together add up to the fact that there was a high level of culture in the mainland in the eighth century sufficient to make us cautious in accepting the Homeric poems as *ex oriente lux*.

It is amazing to see how we have accepted the survival in the mainland of myths and sagas not found in Homer, yet have left a lacuna for mainland oral poetry by means of which much of this heritage was transmitted to the classical period. Parallels for the survival of folklore and oral poetry in nations which have been conquered or governed by aliens, even amid circumstances of as great destruction as is shown in the Dorian Conquest, show that cultural vacuum is by no means the necessary result of conquest. Examples of the oral continuity of culture within the post-classical tradition attest not only to its survival but its survival even when writing is known to exist. In the category of heroic poetry the modern Greek refugees from Pontus and Cappadocia brought back with them to Greece, on the occasion of the exchange of the minority populations between the Greeks and the Turks in 1922, oral ballads about Digenes Akritas, the Byzantine frontier hero of the ninth century about whom Bishop Arethas of Caesarea in the tenth century tells us wandering oral poets composed songs.⁴¹ The versions about Digenes Akritas collected from the refugees are variants of others about the same hero which are still sung in Cyprus, the Dodecanese, and Crete.⁴² This survival of folklore from Byzantine times into modern Greece, despite centuries of enslavement under the Turks, provides a parallel to the continuity of Achaean culture into the classical period. To this parallel may be added the amazing linguistic survival of the Greek language and oral poetry in Italy's regions of Calabria and Terra d'Otranto.⁴³ The survival until today of the Greek language and songs in the Greek-speaking villages in the southern defiles of Mount Aspromonte and in the villages not far from Reggio is further evidence of the longevity of folklore. This oral tradition of the Greek language and poetry goes back if not, as maintained by

⁴¹ Λαογραφία, IV, 1913-14, pp. 239-240. For a bibliography see Π. Καλονάρου, Διγενής Ἀκρίτας, Athens, 1941, I, Introduction pp. λθ-μθ'; H. Gregoire, Ὁ Διγενής Ἀκρίτας, New York, 1942, pp. 14-16; J. Mavrogordato, *Digenes Akrites*, Oxford, 1956, pp. 261-264.

⁴² For a selected collection of these songs cf. Λαογραφία, I, 1909-1910, pp. 169-275 and N. Πολίτου, Ἐκλογαὶ ἀπὸ τὰ τραγούδια τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Athens, 1932, pp. 81-106; Καλονάρου, Διγενής Ἀκρίτας, pp. 205-253; Α. Σακελλαρίου, Τὰ Κυπριακά, Athens, 1890, II, pp. 9-63; Ξ.Π. Φαρμακίδου, Κύπρια Ἔπη, Nicosia, 1926; R. M. Dawkins, "Some Modern Greek Songs from Cappadocia," *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, pp. 112-122; Δ. Α. Πετροπούλου, Ἑλληνικὰ Δημοτικὰ Τραγούδια, Athens, 1958, pp. 3-65. For recordings of Akritan heroic poems cf. my introduction to Folkways Library Album F. E. 4468 (see above note 4), pp. 7-8, 12-23.

⁴³ Cf. bibliography given in R. A. Hall, *Bibliography of Italian Linguistics*, Baltimore, 1941, pp. 398-405 and in N. Β. Τωμαδάκη, Αἱ Ἑλληνικαὶ Κοινότητες τοῦ Ἐξωτερικοῦ, Ἀθηνᾶ, LVII, 1953, pp. 21-25; R. Weiss, "The Greek Culture of South Italy in the Later Middle Ages," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XXXVII, 1951, pp. 25-50; K. M. Setton, "The Byzantine Background to the Italian Renaissance," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, C, 1956, pp. 2-17; S. C. Caratzas, *L'Origine des Dialects Néo-Grecs de l'Italie Meridionale*, Paris, 1958.

Rohlf, to the Greek colonies in the sixth century B.C., at least to the Byzantine settlements of Greeks in Italy which commenced in the sixth century after Christ with the reconquest of Sicily and Southern Italy by Justinian's generals, Belisarius and Narsis (534-554). This tide of Greeks joined a partly Greek population of peasants and shepherds persisting from antiquity and thus the knowledge of Greek became widespread again and has persisted with surprising vitality until recently, though it is now dying out. A similar example of the vitality of an oral survival of the Greek language and poetry may be seen in the settlement of Greeks in Cargese, Corsica.⁴⁴ These Greeks were a vigorous warlike group of families from the mountains of the Mané in Sparta who preferred exile to threatened subjugation by the Turks. They left their native land and settled in 1676 in Corsica. There they have preserved until modern times their Greek language and oral poetry which include ballads from the Digenes Akritas cycle. If one adds to these examples the vast number of modern Greek folksongs and folktales which contain themes and motifs from classical mythology, and survivals of classical religious beliefs and practises, as collected and commented upon by Schmidt, Polites, Lawson, Dawkins, Megas, and many others,⁴⁵ he will find in this *aurea catena* of the Greek tradition the most illuminating context in which to understand the continuity of the Achaean tradition from the days of Mycenae to the classical period, which is amply attested by the contents of the Linear B tablets.

The Achaean oral tradition cannot have died out in the mainland during the Protogeometric and Geometric periods. As early as 1905 Nilsson⁴⁶ posited the existence, side by side with the heroic epic, of pre-Homeric oral literature composed in hexameters whose themes are practical arts, sailing and agriculture which emerge in the *Works and Days*. The Boeotian school of poetry with its emphasis on catalogues, genealogies, concern for the daily realities of practical life reflects the non-heroic aspects of Achaean oral poetry. It finds many parallels in the non-heroic oral poetry

⁴⁴ G. Glanken, *Les Grecs de Cargèse (Corse)*, Leyden, 1951; H. F. Tozer, "Modern Greek Ballads from Corsica," *J.Ph.*, VI, 1876, pp. 191-205; cf. *J.H.S.*, III, 1882, pp. 354-360. P. L. Fermor, *Mani, Travels in the Southern Peloponnese*, London, 1958, pp. 99-111.

⁴⁵ B. Schmidt, *Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder*, Leipzig, 1877; N. Πολίτου, *Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων*, Athens, 1871; J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1910; W. R. Halliday, *Folklore Studies Ancient and Modern*, London, 1924; D. C. Hesselung, *Charos*, Leyden, 1897; R. G. Moravcsik, "Il Caronte Bizantine," *Studi bizantini*, III, 1931, pp. 47-68; G. Megas, *Greek Calendar Customs*, Athens, 1958; R. M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek Folktales*, Oxford, 1953, and *More Greek Folktales*, Oxford, 1955, especially pp. 12-19. In 1953 I heard from a Cretan in the district of Sfakia a folktale which had the same theme as Herodotos' thief in the King's treasury (II, 121); for the survival of this theme cf. Dawkins, *More Greek Folktales*, p. 18. For the survival of the Alexander myth in modern Greek folklore cf. T. K. Σπυριδάκη, *Παραδόσεις καὶ δοξασίαι περὶ τοῦ Μεγάλου Ἀλεξάνδρου*, Ἑταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπονδῶν, IX, 1953, pp. 385-419.

⁴⁶ M. Nilsson, "Κάταπλοι," *Rh. Mus.*, LX, 1905, pp. 161 ff.

of other ancient and modern peoples which have been studied by the Chadwicks.⁴⁷ The study of the formulaic language of Hesiod, as we have seen, shows the presence of layers in the diction which go back to the early phases of Achaeian poetry. Even in Hesiod's own day we hear of contemporary mainland oral poets in the poetic contest in Euboea in which Hesiod himself participated. Their themes and diction would certainly be rooted in the mainland oral tradition which included the epic as the consciousness of the Achaeian heroic age reflected in the Theban cycle and in Hesiod's account of the heroic age show. Nor is Hesiod our only source for the survival of Achaeian poetry. Kinkel's *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* is a veritable thesaurus of epic poetry which shows the continuity of the epic on the mainland. Even if some of these poets are to be dated later than Homer and Hesiod their poems show a reworking of traditional themes and the use of traditional diction. The fact that in a ten-line fragment of the *Thebais*⁴⁸ we have seven oral formulae and that the non-Hesiodic *Shield of Herakles*, composed sometime in the late seventh or early sixth centuries,⁴⁹ is 90% formulaic in its first hundred lines are indication that we are dealing with oral poetry. Until a systematic study of the formulaic texture of these fragments is made it cannot be known to what extent our surviving epic fragments are oral or literary, but the indications are that we are dealing with oral material emanating, like the Theban cycle, from the oldest layers of the Achaeian epic and revealing not only thematic independence from Homer but the vast repertory of Achaeian sagas.

It may be argued that the introduction of writing in the eighth century necessarily makes these epics literary. As we know from contemporary surviving oral traditions the knowledge of writing does not necessarily change at once long-ingrained habits of oral composition.⁵⁰ The art of writing, if familiar, may preserve an oral epic through dictation but it makes little or no difference to the practise of the oral art. The tenacity of the oral tradition⁵¹ existing even centuries after the printing press should make us wary of accepting the introduction of writing into Greece as the end of the oral tradition. It is hard for modern man who *reads* epics to realize that, in the period we are dealing with, an epic is natural only in an oral context. The long

⁴⁷ H. M. and N. K. Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature*, Cambridge, 1932-1940, III, pp. 727-853.

⁴⁸ Fr. 2 (Kinkel); cf. Parry, *H.S.C.P.*, LI, 1930, p. 91.

⁴⁹ R. M. Cook, "The Date of the Hesiodic Shield," *Cl. Quar.* XXXI, 1937, p. 208.

⁵⁰ Cf. J. A. Notopoulos, "The Introduction of the Alphabet into Oral Societies; some case-histories of conflict between oral and written literature," *Προσφορά εἰς Στίλπωνα Π. Κυριακίδη*, Salonika, 1953, pp. 516-524. For the difficulty of an oral bard composing with the aid of writing cf. Lord's experiment with a Yugoslav *guslar* who, trained in the oral tradition, failed miserably in producing a written poem, *T.A.P.A.*, LXXXIV, 1953, p. 129. Singers even find it difficult to dictate their versions without the aid of the music.

⁵¹ For a comprehensive study of oral poetry cf. the monumental work of the Chadwicks', *The Growth of Literature*, Cambridge, 1932-1940, Vols. I-III.

rhapsode tradition is witness to this fact. That such was the case in Greece is seen in the recent study of Sealey⁵² who gives evidence that the practise of oral composition in heroic poetry continued until the fifth century, with literary composition becoming a serious rival in the field of the lyric by the middle of the sixth century. This conclusion finds corroboration for the longevity of the oral epic traditions not only in modern nations but as Professor Albright reminds us "even in such literate regions as Egypt and Babylonia, or later Iran, India, and China, literary composition was mostly oral."⁵³

The fragments of early Greek epic poetry and the surviving testimony about them show a widely spread oral atlas on the Greek mainland. In Corinth we have a considerable epic activity which is not surprising in view of the close connection between tyranny and the support it gave to epic poetry. The court life of the Bacchiadae and the presence of epic themes in early Corinthian vases explain the vitality of the epic associated with Eumelos (8th century?)⁵⁴ who is the author of *Corinthiaca*,

⁵² Sealey, *Rev. Et. Gr.*, LXX, 1957, pp. 312-351.

⁵³ *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, p. 164. Just when the Homeric poems were committed to writing constitutes the major problem in recent Homeric studies. In dealing with this problem we must distinguish clearly between "preservation" and publication for a reading public. Three views hold the field: 1) Lord's suggestion of an orally dictated text by Homer himself to a scribe within his own lifetime, when writing is available for such a purpose (*T.A.P.A.*, LXXXIV, 1953, pp. 124-134). This would account for the excellence of the poems in their present status, a feature not warranted if we assume a later commitment to writing, for no bard tells a tale exactly as he heard it. (For a parallel we have in *The Song of Daskaloyiannes*, a Cretan heroic poem dated 1786, a detailed description of an oral bard dictating the text of his poem to a scribe, cf. Notopoulos, *A.J.P.*, LXXIII, 1952, pp. 233-236.) For other views of the commitment of Homer's oral text to writing in his own lifetime cf. Wade-Gery, *The Poet of the Iliad*, pp. 11-14; Bowra, *Homer and his Forerunners*, Edinburgh, 1955, pp. 11-13; Page, *The Homeric Odyssey*, pp. 140-141. 2) Commitment of the texts to writing after Homer's lifetime, sometime in the seventh century. For recent statements cf. Lorimer, *op. cit.*, p. 526, Davison, *T.A.P.A.*, LXXXVI, 1955, pp. 6, 21. These texts at this time were not for a reading public but bardic texts for practising rhapsodes; cf. Krarup, *Eranos*, LIV, 1956, pp. 28-33. It is not clear what role the rhapsodes played, that of a bard capable of creating poems himself or the picture of the rhapsode that we get in the *Ion* of Plato. For the increasing tendency to regard the earlier rhapsodes as the former cf. Sealey, *Rev. Et. Gr.*, LXX, 1957, pp. 312-318. There is no doubt that the Homeric bardic texts could be recited faithfully. An illiterate old Cretan, age 90, not an oral poet, when tested from a printed text of the long Cretan epic-romance *Erotokritos*, which runs over 10,000 lines, recited *verbatim* passage after passage, selected by me from the written text at random. The real problem lies in connecting a faithful reproduction of Homer's oral text through oral transmission to a literary text in the seventh century. The practise of oral poetry is against such a *verbatim* transmission of an oral text. 3) A Peisistratid recension; for recent examinations of this problem cf. Davison, *loc. cit.*, and Sealey, *loc. cit.*; cf. also note 26 *supra*. Just when Hesiod and the mainland and non-Homeric Ionic epics were committed to writing is a problem left to sheer conjecture. Are their texts to be associated with the Homeric commitment to writing or later perhaps when, at the end of a dying tradition, people wished to preserve a faded glory through writing, a phenomenon observed in the eighteenth century and going on until today, when the commitment to writing (on disc or tape) has become a marked phenomenon in dying oral societies?

⁵⁴ Kinkel, *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, I, pp. 185-195; Schmid-Stählin, *Griechische Litera-*

an annalistic epic, a *Bougonia*, a *Europia*, and a *Nostos*. We hear of another Corinthian epic poet, Aison, a mere name.⁵⁵ It is probable that the Corinthian epic contained themes reflected in early Corinthian vases, and dealt with old sagas on Sisypheos, Medea, and Glaukos-Bellerophon which Pindar used as sources in *Olympian Odes*, XIII.⁵⁶ Other parts of Greece show a similar survival of the Achaeian epic. In Troizen we hear of Hagias who composed a *Nostoi* in five books.⁵⁷ In Boeotia we have a reference to Hegesinos associated with Askra, and to Chersias of Orchomenos, whose date is *ca.* 620 B.C.⁵⁸ We can assume in Boeotia a continuity of the epic from the time of Hesiod. In the mainland we have also the *Carmen Naupactium*, composed by Karkinos of Naupaktos, which seems to be connected with the Hesiodic school of poetry.⁵⁹ In Sparta we have in the eighth century the poet Kinaethon (to be distinguished from the rhapsode Kinaethos of Chios) who composed the *Telegonia*, an *Oedipodia*, the *Ilias parva*, and a *Heraclea*.⁶⁰ The fact that another poet from Sparta, Demodokos, took Herakles as his subject,⁶¹ and that we have other references to the epics *Minyas*, *Theseis*, and the *Thesprotia* shows that the mainland epic took regional heroes for its themes,⁶² even as modern Greek heroic poetry. The revival of the hero cult of Menelaos at Sparta in the eighth century shows a strong epic tradition which accounts for the survival in Sparta of the heroic ἀπερὴ and the epic diction in the elegies of Tyrtaios in the seventh century. The survival of the Achaeian epic poetry in the mainland is aptly attested by these epics and epic poets of the eighth and seventh centuries.

The Achaeian epic left some other mainland vestiges whose implications are just beginning to be fully understood by Homeric scholarship. These vestiges take the form of hexameter inscriptions containing noun-epithet formulae and other types of

tur-Geschichte, Munich, 1929, I, pp. 291-292, where he questions the date of Eusebios for Eumelos; for the heroic sagas on Protocorinthian and early Corinthian vases cf. Payne, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-143; F. Brommer, *Bellerophon*, Marburger Winckelmann-Program 1952/54; T. J. Dunbabin, "Bellerophon, Herakles, and Chimaera," *Studies D. M. Robinson*, II, p. 1164.

⁵⁵ Schmid-Stählin, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 291, note 2.

⁵⁷ Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

⁵⁸ Kinkel, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-208; Schmid-Stählin, *op. cit.*, p. 292. For the sagas in early Boeotian art cf. Hampe, *Sagenbilder und die Gleichnisse Homers und die Bildkunst seiner Zeit*.

⁵⁹ Kinkel, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-202; Schmid-Stählin, *op. cit.*, pp. 292-293; P. Mazon, *Hésiode*, Paris, 1928, p. xiv.

⁶⁰ Kinkel, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-198; Schmid-Stählin, *op. cit.*, p. 293. For the existence of heroic sagas in Sparta in the seventh century cf. E. A. Lane, "Lakonian Vase Painting," *B.S.A.*, XXXIV, 1933-34, pp. 162-168; Davison, *T.A.P.A.*, LXXXVI, 1955, pp. 13-15. For a Pylian epic cf. F. Boelte, "Ein pylisches Epos," *Rh. Mus.*, LXXXIII, 1934, pp. 319-347; Wade-Gery, *A.J.A.*, LII, 1948, pp. 115-118.

⁶¹ Kinkel, *op. cit.*, p. 262; Schmid-Stählin, *op. cit.*, p. 293. For Herakles themes on Geometric vases, reflecting non-Homeric sagas, cf. Webster, *Lustrum*, I, 1, 1957, pp. 92-93.

⁶² Kinkel, *op. cit.*, pp. 215-218.

formulaic diction. These inscriptions are found on stone and vases of the eighth century. Their date is concurrent with the composition of the Homeric epics in Ionia or in the interval before Homer's poems had sufficient time to cross over to the mainland. The Perachora inscriptions (750-650 B.C.) contain the formula Ἦρα λευφ[ώλενος], λευφολένωι [Ἦραι]⁶³ which come not from Homer but from the Achaian mainland epic. Furthermore, the formula ρεκαβόλοι ἀργυροτόξοι,⁶⁴ found in the Mantiklos bronze, dedicated at the end of the eighth century, is a formula of the mainland epic, and the concluding formula of the second line, χαρίετταν ἀμοι[βάν] is the mainland counterpart of Homer's formula χαρίεσσιν ἀμοιβήν.⁶⁵ The hexameter inscription of the Geometric oinochoe from Athens,⁶⁶ dated not later than the end of the third quarter of the eighth century, ὅς νῦν ὀρχηστῶν πάντων ἀταλώτατα παίζει, not only shows proficiency in the use of the hexameter in Athens, the result of a long tradition of mainland poetry, but it contains a parallel survival in Athens of a metrical analogue of the Homeric formula, occupying the same metrical position,

οἱ δ' εἰς ὀρχηστὴν τε καὶ ἱμερόεσσιν ἀοιδῇν (α 421, σ 304; cf. N 731, Ω 261)

If we combine this formula with that in another line of Homer,

ὅς νῦν πολλὸν ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν εὐχεται εἶναι (Α 91)

we have the creation of the entire formula of the Athenian inscription occupying the portion of the line up to the caesura (ὅς νῦν ὀρχηστῶν). The skill in hexameter composition in the eighth century is not confined to the mainland but extends even to the West where the Mycenaean civilization had spread. In Ithaca we have fragments of a hexameter inscription on a vase dated in the eighth century.⁶⁷ What is most surprising, however, is the cup of Nestor with a metrical inscription found in October 1954 in the excavation of the Necropolis of Pithecusa, a Euboean colony.⁶⁸ Dated on the basis of Geometric vases the inscription belongs to the eighth century:

Νέστορος: ε[. . .]ι: εὐποτ[ον]: ποτέριον·

ἡδὲ δ' ἄ<ν> τῷδε π[ίε]σι: ποτερί[ο]: αὐτίκα κῆνον

ἡμέρ[ος: ἡαιρ]έσει: καλλιστε[φά]γο: Ἀφροδίτες

⁶³ P. Friedlander and H. B. Hoffleit, *Epigrammata*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1928, nos. 10, 34, where bibliography for each inscription is cited.

⁶⁴ *Epigrammata*, no. 35.

⁶⁵ *Odyssey*, γ 58.

⁶⁶ *Epigrammata*, no. 53; cf. Webster, *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, p. 39.

⁶⁷ *B.S.A.*, XLIII, 1948, p. 82, pl. 34 (no. 490).

⁶⁸ G. Buchner and C. F. Fusso, "La coppa di Nestore e un' iscrizione metrica da Pitacusa dell' VIII secolo av. Chr.," *Lincei Rendiconti*, X, 1955, pp. 215-234.

In this inscription Νέστορος occupies the same metrical position as it does in γ 452; *hòs δ' ἄν* is paralleled in Δ 306; *híμερος hairéσει* is close to Γ 446, Δ 89, Ξ 328; and *καλλιστεφάνου Ἀφροδίτης* is a noun-epithet formula found in *Hymn to Demeter* 251, 295, and Tyrtaios 2,1. This inscription reveals a surprisingly early instance of enjambment which attests the ability of the poet to pass beyond the coincidence of the thought and diction within the boundary of the same verse. These hexameter formulae found in inscriptions, whose date prevents influence from Homeric texts, are survivals on the mainland of the traditional technique of oral verse-making of the Achaeans. The hexameters are committed to writing because they serve as dedications. As potsherds reveal the splendor of a lost world, so do these inscriptions with their inlaid oral formulae reveal the existence on the mainland of the Achaean epic which made possible these inscriptions and their technique in a century when Homeric influence is inconceivable.

The diction of the Achaean epic was an epic *koine* with a core of Arcado-Cyprian diction which was overlaid with Aeolic and later with Attic-Ionic. It is a traditional language in which early and late forms existed side by side. It pervades the mainland, Ionia, and the West. The fact that Tyrtaios, a Dorian, used in the seventh century the Attic-Ionic diction of epic poetry⁷⁰ shows how pervasive the influence of the Achaean epic was on both sides of the Aegean. Except for the survival of the epic *koine* in various parts of the mainland it would never have been possible for the Homeric poems to be introduced later to places like Sparta where the Doric dialect

⁶⁹ Cf. Wackernagel, *Glotta*, VII, 1916, p. 176.

⁷⁰ Though it is generally assumed that the Doric and the other western Greek dialects are the latest arrivals in the Greek peninsula, it is apparent that the Dorians were long enough in Greece to absorb traces of pre-Doric speech, i.e., Aeolian or Arcado-Cyprian (cf. C. D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects*, Chicago, 1955, p. 8) and to share in the Achaean culture. The Spartan Kleomenes is attesting to a historical truth when he tells the priestess on the Acropolis, ὦ γύναι, ἀλλ' οὐ Δωριεύς εἰμι, ἀλλ' Ἀχαιός (Herodotos, V, 72). This and other references in Herodotos (I, 56,2; 57,3; VI, 95; VII, 94-95; VIII, 44,2) suggest that the Dorians were sufficiently long in Greece to absorb the Achaean *koine* in which to compose oral epics of their own in the seventh century, to understand the poetry of Tyrtaios, composed in the Homeric language, and Homer when he was brought by rhapsodes to Sparta. The cultural level of the Spartans before Lykourgos' military reforms must have been high enough to cultivate the epic no less than the fine arts as shown by the excavations at Sparta in 1912. The use of the Homeric dialect by the Dorians is no more odd than 1) the use of the Doric (not any specific Doric dialect but an artificial composite diction showing many of the Doric characteristics) in the choral lyric whether composed by a Dorian or a Boeotian like Pindar or an Ionian like Simonides and Bacchylides; 2) the use of Ionic by Hippokrates of Kos, a Dorian (cf. Buck, *Greek Dialects*, p. 15); or 3) the use of the Lesbian dialect by Theokritos in three of his idylls. We must get used to the notion that the literary dialects in Greek literature are for the most part mixed and artificial and do not correspond to the spoken dialects or the mature dialect of the author. The Greeks had originally an oral *koine*, then later a variety of literary *koine* long before the Hellenistic *koine*. Greece, ever since the days of Homer, is a land where ἄλλη δ' ἄλλον γλώσσα μεμιγμένη (*Od.* τ 175).

was the spoken language of the people. What made Homer pan-Hellenic in the sixth century was not the fact that the districts of Greece, which spoke dialects different from the Attic-Ionic, learned through schooling the dialect of Homer in order to hear and enjoy him; on the contrary, the rhapsode who spread the Homeric poems could find appreciative audiences only because these people had surviving a knowledge of the epic diction which they had never lost. It cannot be claimed that the epic dialect of Homer was adapted from Homer by the epic and elegiac poets of the mainland. The introduction of a new dialect involves an insurmountable obstacle in communication between the poet and his audience. The mainland had a tradition of an oral epic *kunstsprache* which must have been to the peoples of the mainland what the New Testament *koine* used by the Greek Church today is to the modern Greeks, who in everyday language use different dialects of the demotic. Yet by a continuity of oral tradition of hearing the Mass and the Gospel in church ever since the Early Church they by and large understand the New Testament *koine* though they do not speak it. Such must have been the case with the epic diction in all parts of Greece. It had come down to them from Achaean times and enabled them to understand the Achaean oral tradition in their mainland oral poets and in Homer, when rhapsodes spread his poems on the mainland.

Now that it is emerging with some clearness that the Achaean epic survived the Dorian Conquest we have a more satisfactory explanation for the presence in Hesiod of non-Homeric and Homeric formulae. The Homeric repetitions in Hesiod are the basic oral vocabulary of the Achaean epic, surviving in two streams after the Ionian migration—the Ionian in Homer and the mainland stream in Hesiod and the other early epic poets. Though the two streams join later in the mainland, we must not in our account of early Greek poetry indulge in ὕστερον πρότερον Ὀμηρικῶς.

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A DECREE OF THEMISTOKLES FROM TROIZEN¹

MARBLE stele (Fig. 1), broken at the bottom, worn on the left side, and slightly chipped on the right side, with the surface on the left severely damaged. The cymation at the top, 0.055 m. high, is broken.

Height, 0.595 m.; width, 0.34 m. at the top, 0.35 m. at line 2, 0.375 m. at the bottom; thickness, 0.065 m. at the top, 0.085 m. at the bottom.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.-0.009 m. in lines 2-3, 0.005 m.-0.007 m. in lines 4-48.

E.M. 13330.

In line 1 I restore [θεοί]. I thought at first that traces of the word, at least of the last three letters of it, were still visible on the photograph, and the marks which I interpreted as letters may be seen in Figure 1. But a colleague in Athens who has examined the stone reports that no traces of the word are now to be seen. I believe that, even if not read, it should be restored, and I assume that the letters were cut where the surface is lost at the left or perhaps on the moulding above the inscribed surface proper. One notes that there was ample room beneath the moulding for the inscription of this line. The letters of lines 2 and 3 are spaced farther apart than those of the rest of the inscription. From line 4 on there is a stoichedon pattern of 42 letters (*ca.* 0.0075 m. for each letter), except that lines 38-41 have 43 letter-spaces. In lines 13 and 33, also, the final *iota* is an extra stoichos. In line 16 the ΙΚ of καὶ Κο at the end share a single letter-space, followed by a small *omikron*. In line 44 the final *iota* occupies an extra space (probably also in line 46) and the preceding ΙΟ share a single space. There are faint guide lines. Occasionally the cross-bar of *alpha* was omitted or cut so lightly as to be no longer visible, e.g., the final *alphas* in lines 22 and 30.

The letter-forms are of the late fourth century B.C.: *theta*, *omikron*, and *omega*

¹ The inscription was examined by the writer in the summer of 1959, at which time it was in a collection of inscriptions and minor antiquities housed first in a *kapheneion* in the village of Troizen and later transferred to the old school house. It has now (June, 1960) been moved to the Epigraphical Museum in Athens. I make grateful acknowledgment to Professor John Papademetriou, Director of Antiquities, for his kind permission to publish the inscription, and to the Trustees of the Bollingen Foundation whose assistance made possible my trip to Greece. I have had the privilege of unstinted advice and encouragement from Spyridon Marinatos, B. D. Meritt, A. E. Raubitschek, H. T. Wade-Gery, and other members of the Institute for Advanced Study and of Princeton University, to all of whom I am most grateful. All that I print has benefited greatly from their comments and suggestions, though this does not mean that they are in agreement on all points. It is also a pleasure to thank my patient friends and colleagues of Philadelphia for much fruitful discussion. Eugene Vanderpool in Athens has helped in more ways than I can mention. I would note that, although the text presented here is as full and accurate as I have been able to make it, more can probably be won by continued work with the stone.

small; middle bar of *epsilon* slightly shorter; *phi* and *psi* slightly taller; the free ends of strokes slightly thickened. Cf. J. Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*², Berlin, 1948, No. 62 (*I.G.*, II², 244; 337/6 B.C.) and No. 70 (*I.G.*, II², 494; 303/2 B.C.); *I.G.*, IV², 1, Tab. 6, No. 103 (Epidauros, 340-330 B.C.).

As to the provenience of the stone, it is said to have been brought into the village of Troizen (Damala) recently by Christos Phourniades of Poros from the *perivoliou* of a certain Anargyros Titires near by, but is thought by the villagers to have been found by Legrand in the course of his excavations at the ruined church of Haghia Soteira. It is likely enough that it came from the church, which was the source of a number of inscriptions (*I.G.*, IV, 762, 774, 782, 784, 787, 788, 789, 791, 794, 795, 797, 820), but it seems unlikely that Legrand, who explored the vicinity of the church in 1893 and was a conscientious collector of inscriptions, found and neglected it.² Haghia Soteira was thought by Welter to be near the north side of the ancient agora where, following Pausanias' description (II, 31), he placed the stoa of the Athenian women and the precinct of Apollo Thearios,³ both of which are reasonable locations for the erection of the stone: the stoa since it contained statues of women and children who had sought refuge in Troizen in 480 B.C., and the precinct of Apollo Thearios since it is mentioned in a number of inscriptions as the place where inscriptions are to be set up.⁴ No systematic excavation of the agora area has as yet been undertaken.

[θεοί]

ἔδοξ[εν] τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ

Θεμισ[τοκλ]ῆς Νεοκλέους Φρεάρριος εἶπεν

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 42 τῇ[μ] μὲν πό[λιν παρακ]ατ[αθέ]σθαι τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ἀθηνῶ

5 μ[μεδεο]ύ[σῃ] κ[αὶ τοῖς ἄλλ]οις θεοῖς ἄ[π]ασιν φυλάττει
ν κα[ὶ] ἄμ[ύνην τὸν βάρβ]αρο[ν] ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας Ἀθηναίους

[ς δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ξένους] τοὺς οἰκοῦντας Ἀθήνησι

[τὰ τέκ]ν[α καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας] ἐ[ῖς] Τροιζήνα καταθέσθαι

[.....²¹.....] τοῦ ἀρχηγέτου τῆς χώρας τ

10 [οὺς δὲ πρεσβύτας καὶ τὰ] κτήματα εἰς Σαλαμῖνα καταθ

έ[σ]θ[αι] τοὺς δὲ ταμίας καὶ τ[ὰς] ἱερέας ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει

[ι μένειν φυλάττοντας τὰ τῶ]ν θεῶν τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ἀθη

[ναίους ἅπαντας καὶ τοὺς ξέ]νους τοὺς ἡβώντας εἰσβαί

νειν ἐ[ῖς τὰς ἐτοιμασθείσας] διακοσίας ναῦς καὶ ἀμύ

² For Legrand's trial trenches at Haghia Soteira in 1893, see *B.C.H.*, XXIX, 1905, pp. 285-287.

³ See G. Welter, *Troizen und Kalauveia*, Berlin, 1941, pp. 16-19, pl. 2 (I see no justification for Welter's assertion [p. 17] that the statues in the stoa were really votive dedications to Artemis Soteira) and E. Meyer, P. W., *R.E.*, s.v. Troizen, col. 629.

⁴ Cf. *I.G.*, IV, 748, lines 13-16 (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 162), and 755, lines 9-11; *Jahreshefte*, XI, 1908, p. 71, line 3, and p. 72, lines 5-6. Pausanias said it was the oldest shrine of the city and that it was founded by Pittheus (II, 31, 6).

- 15 νεσ[θαι] τ[ὸμ βάρβαρον ὑπὲρ τῆς] ἐλευθερίας τῆς τε ἑαν
 τῶν [καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων] μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Κο
 ριν[θίων καὶ Αἰγινητῶν] καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶμ βουλομένω
 [ν] κοινω[νήσειν τοῦ κινδύνου] καταστῆσαι δὲ καὶ τριη
 [ρ]ά[ρχους διακοσίους ἕνα ἐπὶ] τὴν ναῦν ἐκάστην τοὺς [σ]
 20 τρατη[γ]οὺς [καταρχομένο]υς αὐ[ρ]ιον ἡμέραι ἐκ τῶν κ[εκ]
 τημέν[ων οὐσία]ν [πατρῷ]αν Ἀθ[ή]νησι καὶ οἷς ἂμ παῖδ[ες]
 ὧσι [γ]νή[σιοι μὴ πρεσβύτερο]υς πεντήκοντα ἐτῶν κα[ὶ ἐ]
 πικλ[ηρῶσαι αὐτοῖ]ς [τὰς] ν[α]ύς· ^{vv} καταλέξαι δὲ καὶ ἐπ[ι]
 βάτας [εἴ]κ[οισιν ἐπὶ τὴν] ναῦν ἐκ τῶν ὑπὲρ εἴκοσιν ἔτη [γ]
 25 εγονότω[ν μέχρι τριάκ]οντα ἐτῶν καὶ τοξότας τέτταρ
 ας· δια[νέμειν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὑ]πηρεσίας ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ὅτ
 αμπερ κ[αὶ τοὺς τριηράρ]χους ἐπικληρώσιν· ἀναγράψα
 ι δὲ κα[ὶ τὰ πληρώματα τῶν] ν[εῶν] τοὺς στρατηγούς εἰς λ
 ευκώ[ματα τοὺς μὲν Ἀ]θηνα[ί]οις ἐκ τῶν ληξιαρχικῶν γρ
 30 αμματεί[ων τοὺς] δὲ ξ[έν]ους ἐκ τῶν ἀπογεγραμμένων πα
 [ρ]ά τῷ [πολε]μ[άρχ]ω[ι]· ἀναγράφειν δὲ νέμοντας κατὰ τάξ
 εἰς [ἴσας διακοσίας π]ά[ν]τας τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ ἐπιγράψα
 ι [τ]ῇ [τάξε]ι ἐ[κ]άστη τῆς τρ[ι]ήρους τοῦνομα καὶ τοῦ τρι
 ηράρχου καὶ τ[ῆς ὑ]πηρε[σί]ας ὅπως ἂν εἰδῶσιν εἰς ὅποι
 35 αν τριήρη [ἐμ]βήσεται ἢ [τ]άξις ἐ[κ]άστη· ἐπειδὴν δὲ νεμη
 θῶσιν ἅπα[σ]αι αἱ τάξεις καὶ ἐπικληρωθῶσι ταῖς τριή
 ρεσι πληροῦν ἅ[π]ασας τὰς διακοσίας ναῦς τὴν βουλὴν
 Lines 38-41 καὶ τ[ο]ῦ στρατηγοῦ [ς θύ]σαντας ἀρεστήριον τῷ Διὶ τῷ
 have an Παγκρατεῖ κ[αὶ] τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ τῇ Νίκῃ καὶ τῷ Ποσει
 extra 40 δῶνι τῷ Ἀσφα[λε]ίῳ· ^{vv} ἐπειδὴν δὲ πεπληρωμένοι ὦσιν
 stoichos αἱ νῆες τα[ῖς] μὲν ἑκατὸν αὐτῶν βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσ
 [ι]ον τὸ Εὐβοικὸν ταῖς δὲ ἑκατὸν αὐτῶν περὶ τὴν Σαλαμ
 ῖνα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἀττικὴν ναυλοχεῖν καὶ φυλάττειν
 τὴν χώραν ὅπως δ' ἂν καὶ ὁμοροῦντες ἅπαντες Ἀθηναῖοι
 45 ἀμύνωνται τὸμ βάρβαρον τοὺς μὲν μεθεστηκότας τὰ [δ]
 [έκα] ἔτη ἀπιέναι εἰς Σαλαμῖνα καὶ μένειν αὐτοῦ [μέχρι]
 [ἂν ὅτου τι τῷ δήμ]ωι δόξῃ περὶ αὐτῶν τοὺς δὲ [ἀτίμου]
 [ς -----] traces [-----]

TRANSLATION

The Gods.

Resolved by the Council and the People on the motion of Themistokles, son of Neokles, of the deme Phrearrhoi: to entrust the city to Athena the Mistress of Athens and to

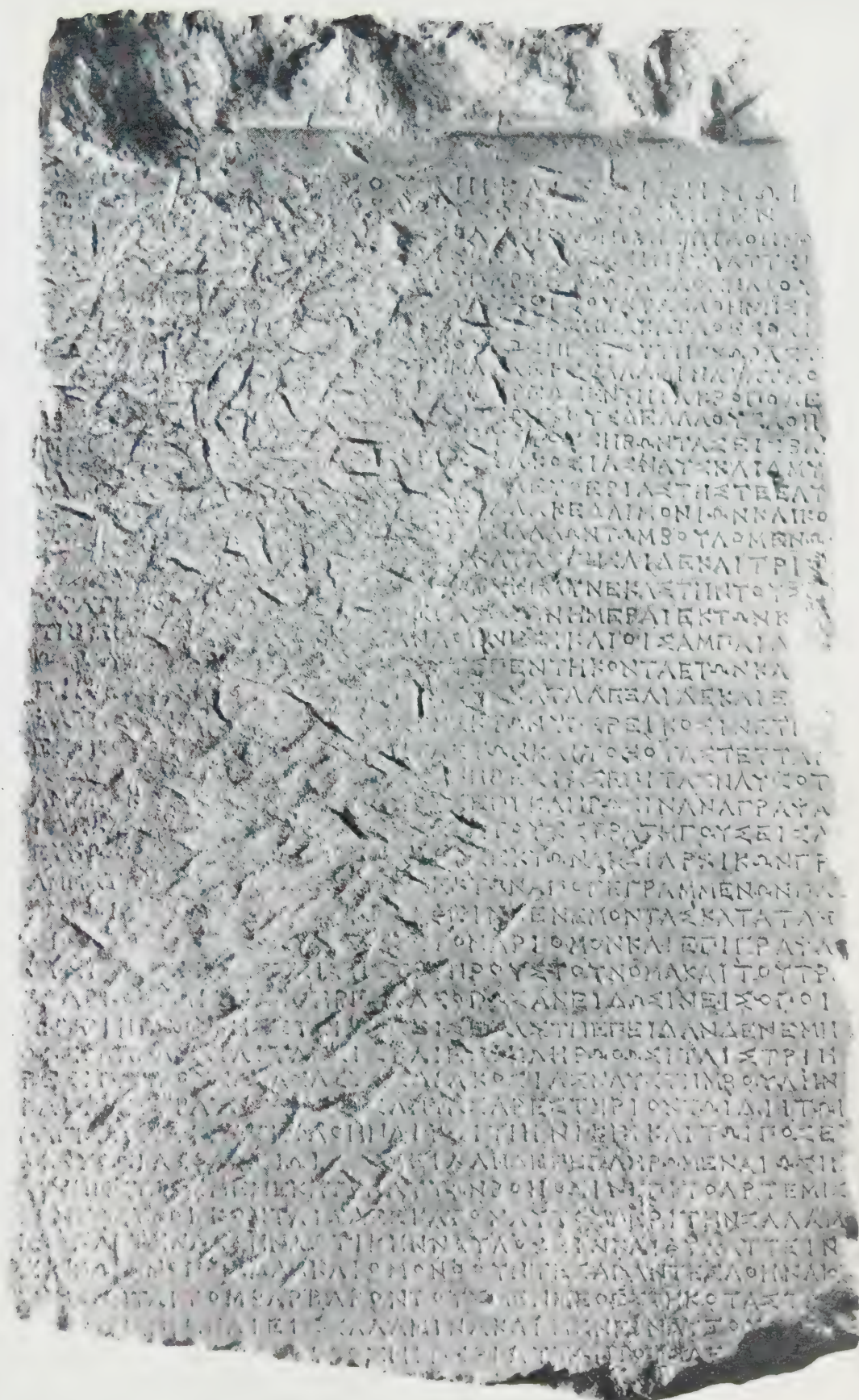


FIG. 1. E.M. 13330.

Photograph by Alison Frantz

all the other gods to guard and defend from the Barbarian for the sake of the land. The Athenians themselves and the foreigners who live in Athens are to remove their women and children to Troizen . . . the *archegetes* of the land. . . . The old men and the movable possessions are to be removed to Salamis. The treasurers and the priestesses are to remain on the acropolis protecting the possessions of the gods.

All the other Athenians and foreigners of military age are to embark on the 200 ships that lie ready and defend against the Barbarian for the sake of their own freedom and that of the rest of the Greeks, along with the Lakedaimonians, the Corinthians, the Aiginetans, and all others who wish to share the danger.

The generals are to appoint, starting tomorrow, 200 trierarchs, one to a ship, from among those who have ancestral land in Athens and legitimate children and who are not older than fifty; to these men the ships are to be assigned by lot. They are also to enlist marines, 20 to a ship, from men between the ages of twenty and thirty, and four archers to a ship. They are also to assign the petty officers to the ships at the same time that they allot the trierarchs. The generals are also to write up the names of the crews of the ships on white boards, taking the names of the Athenians from the lexiarchic registers, the foreigners from those registered with the polemarch. They are to write up the names assigning the whole number to 200 equal divisions and to write above each division the name of the trireme and trierarch and the names of the petty officers so that each division may know on which trireme it is to embark. When all the divisions have been composed and allotted to the triremes, the Council and the generals are to complete the manning of the 200 ships, after sacrificing a placatory offering to Zeus the Almighty, Athena, Victory, and Poseidon the Securer.

When the manning of the ships has been completed, with one hundred of them they are to meet the enemy at Artemision in Euboea, and with the other hundred of them they are to lie off Salamis and the rest of Attika and keep guard over the land.

In order that all Athenians may be united in their defense against the Barbarian, those who have been sent into exile for ten years are to go to Salamis and to stay there until the People come to some decision about them, while those who have been deprived of citizen rights

We have here the text of the famous decree of Themistokles of 480 B.C. It was clearly referred to by Herodotos (VII, 144, 3): ⁵ ἔδοξέ τέ σφι μετὰ τὸ χρηστήριον βουλευομένοισι ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον δέκεσθαι τῇσι νηυσὶ πανδημεί, τῷ

⁵ See the commentary below on lines 5-6 and 17. That a formal decree was involved here was recognized by R. W. Macan, *Herodotus, the Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Books*, London, 1908, *ad loc.*, but he did not identify it with the evacuation decree because of the early date and the failure to mention Salamis. I doubt, however, that Herodotos knew a text of the decree, and certainly not of the latter part.

θεῶ πειθομένους, ἅμα Ἑλλήνων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι; read in public by Aischines, along with the decree of Miltiades before Marathon and the Ephebic Oath (Demosthenes, XIX, 303 with scholia, and 311); quoted by Plutarch (*Themistocles*, 10, 4 [Teubner]): (Θεμιστοκλῆς) κρατήσας δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ ψήφισμα γράφει, τὴν μὲν πόλιν παρακαταθέσθαι τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ἀθηνῶν μεδεούσῃ, τοὺς δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πάντας ἐμβαίνειν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ἀνδράποδα σφάζειν ἕκαστον ὡς ἂν δύνῃται; quoted and paraphrased by Ailios Aristeides (XLVI, Vol. II, p. 256 Dindorf [hereafter referred to as Aristeides XLVI]; cf. scholia, Vol. III, p. 600): (Θεμιστοκλῆς) γράφει τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο, τὴν μὲν πόλιν παρακαταθέσθαι Ἀθηνᾷ Ἀθηνῶν μεδεούσῃ· παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς Τροιζῆνα ὑπεκθέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβύτας εἰς Σαλαμίνα, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐμβάντας εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνίζεσθαι, and again (XIII, Vol. I, pp. 225-226 Dindorf [hereafter referred to as Aristeides XIII]): συνειδότες ἔξωθεν οὖσαν τῇ πόλει τὴν φυλακὴν ψήφισμα ποιοῦνται, τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐπιτρέψαι τῇ πολιούχῳ θεῷ, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς Τροιζῆνα παρακαταθέσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ γυμνωθέντες τῶν περιττῶν προβαλέσθαι τὴν θάλατταν; and frequently alluded to and, as is now evident, echoed throughout ancient literature.⁶

⁶ The decree is also mentioned explicitly by Libanios, *Declamationes*, IX, 38, and clearly implied by Thucydides, I, 18, 2 (διανοηθέντες ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀνασκευασάμενοι ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσβάντες ναυτικοὶ ἐγένοντο), and Cicero, *De Officiis*, III, 11, 48 (*statuerent*), as well as by the frequent references to Themistokles having persuaded the Athenians to leave the city: Aischines Socraticus, pp. 33-34 Krauss; Isokrates, XV, 233; Demosthenes, XVIII, 204; Cicero, *ad Atticum*, VII, 11, 3, and X, 8, 4; Nepos, *Themistocles*, 2, 7 (cf. scholia Bobiensia on Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 141); Quintilian, IX, 2, 92; Frontinus, *Strategemata*, I, 3, 6; Plutarch, *Cimon*, 5, 2, and *Moralia*, 205 C (cf. *Pompeius*, 63, 2, and *Agésilai et Pompeii Comparatio*, 4, 2); Justin, II, 12, 13-16; St. John Chrysostom, *Homil. in S. Matth.*, 33, 4; Souda, s.v. ἀνέλεν.

The whole operation is most commonly referred to by some form of the words of Thucydides ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν (cf. Lysias, II, 33 and 40; Isokrates, VI, 43 and 83, XV, 233; Aischines Socraticus, pp. 33-34 Krauss; Demosthenes, VI, 11, and XVIII, 204; scholia on Demosthenes, XIX, 303; Philochoros, *Frag. Gr. Hist.*, III B, no. 328, *Frag.* 116 = Aristotle, *Frag.* 399 Rose; Pausanias, II, 31, 7; Cicero, Frontinus, Plutarch, Justin, and Souda, *loc. cit.*), but Quintilian's *nam Themistocles suassisse existimatur Atheniensibus, ut urbem apud deos deponerent, quia durum erat dicere, ut relinquerent* (IX, 2, 92) shows that the phrase did not occur in the decree and that the idea was expressed by the euphemism of the opening sentence.

Other ancient references to the decree will be cited in the commentary under the relevant lines of the inscription. See also the numerous references to the oracle of the "Wooden Walls," of Herodotos, VII, 141, 3-4, for which consult H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle*, Oxford, 1956, II, no. 95.

For discussion of the decree, see A. Bauer, *Themistokles*, Merseburg, 1881, pp. 130-131, who doubted that it was genuine (his claim, pp. 148-149, that Aristeides' citation derived from Plutarch is demonstrably incorrect); P. Krech, *De Crateri Ψηφισμάτων Συναγωγῇ*, Diss. Berlin, Greifswald, 1888, pp. 43-48; G. Busolt, *Gr. Geschichte*,² II, Gotha, 1895, p. 691, note 3; F. Jacoby, *Frag. Gr. Hist.*, III B, Suppl., pp. 81-82 (commenting on Kleidemos, *Frag.* 21) who believed that the passage in Herodotos required the assumption of a decree of the people but was doubtful that Themistokles was the proposer (and it must be admitted that the reference to him in our text is in fourth-

THE DATE OF THE DECREE

From lines 40-44 it is clear that the decree must have been passed before Artemision and Thermopylai, that is, well before mid-August of 480 B.C.; the arrangements described here would have taken some time to put into effect.⁷ Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, 22, 8) dates the recall of the ostracized to the archonship of Hypsichides, and even if our text is not that of the final amnesty decree (see the commentary on lines 44-48) it is necessarily prior to it and so again before mid-summer of 480 B.C. In Herodotos (VIII, 142, 3) the Spartans speak of the Athenians losing two harvests, which would put the beginning of their evacuation before mid-June.⁸

Themistokles' policy ever since his ship-building program was begun must always have been to emphasize a naval defense. According to Plutarch (*Themistocles*, 7, 1), even before the Tempe expedition ἐπεχείρει τοὺς πολίτας ἐμβιβάζειν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔπειθεν ἐκλιπόντας ὡς προσωτάτω τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπαντᾶν τῷ βαρβάρῳ κατὰ θάλατταν.⁹ But since the people objected he led a large force with the Lakedaimonians to Tempe (cf. Herodotos, VII, 173; Diodoros, XI, 2, 5); this was while Xerxes was at Abydos (Herodotos, VII, 174), that is, in May.¹⁰ The Greeks returned from Thessaly to the Isthmus, where it was decided to defend Thermopylai and Artemision (Herodotos, VII, 175), a decision probably taken while Xerxes was at Doriskos on his way from Sestos to Therme (Diodoros, XI, 3, 9 and 4, 1), in June. The decision must have been reported by Themistokles and his colleagues to the Athenians and put into effect by them in this decree.¹¹ According to Plutarch

century form) and felt that the name of Nikagoras, the proposer of the Troizenian decree described after this decree in Plutarch (*Themistocles*, 10, 5) belonged to the Attic decree. Jules Labarbe, *La loi navale de Thémistocle*, Paris, 1957, pp. 135-136, has the fullest discussion; he preferred Plutarch's version to that of Aristeides (*op. cit.*, pp. 135-136, note 3). Cobet, *Mnemosyne*, N.S. VI, 1878, p. 145, rightly saw that Aristeides *melius quam Plutarchus verba Themistoclis nobis conservavit*. Furthermore, Aristeides has all the items he quotes in the same order as in the decree, whereas Plutarch has the women and children come after the men of military age. Cicero and Nepos have different initial clauses, but thereafter their points come in the order of the decree.

⁷ On the chronology of Xerxes' march, see G. Busolt, *Jahrb. für cl. Phil.*, CXXXV, 1887, pp. 33 ff.; *idem*, *Gr. Geschichte*,² II, p. 673, note 9; J. A. R. Munro, *C.A.H.*, IV, p. 300 with note 1; Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*,⁸ IV, 1, Stuttgart, 1939, p. 352, note 1.

⁸ Noted by Munro, *J.H.S.*, XXII, 1902, p. 320, who thought the evacuation may have begun after the return from Tempe.

⁹ With προσωτάτω τῆς Ἑλλάδος compare the first oracle of Herodotos, VII, 140, 2: λιπὼν φεύγ' ἔσχατα γαίης | δόματα καὶ πόλιος τροχοειδέος ἄκρα κάρηνα. For the rest, cf. Herodotos' paraphrase of the decree (VII, 144, 3): τὸν βάρβαρον δέκεσθαι τῇσι νηυσὶ πανδημεί. Cf. also Labarbe, *La loi navale*, pp. 120-121.

¹⁰ Something of this early attempt to put his policy into effect may be reflected in Nepos, *Themistocles*, 3, 1, where, after having described the decree, Nepos goes on to say that this plan *pleris . . . civitatibus displicebat*, and so picked troops were sent to fight at Thermopylai with Leonidas. In any case, Nepos seems to have confused the Athenian and Hellenic deliberations.

¹¹ The decision is accurately summarized by Isokrates (IV, 90): διελόμενοι τὸν κίνδυνον, Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν εἰς Θερμοπύλας πρὸς τὸ πεζόν — —, οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι πατέρες ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον — —.

(*Themistocles*, 7, 2), the Athenians after Tempe were more inclined to agree with Themistokles "about the sea" and he was sent with ships to Artemision to guard the straits.

The decree must also have been subsequent to Apollo's second oracle, that of the "Wooden Walls" (Herodotos, VII, 141), on the basis of which Themistokles persuaded the Athenians to adopt a resolution which, though reported briefly, agrees with our decree (VII, 144, 3). Herodotos' chronology here is vague but some scholars had already, with good reason, put the oracle after Tempe and before Thermopylai.¹² Thus the evidence combines to show that the decree is to be dated after May and before July of 480 B.C., and most probably early in June.

The decision to evacuate Athens before Artemision and Thermopylai is at first sight surprising, since most literary sources have placed it after the battles, in fact confusing it with the proclamation (Herodotos, VIII, 41) which put these measures of the decree into full effect, and to which is due the "sauve-qui-peut" of Herodotos (*loc. cit.*) and Plutarch (*Themistocles*, 10, 4), for example,¹³ contrasting with the calm and deliberate provisions of the decree. Thucydides, in his incidental allusions to the evacuation, offers no indication of a precise date, and Lysias (II, 30), in words which recall lines 12-14 and 41-42 of this inscription, says that the Athenians took to their ships to meet the enemy at Artemision: Ἀθηναῖοι δ' οὕτω διακειμένης τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτοὶ μὲν εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐμβάντες ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐβοήθησαν, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ. . . . Thereafter only Nepos (*Themistocles*, 2, 6—3, 1) places the evacuation before Thermopylai, though he does not seem to have understood the situation.¹⁴

It is not difficult to see why the later date was preferred; it supported what may be called the Athenian myth of desertion, the view that the rest of the Greeks failed to fulfil an agreement to meet the enemy in Boiotia and so forced the Athenians to desperate measures,¹⁵ a view that modern scholars have often rejected.¹⁶ The later

¹² Cf. Amédée Hauvette, *Hérodote*, Paris, 1894, pp. 327-328; Munro, *J.H.S.*, XXII, 1902, p. 306, and *C.A.H.*, IV, p. 283; W. W. How and J. Wells, *Commentary on Herodotus*, Oxford, 1912, II, pp. 181-182. After Thermopylai: R. W. Macan, *Herodotus, the Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Books*, II, p. 232; J. B. Bury, *Cl. Rev.*, X, 1896, p. 415. Since the oracle was probably closed during the three months of winter, the consultation will have had to be in the spring at the earliest (cf. Pierre Amandry, *La mantique apollinienne à Delphes*, Paris, 1950, p. 81).

¹³ That the proclamation must have followed upon a decree was remarked by Macan (*op. cit.*) on Herodotos, VIII, 41. Busolt, *Gr. Geschichte*², II, p. 691, note 3, observed that the proclamation referred only to the families; the men were already on shipboard.

¹⁴ See note 10, above. The scholiast on Demosthenes, XIX, 303, in codd. A, R, dates the evacuation ὅτε τὰ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, by which he probably meant no more than to date it by Xerxes' invasion.

¹⁵ Cf. Herodotos, VIII, 40; Isokrates, IV, 93 ff.; Demosthenes, LX, 10; Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 9, 3-4 (*προδοσία*); Aristides, XLVI, Vol. II, p. 255 Dindorf.

¹⁶ Cf. Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*⁸, IV, 1, pp. 362-363; Munro, *J.H.S.*, XXII, 1902, p. 320 (*contra*: Macan, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 244-245, requiring a late date for the evacuation decision).

date also suited writers with a conservative bias; it permitted Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, 23, 1) to present a picture of the generals at their wits' end and the Areopagus stepping in to provide each man of the fleet with eight drachmas.¹⁷ As the details themselves were forgotten, the later date could be accepted without qualms since only the first part of the decree, through line 18, with its patriotic appeal, seems to have been generally known. As yet I have found no quotations from the rest of the decree beginning with the practical details of mobilization; knowledge of the amnesty may have been derived rather from the final decision of the people (cf. lines 46-47) embodied in a specific amnesty decree. Indeed, the earlier date, at variance with the prevailing tradition, together with the very detailed instruction on mobilization and the role of the trierarchs as fighting captains, in contrast to their later predominantly financial functions, are guarantees of the genuineness of our text.

The earlier date obviates a number of difficulties. Bury had objected to Plutarch's statement that all men of military age were to embark, partly on the ground that the ships would already have received their crews for Artemision and could not have taken on the rest of the population.¹⁸ Macan was unable to reconcile the clear implications of the resolution in Herodotos, VII, 144, 3, with the traditional date of the evacuation. These are no longer problems. Now we can also see that the Athenians' request that the Greeks put in at Salamis on withdrawing from Artemision (Herodotos, VIII, 40, 1) is in accord with the previous decision to use Salamis as their base. Again, the allusion to Salamis (and the silence on Artemision) in the "Wooden Walls" oracle will not prevent its being genuine while dating before Thermopylai but will reflect Delphi's recognition of Themistokles' policy.

This date for the decision to evacuate Athens shows that the agreement between Athens and Sparta was early and close, and that the choice of Salamis and the Isthmus as the main line of defense had been determined well in advance.¹⁹ Furthermore, the Athenian decision to send only half their fleet to Artemision, however it may have been modified in execution, shows that Artemision was no more intended to be an all-out effort than Thermopylai; both were to be delaying operations to give time for the building of the Isthmus wall and the rallying of naval units. It does not speak well

¹⁷ The tendentious confusion here of the time of the decree and of the time of the proclamation was observed by F. Jacoby, *Frag. Gr. Hist.*, III B, Suppl. Vol. II, p. 76.

¹⁸ *Cl. Rev.*, X, 1896, pp. 415-416.

¹⁹ Cf. Munro, *C.A.H.*, IV, p. 302 (cf. p. 280): "The positions at the Isthmus and Salamis had without doubt been determined from the first discussions of the plans of campaign." On the view that the Greek policy (originating with Themistokles) was to seek a decision by sea, see also Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*³, IV, 1, p. 351, and, most recently, H. Bengtson, *Griechische Geschichte*, Munich, 1950, p. 156; but we now see that for this purpose the straits of Artemision were not regarded as superior to those of Salamis. Thanks to the storm off Euboea the withdrawal from Artemision was effected safely. From Thermopylai the withdrawal was almost successful; planned withdrawal has always been a most difficult operation.

for the allies' estimate of Thebes. Salamis was not a last recourse forced upon Athens by the failure at Artemision and Thermopylai but the key to Themistokles' carefully considered plan. Later in the fifth century the long walls made Athens and Peiraeus another Salamis; Periklean Athens inherited from Themistokles, along with the naval basis for her democracy, his defensive strategy, and perhaps even the concept of a hundred-ship reserve.

THE DATE OF THE INSCRIPTION

The inscription itself can be dated to the latter half of the fourth century B.C. both by the forms of the letters and by the fourth-century Attic orthography.²⁰ The brief preamble and the style throughout are consistent with an early fifth-century original,²¹ but the patronymic and demotic of the proposer are evidently fourth-century additions.²² Whatever memorials of the Persian Wars the Troizenians may have had earlier, the immediate source of our inscription was an Attic text of the fourth century rather than a transcription of a fifth-century copy by the Troizenians themselves.²³ We must therefore look for a suitable occasion in the later fourth century either for the re-erection of the decree or for its first publication in Troizen.

²⁰ The *iota* of *Τροιζήνα* in line 8, as against the spelling *Τροξ*-, occurs sporadically in the fourth century B.C. (*I.G.*, IV, 727 A, line 2, from Hermione; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 169, line 29, in a personal name at Iasos), but at Troizen itself the first examples are from the Empire (*I.G.*, IV, 796, 798, 1610; cf. coins of imperial date in *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins: Peloponnesus*, p. 167; E. Meyer, in P.W., *R.E.*, s.v. Troizen, cites Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies Grecques*, Amsterdam, 1883, p. 183, no. 150, for a coin of the third century B.C. with *iota* in the legend, but I see no evidence for the date). Attic inscriptions of the fourth and third centuries use only the form without *iota* (*I.G.*, II², 46, 1273, 1569, 1673, 2796). Possibly the *iota* here is a sign of a literary source for our text, for this is the only form found in papyri and manuscripts, though all, of course, are later in date (cf. the second-century B.C. papyrus of Hypereides, *In Athenogenem*, 31-33). On the whole subject, see Meyer, *op. cit.*, cols. 618-620; on the linguistic phenomenon, see E. Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik*, I, Munich, 1939, p. 276.

²¹ Cf. *I.G.*, I², 1, line 1 (*S.E.G.*, X, 1): *ἔδοχεν τῷ δέμοι*. See also commentary on *κοινωνήσεν* in line 18, below.

²² For the absence of patronymic and demotic, cf. *I.G.*, I², 16 (ca. 450 B.C.); 24, line 2 (ca. 448 B.C.); 26, line 4 (ca. 458 B.C.; cf. *S.E.G.*, XIII, 3); 39, line 2 (446/5 B.C.; *Athenian Tribute Lists*, II, p. 70, D17); *Athenian Tribute Lists*, II, p. 50, D7 (448/7 B.C.).

²³ It is conceivable that there had been a copy of the decree set up in connection with the stoa in the agora of Troizen containing statues of women and children who had found refuge in 480 B.C. (Pausanias, II, 31, 7). In that case the inscription may have been damaged or removed in some period of anti-Athenian feeling, such as was likely when the Athenians ravaged Troizenian territory in 425 B.C. (Thucydides, IV, 45, 2). For the history of Troizen, see E. Meyer, in P.W., *R.E.*, s.v. Troizen, cols. 636-646, and the "Fasti Troezenis" in G. Welter, *Troizen und Kalaureia*, pp. 53 ff.

As to the Attic text, in favor of a literary source is the fact that the decree did eventually enter the literary tradition and that the fourth-century Athidographers Kleidemos and Phanodemos were both used directly or indirectly by Plutarch for his life of Themistokles (10, 6 and 13, 1).

Events after the battle of Chaironeia very probably led to such an occasion. Before or immediately after the battle Athens had sent for help to a number of cities, including Troizen; Lykourgos (*In Leocratem*, 42) mentions Andros, Keos, and Epidauros as well. Shortly before the battle an Athenian metic, Athenogenes, left Athens, took refuge in Troizen, won citizenship, and established himself as the agent of Mnesias, a pro-Macedonian Argive.²⁴ Certain Troizenians, presumably anti-Macedonian pro-Athenian democrats, were forced into exile, came to Athens, and were admitted to Athenian citizenship (Hypereides, *In Athenogenem*, 29-33). According to Hypereides, the reason for their warm reception in Athens was the memory of Troizenian kindness more than 150 years ago, that is, their welcome of the Athenian refugees in 480 B.C. That welcome was made official in a decree proposed by Nikagoras which was described by Plutarch (*Themistocles*, 10, 5) immediately after his quotation from our present text.²⁵ It was probably this decree of Nikagoras which Hypereides had read out in court to remind the Athenians of the virtues of the Troizenians and, thus, of the villany of Athenogenes, who, he claimed, was responsible for the exile of the Troizenians.²⁶

The stirring texts of an heroic past were popular at this time and their sentiments

Kleidemos wrote about the distribution of money before embarkation in a version favorable to Themistokles (see the commentary on lines 37-38, below; cf. F. Jacoby, *Atthis*, Oxford, 1949, p. 75). Phanodemos' activities as "minister of public worship and education" to Lykourgos (Jacoby, *Frag. Gr. Hist.*, III B, Suppl. Vol. I, p. 172) would indicate an interest in such texts as this. (Since, however, his *Atthis* appears to have been later than 340 B.C., it cannot have been the source of Aischines' text read out in his pre-Macedonian phase [Demosthenes, XIX, 303]). Against a literary source is the apparent absence of all but the first eighteen lines from the literary tradition, though that could be due to an early excerpting of the text. Busolt, *Gr. Geschichte*², II, p. 691, note 3, thought of an *Atthis* as Plutarch's ultimate source; Krech, *op. cit.* (cf. note 6, above), pp. 43-48, argued for Krateros; as a source Ephoros is unlikely in view of the silence of Diodoros.

²⁴ Cf. Demosthenes, XVIII, 295, where he is called Mnaseas; Theopompos, *Frag. Gr. Hist.*, II B, no. 115, *Frag.* 231; G. Colin, in the Budé edition of Hypereides, Paris, 1946, p. 194, note 1.

²⁵ καὶ γὰρ τρέφειν ἐψηφίσαντο δημοσίᾳ, δύο ὀβολοὺς ἑκάστῳ διδόντες, καὶ τῆς ὁπώρας λαμβάνειν ἐξείναι τοὺς παῖδας πανταχόθεν, ἔτι δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διδασκάλοις τελεῖν μισθοὺς. τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα Νικαγόρας ἔγραψεν. This decree has been suspected by Bauer and Jacoby, *loc. cit.* (cf. note 6, above) and by Busolt, *Gr. Geschichte*², II, p. 692, note 1. Krech, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48, made the interesting suggestion that the information about the decree of Nikagoras was included in an Athenian honorific decree.

²⁶ On the identification of the decree which Hypereides had read I follow Colin, *op. cit.*, p. 215, note 3. E. Meyer, in P.W., *R.E.*, s.v. Troizen, col. 642, seems to identify the decree with one passed by the Troizenians in answer to the Athenian appeal of 338 B.C., and Szanto, *Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen*, XX, 1897, p. 43 (whose article is altogether misconceived) thinks it impossible that it could have been the decree of Nikagoras. But, aside from the good parallels for the current use of old decrees, it is hard to understand Hypereides' words in any other way: (32) ἀπομνημονεύσαντες τὴν εὐεργεσίαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον δι' ἐτῶν πλείονων [ἢ πε]ντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ οἰόμενοι [δεῖν] τοὺς ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ὑμῖν χρησίμους [γεν]ομένους, τούτους ἀτυχοῦντ[ας π]ερι[σωθῆναι] ὑφ' ὑμῶν. — — — (33) καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι ἀληθὴ λέ[γω, ἀνα]γνώσεται ὑμῖν — — — τὸ τῶν [Τροιζηνίων] ψήφισμα ὃ ἐψηφίσαντ[ο τῇ πόλει τῇ ὑμ]ετέρα, δι' ὃ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὺς [ὑπεδέξασθε] καὶ πολίτας ἐποιήσασθε (the restorations are those accepted by Colin).

much in the air: Lykourgos had read out the text of the Ephebic Oath and the oath of the Greeks at Plataia (*In Leocratem*, 77 and 81) and both were inscribed on a single stone in the fourth century by the deme of Acharnai.²⁷ Aischines had read out the decree of Miltiades before Marathon, and our present decree of Themistokles, as well as the Ephebic Oath (Demosthenes, XIX, 303 and 311), probably about the time of the embassy to Megalopolis (348 B.C.) before he adopted a conciliatory policy toward Philip. Usually it was the anti-Macedonian party which sought to revive the spirit of the Persian Wars and to equate the Macedonians with the Barbarians.²⁸

It may, therefore, be suggested that the publication of the Themistokles decree was effected by the pro-Athenian anti-Macedonian exiles, themselves Athenian citizens and beneficiaries of Athenian hospitality, when they returned eventually to Troizen. The preserved proportions of the stele permit us to suppose that originally it carried one or more texts below this (it is not likely that much of the decree has been lost after the provision for the exiles), perhaps the Athenian decree granting citizenship to the exiles, or the Troizenian decree of Nikagoras of 480 B.C.²⁹

It is not clear when the exiles returned. At the time of Hypereides' speech against Athenogenes they were still in exile in Athens. The speech is usually dated shortly after 330 B.C. on the basis of the reference to Troizenian kindness during the Persian Wars "more than 150 years ago" (*In Athenogenem*, 32).³⁰ Sometime after 330 B.C., but at the latest by the autumn of 324 B.C. when Alexander's edict at Olympia required the reception of exiles, the Troizenian exiles must have returned (Diodoros, XVII, 109, 1; XVIII, 8; etc.). Demosthenes found a friendly welcome and much good will towards Athens in Troizen where he first went, on escaping from Athens early in 323 B.C. (*Epistulae*, 2, 18-19; cf. Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 26, 3-5).³¹ While he

²⁷ Louis Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, Paris, 1938, pp. 296-316 (see now Georges Daux, "Serments Amphictioniques et Serment de Platées," in *Studies presented to David M. Robinson*, II, edited by George E. Mylonas and Doris Raymond, St. Louis, Missouri, 1953, pp. 775-782). Cf. the late fourth-century copy of the Marathon epigrams published by Meritt in *The Aegean and the Near East; Studies presented to Hetty Goldman*, edited by Saul S. Weinberg, Locust Valley, N. Y., 1956, pp. 268-280. On the subject of patriotic texts, see Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

²⁸ Cf. Demosthenes, III, 17 and 24; XIX, 311-313. See also VI, 11, and IX, 41-45, where he cites the inscription condemning Arthmios of Zelea for being a Persian agent in the fifth century.

²⁹ Compare the dimensions of the stele from Acharnai with the two oaths (note 27, above) and the Athenian law on tyranny of 337 B.C. (*Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 355), allowing for the reliefs on both of them. With the Athenian decree for the Troizenians may be compared the contemporary decree for exiled Akarnanians, *I.G.*, II², 237.

³⁰ Cf. F. Blass, *Die attische Beredsamkeit*², III, 2, Leipzig, 1898, p. 85; Colin, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

³¹ The second epistle has a good chance of being genuine and there is nothing exceptionable in its historical data. Cf. Blass, *op. cit.*, III, 1, Leipzig, 1893, pp. 439-455; C. D. Adams, *Cl Phil.*, XII, 1917, pp. 292-294; J. A. Goldstein, *The Letters of Demosthenes*, Diss. Columbia (Univ. Microfilms), 1959, pp. 123 ff., 153 ff., 344. Hagnonides, son of Nikoxenos, who was also exiled as a result of the Harpalos affair, spent his exile in the Peloponnesos (Plutarch, *Phocion*, 29, 2), and was honored by Troizen; see Werner Peek, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVII, 1942, p. 41, on *I.G.*, II², 2796.

was there it is possible that a decree was moved in his honor, censuring Athens for condemning him and recalling her to her former ideals, on the suggestion of which Demosthenes tells us that he discreetly kept his peace.³² This too could have provided the pro-Athenians with an opportunity to publish the decree of Themistokles as an earlier champion of Greek liberty ill served by his city.

Later, in 323 B.C., the cities of the Akte joined Athens in the "Lamian" War (Diodoros, XVIII, 11, 2), which the Greeks called the "Hellenic" War, and for which the Athenians in their decree of mobilization explicitly recalled their actions in the Persian Wars.³³ The atmosphere in an allied city would again have been favorable to the publication of a decree of 480 B.C. However, once Antipater took control of the Peloponnesos after the battle of Krannon in 322 B.C. and Demosthenes had committed suicide on near-by Kalauria (Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 28-30, etc.), we can hardly conceive of the publication of such an inflammatory document.

In sum, after the return of the exiles sometime after 330 B.C. (at the latest by autumn of 324 B.C.) and before the summer of 322 B.C. the political situation and the sentiments of the Troizenians were most favorable to the erection of this stone. During this span of years there may have been more than one occasion suitable for such a gesture.

COMMENTARY

Lines 4-5. See Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 10, 4: τὴν μὲν πόλιν παρακαταθέσθαι τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ἀθηνῶν μεδεούσῃ (Ἀθηνῶν Reiske, Ἀθηναίων codd., Ἀθηναίων Sintenis); Aristeides XLVI: τὴν μὲν πόλιν παρακαταθέσθαι Ἀθηνᾷ Ἀθηνῶν μεδεούσῃ (with τῇ twice omitted; cf. XIII and scholia, Vol. III, p. 600, no doubt derived from Aristeides' own quotation). For the verb παρακαταθέσθαι referring to the women and children, see Aristeides XIII and Souda, s.v. ἀνέλεν. For the other gods see Quintilian, IX, 2, 92: *apud deos deponerent*; Aristeides XLVI: τοῦ θαρρεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς.³⁴ See, in general, Lykourgos, *In Leocratem*, 1: εὐχομαι γὰρ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἥρωσι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἰδρυμένοις.

³² Demosthenes, *Epistulae*, 2, 19: ἐν τε ταύτῃ τινῶν, ὡς ἐμοὶ χαρίζομένων, ἐπιτιμᾶν ὑμῖν τι πειρωμένων τῇ κατ' ἑμ' ἀγνοίᾳ, ἐγὼ πᾶσαν εὐφημίαν, ὥσπερ ἐμοὶ προσήκε, παρειχόμεν. ἐξ ὧν καὶ μάλιστα νομίζω πάντας ἀγασθέντας μου δημοσίᾳ τιμῆσαι.

³³ Diodoros, XVIII, 10; note especially: (3) ἐκπέμψαι δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις τοὺς ἐπελευσομένους τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις καὶ διδάξοντας ὅτι καὶ πρότερον μὲν ὁ δῆμος, τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν κοινὴν εἶναι πατρίδα κρίνων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τοὺς ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ στρατευσαμένους βαρβάρους ἡμύνατο κατὰ θάλασσαν καὶ νῦν οἴεται δεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας καὶ σώμασι καὶ χρήμασι καὶ ναυσὶ προκινδυνεύειν.

³⁴ The mention of the other gods shows that the city was not committed to the power of a particular image or shrine, and so nullifies Rumpf's argument (*Jahrb.*, LI, 1936, p. 68) that the Athena here was not the Polias whose image was preserved and so evidently rescued from the acropolis but another Athena not on the acropolis. On the need to distinguish titles from particular images, see C. J. Herrington, *Athena Parthenos and Athena Polias*, Manchester, 1955, pp. 11, 14.

The form of Athena's title is of epic origin and suggests an oracular or literary source (from a hexameter, as Sintenis pointed out in his edition of Plutarch, *Themistocles*, Leipzig, 1851; from Solon's Salamis (?), cf. Frag. 2, line 7 Diehl: ἴομεν ἐς Σαλαμῖνα μαχησόμενοι περὶ νήσου). It is the most emphatically national of her epithets—others may have an Athena Polias but only Athenians have an Ἀθηνᾶ Ἀθηνῶν μεδέουσα—and it is this quality that accounts for its use here and by the Athenian cleruchy in Samos (*horoi* of her land, between 439 and 404 B.C.: *C.I.G.*, II, 2246; *S.E.G.*, I, 375 and 376 = *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIV, 1919, p. 3, nos. 1 and 2; perhaps also Paton and Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, no. 148). It is used also in an Athenian decree of the early fourth century which thanks the Eteokarpathians for the gift of a cypress tree for the temple of "Athens' Athena" (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,³ 129; *I.G.*, XII, 1, 977; Tod, *Gr. Hist. Inscr.*, II, no. 110). The title is alluded to by Aristophanes (*Equites*, 584-585): ὑπερφερούσης μεδέουσα χώρας, and (*ibid.*, 763-764): τῇ μὲν δεσποίνῃ Ἀθηναίᾳ, τῇ τῆς πόλεως μεδεούσῃ εὐχομαι, probably in reference to its application to her in times of national crisis (cf. *ibid.*, line 594: εἴπερ ποτέ, καὶ νῦν) and perhaps specifically to this decree.³⁵

Line 6. In the second space, close to the N, is a vertical hasta, and in the third space a triangular letter. In the fifth space is the right-hand tip and in the sixth space the left-hand tip of a diagonal letter (to judge by my photograph, M rather than A or Λ). In space 19 is the upper right-hand segment of, probably, a triangular letter and in space 20 the upper part of P or B.

I take the subject of the active ἀμύνειν . . . τῆς χώρας to be the same as the subject of φυλάττειν, i. e. the gods, whereas men fighting in their own behalf are the subject of the middle ἀμύνεσθαι of lines 14-15 and 45. For the sake of the land in which they are worshipped the gods are to protect the city left undefended by men. That the gods did in fact repulse the enemy is stated in Herodotos, VIII, 109, 3, and Aischylos, *Persae*, 347. Possibly, however, ἀμύνειν is parallel to παρακαταθέσθαι and the Athenians are the subject; cf. the active ἀμυνῶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν καὶ ὁσίων in lines 8-9 of the Ephebic Oath (see note 27, above).

Line 8. A number of illustrative passages can be cited: Aristeides XLVI: παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς Τροιζῆνα ὑπεκθέσθαι (παρακαταθέσθαι in Aristeides XIII; cf. XLVI, Vol. II, p. 279, and scholia, Vol. III, p. 600); Herodotos, VIII, 41, 1: μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄπιξιν κήρυγμα ἐποίησαντο, Ἀθηναίων τῇ τις δύναται σῶζειν τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας.

³⁵ So F. von Duhn, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLVI, 1921, pp. 70-75, who regards the decree as the source of its later use by the Athenians and believes that the decree was set up after the Persian Wars near the old temple of Athena on the acropolis. The restoration of the title in *I.G.*, I², 14, line 5, is to be eliminated (cf. *Athenian Tribute Lists*, II, p. 68, D 15, line 14). For μεδέων, μεδέουσα with a place name elsewhere, cf. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 210 (Apatouron, Aphrodite) and 1044, lines 7-8 (Telemessos, Apollo).

ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐς Τροίηνα ἀπέστειλαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Αἴγινα, οἱ δὲ ἐς Σαλαμίνα (cf. VIII, 60: Σαλαμὶς περιγίνεται, ἐς τὴν ἡμῖν ὑπέκκειται τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκες); Souda, s.v. ἀνέειλεν: — — — καὶ τὰ γένη Τροίηνοις καὶ Αἰγινήταις παρακαταθέσθαι; Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 10, 4: κυρωθέντος δὲ τοῦ ψηφίσματος οἱ πλείστοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπέξέθεντο γενεὰς (Madvig; γονέας codd.) καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς Τροίηνα (cf. Thucydides, I, 89, 3: ὅθεν ὑπέξέθεντο παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν περιούσαν κατασκευήν); Cicero, *De Officiis*, III, 11, 48: *coniugibus et liberis Troezenae depositis*; Nepos, *Themistocles*, 2, 8: *omnia quae moveri poterant partim Salamina, partim Troezena deportant*; Frontinus, *Strategemata*, I, 3, 6: *auctor fuit eis liberos et coniuges in Troezena et in alias urbes amandandi*; Pomponius Mela, II, 49: *Troezenii fide societatis Atticae inlustres* (cf. Hypereides, *In Athenogenem*, 32 [quoted in note 26 above]); Pausanias, II, 31, 7: κείνται δὲ ἐν στοᾷ τῆς ἀγορᾶς γυναῖκες λίθον καὶ αὐταὶ καὶ οἱ παῖδες, εἰσὶ δὲ ἅς Ἀθηναῖοι Τροίηνοις γυναῖκας καὶ τέκνα ἔδωκαν σώζειν; Justin, II, 12, 16: *coniuges liberosque cum pretiosissimis rebus abditis insulis relictæ urbe demandant*.

It is evident that in the actual evacuation many were sent to Aigina and Salamis as well as to Troizen, and some writers speak only of Salamis: Lysias, II, 34: ὑπεκθέμενοι δὲ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ μητέρας εἰς Σαλαμίνα; Isokrates, IV, 96: παραλαβόντας ἅπαντα τὸν ὄχλον τὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὴν ἐχομένην νῆσον ἐξέπλευσαν; Aischines Socraticus (p. 34 Krauss): εἰς Σαλαμίνα ἔφυγον; Lykourgos, *In Leocratem*, 68: καὶ γὰρ οἱ πρόγονοί ποθ' ὑμῶν τὴν πόλιν καταλιπόντες, ὅτε πρὸς Ξέρξην ἐπολέμουν, εἰς Σαλαμίνα διέβησαν; Diodoros, XI, 13, 4 (cf. also XI, 28, 5, for 479 B.C.): τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας τῶν τε ἄλλων χρησίμων ὅσα δυνατόν ἦν εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐνθέντες διεκόμισαν εἰς Σαλαμίνα. See also Philochoros in *Frag. Gr. Hist.*, III B, No. 328, Frag. 116; Ktesias, *ibid.*, III C, No. 688, Frag. 13, § 30; Plutarch, *Aristides*, 10, 7; scholion on Aristophanes, *Equites*, 1040; scholia on Demosthenes, XIX, 303. Pausanias may be right when he says that not many Athenians did in fact get to Troizen. Salamis served as civil as well as military headquarters; the Council continued to function there (cf. the incident of Lykides in 479 B.C. in Herodotos, IX, 4-5), as did the Assembly too, if one may judge by lines 46-47 of our decree. See the commentary on lines 9-10 below.

Line 9. Is the ἀρχηγέτης a god⁸⁶ or a hero,⁸⁷ and of Troizen or Attika? If a god and

⁸⁶ Apollo Archegetes, as a god of colonies, is relevant to neither Troizen nor Athens; but cf. Phintys (in Stobaios, *Florilegium*, LXXIV, 61 [Vol. III, p. 86]): τῷ ἀρχαγέτῃ θεῷ τῆς πόλεις; Hesychios, s.v. ἀρχαγέται· ἥρωες ἐπώνυμοι τῶν φυλῶν, ἧ θεοὶ ἐν Ἀθήναις. The feminine ἀρχηγέτις seems to be used only of goddesses; cf. especially Athena Archegetis, e.g., in Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 642; Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 2, 6; *I.G.*, II², 674 (τῆς πόλεως), 3474. It was also used most frequently of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia, e.g., Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 695, lines 18-19 (Otto Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia*, No. 100): τῇ ἀρχηγέτιδι τῆς πόλεως Ἀρτέμιδι Λευκοφρυηνῇ; Kern, *op. cit.*, No. 37, line 10 (in an Attic decree): τῇ ἀρχηγέτιδι τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν Ἀρτέμιδι Λευκοφρυηνῇ (cf. also No. 41, line 6; No. 52, lines 11-12; etc.), which should perhaps make us wary of seeing a Troizenian figure in our decree without more exact description.

⁸⁷ E.g., Xenophon, *Hellenica*, VI, 3, 6, and VII, 3, 12, or simply as Archegetes, in Pausanias, X,

of Troizen, he was Poseidon and we could read, e.g., [ὡς ἰκέτας τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος]. But the further definition, “of the land,” may favor a hero, and the founding hero of Troizen, as was pointed out to me by Spyridon Marinatos, was Pittheus (cf. *I.G.*, IV, 787, 798); we might then read [φυλάττοντος *vel* ἐκδεχομένου τοῦ Πιτθέως]. With the latter, “receiving them (from Athena),” one could recall the notion of the gods and heroes of a land receiving an army back after they have sent it forth (Aischylos, *Agamemnon*, 516-517; Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, I, 1, 1).³⁸ But other possibilities suggest themselves.

If the ἀρχηγέτης is Attic, we should think of Erechtheus, rather than of Poseidon or Poseidon Erechtheus, as the paredros of Athena Ἀρχηγέτις and eponym of the Erechtheidai, a name used of the Athenians as a whole (cf. *Iliad*, B 547; *Odyssey*, η 81; Herodotos, V, 82, 3, and VIII, 55 [the temple of Erechtheus, which must be the temple that contained the old statue of Athena, later replaced by the Erechtheion]; *I.G.*, II², 3474, line 1: Παλλὰς Ἐρεχθειδῶν ἀρχαγ[έτι], the dedication of a priestess of Athena Polias).³⁹ In the classical period Erechtheus fades before Theseus and becomes only one of the ten ἀρχηγέται of the phylai, but there can be no question of his early importance. Perhaps, then, the restoration should be [ἡγησαμένου τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως], and one may bear in mind Themistokles’ dramatic use of the failure of the sacred snake of the acropolis to eat the honey-cake in order to induce the Athenians to leave the city (Herodotos, VIII, 41, 3: τῆς θεοῦ ἀπολελοιπύνης τὴν ἀκρόπολιν; Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 10, 2: ἡ θεὸς ὑφηγουμένη πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν αὐτοῖς). In favor of Theseus, however, is his connection with Troizen, and one might restore, e.g., [συμπέμποντος τοῦ Θησέως].

Lines 9-10. Aristides XLVI has the phrase τοὺς δὲ πρεσβύτας εἰς Σαλαμῖνα, and the scholion (Vol. III, p. 600) reads αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐξελθεῖν εἰς Σαλαμῖνα; see the commentary on

4, 10, and Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 1024, line 40 (Mykonos). Beside the Attic archegetai from whom the heroes of the ten phylai were chosen (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 21, 6; cf. Hesychios, *s.v.* ἀρχηγέται) we hear of a ἥρωας ἀρχηγέτης at Rhamnous (*S.E.G.*, XIII, 26; *I.G.*, II², 2849), and an Archegetes alone (?) is mentioned in the *fasti* from Marathon (*I.G.*, I², 190, line 24). The Archegetes in a group of Eleusinian figures in the *Fasti* of Nikomachos is identified with Iacchos by James Oliver in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 21, line 67, and p. 27.

³⁸ It is possible that Πιτθέως could be spelled Πιθέως, for there is evidence of fluctuation in the spelling of words from this stem (see Felix Solmsen, *Rh. Mus.*, LIII, 1898, pp. 138-143; E. Meyer, in P.W., *R.E.*, *s.v.* Troizen, col. 638). Perhaps, then, the restoration could be [ὑποδεχομένου τοῦ Πιθέως]; the verb ὑποδέχσθαι was used of the Troizenian welcome for the Athenians in 480 by Plutarch (*Themistocles*, 10, 5) and of the Athenian welcome of the Troizenians after 338 B.C. by Hypereides (*In Athenogenem*, 32).

³⁹ For possible traces of the title ἀρχηγέτης used of a hero of the whole land of Attika, see the oracle in Demosthenes, XLIII, 66 (Parke and Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle*, II, no. 283; cf. Demosthenes, XXI, 52 = Parke and Wormell, *op. cit.*, no. 282), the archegetes in *I.G.*, I², 190, line 24, if he is not Marathonian (cf. Zeus Tropaios in line 9), and *I.G.*, I², 38 (where the context is lost).

line 8 for the city as a whole moving to Salamis. The *πρεσβύται* were the men over fifty (not *ἡβῶντες*; cf. lines 13 and 22), the *πρεσβυτάτους* of Thucydides, II, 13, 7 (cf. Lykourgos, *In Leocratem*, 39). With them were probably included those unfit for front-line service (cf. A. W. Gomme, *The Population of Athens*, Oxford, 1933, pp. 3 ff.; *J.H.S.*, LXXIX, 1959, pp. 61-68), all of whom were capable of home-guard duty in times of emergency. From among these men and disembarked marines (see the comment on lines 23-26, below) Aristides must have found his hoplites for the attack on Psyttaleia (Herodotos, VIII, 95: *παραλαβὼν πολλοὺς τῶν ὀπλιτέων οἱ παρετετάχατο παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν τῆς Σαλαμίνης χώρας, γένος ἑόντες Ἀθηναῖοι*; Plutarch, *Aristides*, 9, 1: *τοὺς προθυμοτάτους καὶ μαχιμωτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν*). Aristides (XIII, Vol. I, pp. 229-230 Dindorf) says explicitly that they were *πρεσβύται* but that is probably a surmise from his excerpt of the decree.

For *κτήματα* see Herodotos, VIII, 41, 1: *τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας*; Thucydides, I, 89, 3: *ὅθεν ὑπεξέθεντο παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν περιούσαν κατασκευὴν*; Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 10, 4: *παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ἀνδράποδα σφάζειν ἕκαστον ὡς ἂν δύνηται*; Diodoros, XI, 13, 4: *τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας τῶν τε ἄλλων χρησίμων ὅσα δυνατὸν ἦν εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐνθέντες διεκόμισαν εἰς Σαλαμῖνα*; Nepos, *Themistocles*, 2, 8: *omnia quae moveri poterant*; Justin, II, 12, 17: *coniuges liberosque cum pretiosissimis rebus*. See also (for 431 B.C.) Thucydides II, 14: *ἐσεκομίζοντο ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν ἥ κατ' οἶκον ἐχρῶντο, καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν οἰκιῶν καθαιροῦντες τὴν ξύλῳσιν πρόβατα δὲ καὶ ὑπόζυγια ἐς τὴν Εὐβοίαν διεπέμψαντο καὶ ἐς τὰς νήσους τὰς ἐπικειμένας*. In the fourth century *I.G.*, II², 410 (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 289), lines 15-16, may be cited for sacrifices made for the health and safety of the Council and Demos of the Athenians *καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων*.

Lines 11-12. Herodotos (VIII, 51, 2) tells of those whom the Persians found on the acropolis: *καὶ αἰρέουσι ἔρημον τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ τινὰς ὀλίγους εὐρίσκουσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ἑόντας, ταμίας τε τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ πένητας ἀνθρώπους, οἱ φραζάμενοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θύρησί τε καὶ ξύλοισι ἡμύνοντο τοὺς ἐπιόντας, ἅμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀσθενείης βίου οὐκ ἐκχωρήσαντες ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ δοκέοντες ἐξευρηκέναι τὸ μαντήιον τὸ ἢ Πυθίῃ σφί ἔχρησε, τὸ ξύλινον τείχος ἀνάλωτον ἔσεσθαι· αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ κρησφύγετον κατὰ τὸ μαντήιον καὶ οὐ τὰς νέας*. All were killed (Herodotos, VIII, 53, 2), though Ktesias says (*Frag. Gr. Hist.*, III C, No. 688, *Frag.* 13, § 30): *ἐν αὐτῇ (τῇ ἀκροπόλει) γὰρ ἔτι τινὲς ὑπολειφθέντες ἐμάχοντο. τέλος κακείνων νυκτὶ φυγόντων, κακείνην συνέφλεξαν*. Only Nepos (*Themistocles*, 2, 8) seems close to the sense of the decree: *arcem sacerdotibus paucisque maioribus natu ac sacra procuranda tradunt reliquum oppidum relinquunt* (cf. scholia Bobiensia on Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 141: *maiores natu in arce relinquerentur*; on the sense of *sacra procuranda* cf. Cicero, *In Verrem*, II, 5, 36: *mihi sacrarum sedium procuracionem, mihi totam urbem tuendam esse commissam*; and for the

maiores natu cf. also Herodotos, VII, 142, 1, for some of the older men who disagreed with Themistokles' interpretation of the oracle).⁴⁰

For treasurers and priestesses on the acropolis in 485/4 B.C. see *I.G.*, I², 4. The "possessions of the gods" probably included money, dedications, and buildings. That the proper discharge of this duty involved the removal of some objects is not excluded by the language. In the event, it seems that the treasurers stayed with the less movable and less holy offerings, while the priestesses fled with the sacred objects (see the discussion of the sacrifice in the commentary on lines 38-40 below). On the whole the measure may be seen as a concession on the part of Themistokles to those who put their trust in the acropolis.

Lines 12-14. There are many references to the manning of the triremes: Aristeides XLVI: τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐμβάντας εἰς τὰς τριήρεις; Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 10, 4: τοὺς δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πάντας ἐμβάινειν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις; Herodotos, VII, 144, 3: τὸν βάρβαρον δέκεσθαι τῇσι νηυσὶ πανδημεῖ; Thucydides, I, 73, 4: ἐσβάντες ἐς τὰς ναὺς πανδημεῖ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ξυμμαχῆσαι. On ἐσβάντες ἐς τὰς ναὺς at Thucydides, I, 74, 2, Arnold Gomme remarks (*Commentary on Thucydides*, I, p. 235) that "it became a very trite phrase on Athenian lips . . . it marks the turning-point in Athenian history." The phrase recurs in one form or another in most of the references to the evacuation and Salamis (cf. Lysias, II, 30 [before Artemision]; Demosthenes, XVIII, 204; Cicero, *De Officiis*, III, 11, 48; Justin, II, 12, 17). One should also note Xenophon's account of the muster before Arginousai (*Hellenica*, I, 6, 24): ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα εἰσβιβάζοντες τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ ὄντας ἅπαντας καὶ δούλους καὶ ἐλευθέρους.

The service of metics at Plataia (and also at Salamis?) seems to be mentioned by Hypereides, *In Athenogenem*, 30 (cf. the note in Colin's edition, Paris, 1946, *ad loc.*). In general, reference may be made to Thucydides: (I, 143, 1) ἐσβάντων αὐτῶν τε καὶ μετοίκων; (III, 16, 1) ἐσβάντες αὐτοὶ τε . . . καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι [428 B.C.]; (IV, 90, 1) ἀναστήσας Ἀθηναίους πανδημεῖ, αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς μετοίκους καὶ ξένων ὅσοι παρήσαν [in preparation for Delion].

No exception is made for hoplites or cavalry (cf. Plutarch, *Cimon*, 5, 2-3, though Kimon and his friends seem to have expected hoplite service on shipboard). Many knights served at Arginousai (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, I, 6, 24). For hoplites as rowers, see Gomme's note on Thucydides, III, 16, 1 (*Commentary on Thucydides*, II, p. 271); and for Themistokles' policy for hoplites, see Gomme's note (*op. cit.*, I, pp. 266-267) on Thucydides, I, 93, 6.

⁴⁰ A passage in Plutarch's *Themistocles* (10, 9: καίτοι πολλοὶ [πολὴν Fuhr] μὲν οἱ διὰ γῆρας ὑπολειπόμενοι τῶν πολιτῶν ἔλεον εἶχον) might suggest that men over military age were simply left behind, but Plutarch does not distinguish between the manning of the ships for Artemision and the final evacuation.

Line 14. According to Herodotos (VIII, 61, 2) Themistokles, in the debate at Salamis, based a telling argument on the 200 ships: ἐωυτοῖσι τε ἐδήλου λόγῳ ὡς εἴη πόλις καὶ γῆ μέζων ἢ περ ἐκείνοισι, ἔστ' ἂν διηκόσιαι νέες σφι ἔωσι πεπληρωμένοι (the number was set at 180 in the enumeration at VIII, 44, 1, after the fighting at Artemision). Plutarch (*Themistocles*, 11, 5), with reference to the same debate, has also preserved mention of the 200 ships: αἱ διακόσιαι τριήρεις αἱ νῦν μὲν ὑμῖν παρεστᾶσι βοηθοὶ σῶζεσθαι δι' αὐτῶν βουλομένοις. See Demosthenes, XIV, 29, and XVIII, 238; Justin, II, 12, 12 (for the ships built on Themistokles' advice).

Lines 15-16. The fight for freedom is mentioned by a number of writers: Aristides XLVI: ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνίζεσθαι (cf. XIII: ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων σωτηρίας; XXXII, Vol. I, p. 607: ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας); Cicero, *De Officiis*, III, 11, 48: *libertatemque Graeciae classe defenderent*; Isokrates, VI, 83: ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἐλευθερίας. See also Demosthenes, XVIII, 204, 208, 238, and Lykourgos, *In Leocratem*, 42, 70 (and for Chaironeia, *ibid.*, 47, 48, 50). Diodoros (XI, 3, 3) reports the decision of the allies at the Isthmus: ἐκπέμψαι πρέσβεις τοὺς παρακαλέσοντας συναγωνίζεσθαι περὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας. Compare the decree for the Lamian War as given by Diodoros (XVIII, 10, 3, quoted in note 33, above).

Line 17. On the reconciliation of the Aiginetans and the Athenians, see Herodotos, VII, 145, 1. See also Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 6, 5; Souda, *s.v.* ἀνεῖλεν.

Lines 17-18. This passage appears in Herodotos' account of the decree (VII, 144, 3): ἅμα Ἑλλήνων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι (cf. VII, 178, 2 [the oracle of the winds]: πρῶτα μὲν Ἑλλήνων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι εἶναι ἐλευθέροισι ἐξήγγειλαν τὰ χρησθέντα αὐτοῖσι). See also Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 11, 5, as quoted in the commentary on line 14, above.

Line 18. The closest parallel to our passage on "sharing the danger" is found in Isokrates, VI, 43: ἐκλιπόντες δὲ τὴν χώραν καὶ πατρίδα μὲν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν νομίσαντες κοινωνήσαντες δὲ τῶν κινδύνων ἡμῖν. But see also Andokides, I, 107; Isokrates, IV, 90 and 97. On the future infinitive with verbs of wishing, a favorite usage with Thucydides, see W. W. Goodwin, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb*, Boston, 1890, p. 36.

Lines 18-19. The generals continued to appoint the trierarchs (Aristophanes, *Equites*, 912-918; Demosthenes, XXXV, 48, and XXXIX, 8; Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 61, 1).

Lines 20-22. Deinarchos, *In Demosthenem*, 71, gives the qualifications for general and speaker in the assembly: τοὺς μὲν νόμους προλέγειν . . . παιδοποιεῖσθαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, γῆν ἐντὸς ὅρων κεκτῆσθαι, πάσας τὰς δικαίας πίστεις παρακαταθέμενον, οὕτως ἀξιούν προεστάναι τοῦ δήμου· σὲ δὲ τὴν μὲν πατρῶαν γῆν πεπρακέναι — —. In his account

of the “Drakonian” constitution, Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, 4, 2) names the qualifications for generals and hipparchs: property of a value of not less than 100 minas, καὶ παῖδας ἐκ γαμετῆς γυναικὸς γνησίους ὑπὲρ δέκα ἔτη γεγονότας. Herodotos (VII, 205, 1) says of Leonidas at Thermopylai ἐπιλεξάμενος ἄνδρας τε τοὺς κατεστειώτας τριηκοσίους καὶ τοῖσι ἐτύγχανον παῖδες ἔοντες, which commentators (e.g., Stein, How and Wells) generally explain as showing a desire that families should not become extinct. However, our decree and the funeral oration of Perikles (Thuc., II, 44, 3: οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε ἴσον τι ἢ δίκαιον βουλευέσθαι οἷ ἂν μὴ καὶ παῖδας ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου παραβαλλόμενοι κινδυνεύωσιν) show a feeling that positions of great responsibility should go to those with the greater stake in the future of the city. Compare the reproach of childlessness made against Epaminondas (Nepos, *Epaminondas*, 5, 5).

Lines 23-26. Plutarch (*Themistocles*, 14, 2) gives the number of marines and archers on each ship at the battle of Salamis: τῶν δ' Ἀττικῶν (νεῶν) ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα τὸ πλῆθος οὐσῶν ἑκάστη τοὺς ἀπὸ καταστρώματος μαχομένους ὀκτωκαίδεκα εἶχεν, ὧν τοξόται τέσσαρες ἦσαν, οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ὀπλῖται. The number of ships was not taken from this decree, but from an actual account of the battle (cf. Herodotos, VIII, 44, 1). The number of archers is the same, but the initial figure (as planned) for marines was evidently reduced by six per ship after experience at Artemision. Ten was the standard number in the later fifth century (e.g., Thucydides, III, 95, 2), but before the development of naval tactics the number was higher (cf. Thucydides I, 49, 1, and Gomme's note [*Commentary on Thucydides*, I, p. 122] on Thucydides, I, 13, 2).

In the phrase [εἴ]κ[οσιν ἐπὶ τὴν] ναῦν the article is anaphoric, referring back to ναῦν in line 19, and the restoration is preferable to [δέ]κ[α ἐφ' ἑκάστην] ναῦν because of the consistent use of the article with ἕκαστος and its noun in this decree (lines 19, 33, 35). Epigraphically, ἕκαστος with the noun alone begins to be found in the late fourth century (cf. Meisterhans-Schwyzer, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*,³ Berlin, 1900, p. 232). Earlier exceptional omissions of the article occur in expressions of time, e.g., *ἑκάστο με[νός]* in *I.G.*, I², 6, line 125 (but note *τὸ μύστο ἑκάστο*, etc., consistently in the same text), and *ἐκάστου ἔτους* in the *lex sacra* in Xenophon, *Anabasis*, V, 3, 12.

Line 25. The archers were Athenians, not Cretan mercenaries; cf. *I.G.*, I², 79, line 3, and Gomme's note (*op. cit.*, II, p. 41) on Thucydides, II, 13, 8.

Line 26. The staff of ship's officers, or rather, in rank, the petty officers, are the ὑπηρεσία (cf. line 34). In *I.G.*, II², 1951 (*S.E.G.*, X, 356, probably of 406 B.C.) after *τρίηραρχοι* and *ἐπιβάται* the third category without rubric included *κυβερνήτης*, *κελευστής*, *πεντηκόνταρχος*, *αὐλητής*, *ναυπηγός*, and *πρωιράτης*. In [Xenophon], *Ath. Pol.*, 1, 2, ἄλλη ὑπηρεσία is opposed to the *κυβερνήτης* and in Lysias, XXI, 10, to the

πλήρωμα. In Thucydides, I, 143, 1, the κυβερνήται are separate from the ἄλλη ὑπηρεσία; in *I.G.*, I², 98, line 22 (Tod, *Gr. Hist. Inscr.*, I², no. 77) the κυβερνήται on the one hand and the ναῦται on the other are opposed to the ἄλλη ὑπηρεσία. See U. Koehler, *Ath. Mitt.*, VIII, 1883, p. 179; G. Busolt, *Gr. Staatskunde*, I, Munich, 1920, pp. 574-575.

Lines 29-30. Hitherto the earliest reference to the ληξιαρχικὰ γραμματεῖα has been *I.G.*, I², 79, line 6. For the polemarch's responsibility for the metics, see Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 58, 2-3. This would seem to have its origin in their military service.

Lines 31-32. For τάξις of a contingent forming a ship's crew, see Aischylos, *Persae*, 381-382: τάξις δὲ τάξιν παρεκάλει νεῶς μακρὰς, πλέουσι δ' ὡς ἕκαστος ἦν τεταγμένος.⁴¹

Lines 32-35. The lists in *I.G.*, II², 1951 (*S.E.G.*, X, 356) give a good idea of the lists on the whitened tablets (without the ships' names), since they are probably copies of the full complements of ships that went down with almost complete loss in 406 B.C. (cf. Xenophon, *Hellenica*, I, 6, 34; A. Körte, *Phil. Woch.*, LII, 1932, nos. 35/38, cols. 83-88).

Line 33. For ships' names, see *I.G.*, II², 1604*, and the other naval inscriptions that follow in *I.G.*, II²; F. Miltner in P.W., *R.E.*, s.v. Seewesen (Suppl. V, 1931), cols. 947-952; L. Robert, *Collection Froehner*, I, *Inscriptions Grecques*, Paris, 1936, p. 2, with note 1; Kurt Schmidt, *Die Namen der attischen Kriegsschiffe*, Diss. Leipzig, 1931.

Lines 37-38. The verb πληροῦν refers not only to providing the ships with their complements (πληρώματα) but to the whole process of getting ships and crews ready for duty at sea. See Xenophon, *Hellenica*, I, 6, 24: πληρώσαντες τὰς δέκα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐν τριάκοντα ἡμέραις ἀπῆραν, and also VI, 2, 12 and 14 (on Timotheos' difficulties). Later we know that the Council had general responsibility for naval matters and supervised the manning and despatch of ships.⁴² The general who had charge of the fleet once it had sailed was charged with the duties inherent in the meaning of πληροῦν (see the passages from Book VI of Xenophon's *Hellenica* to which reference has just

⁴¹ The scholiast on Aristophanes, *Ranae*, 1074, speaks of the three ranks of rowers on a trireme as τάξεις (cf. W. W. Tarn, *J.H.S.*, XXV, 1905, p. 142, note 14), but these would have no effect on the problem of assigning the population to the 200 ships.

⁴² See *I.G.*, I², 105, lines 16-18 (Tod, *Gr. Hist. Inscr.*², I, no. 91; cf. B. D. Meritt, in *Classical Studies presented to Edward Capps*, Princeton, 1936, pp. 249-250): [- - τὸν βολὴν ἐπιμ]ελ[ε]θῆναι λόπος [ἀν σταλῶσιν ἡος τάχισ]τα Ἀθήναζε καὶ π[λεροθῶσι - - -]; *I.G.*, II², 1629, lines 242-271 (Tod, *Gr. Hist. Inscr.*, II, no. 200; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 305). The Council, together with the demarchs, prepared the κατάλογοι of crews and the despatch of ships in a decree paraphrased in Demosthenes, L, 6. See also Busolt-Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde*, II, Munich, 1926, pp. 890, 1032, 1049-1050.

been made). This responsibility was also financial, and here we must suppose that the generals and Council were already authorized to expend whatever sums were available for defense. It is in this context that the conflicting stories of Aristotle and of Kleidemos on the provision of eight drachmas for each man of the fleet should be seen (*Ath. Pol.*, 23, 1;⁴³ *Frag. Gr. Hist.*, III B, no. 323, Frag. 21⁴⁴ *apud* Plutarch, *Themistokles*, 10, 6). According to our decree the generals, including Themistokles, and the Council would have been responsible for ration money (*σιτηρέσιον*) and pay (*μισθός*), if any, for the fleet. Both literary accounts agree that public funds failed (cf. also Plutarch, *Themistokles*, 7, 6, for the difficulties of the trierarch Architeles at Artemision). Kleidemos redeems Themistokles from the charge that the generals were helpless at the time of the proclamation with an improbable anecdote. Some scholars have reconciled the two accounts by supposing that Themistokles, as an Areopagite, got the Areopagus to supply funds.⁴⁵ Busolt claimed that the Areopagus at this time had supervision over the sacred treasury and could use it in an emergency.⁴⁶ However that may be, we know from Herodotos (VIII, 17) that Kleinias, Alkibiades' father, paid for his crew out of his own pocket and provided his own ship at Artemision (cf. Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 1, 2). Other rich men may not have gone so far as to provide their own ships but would certainly have contributed from their own funds to make up the sum needed to keep the ships at sea, as we know trierarchs did in later times (cf. Thucydides, VI, 31, 3; Isokrates, XVIII, 60; Demosthenes, LI, 6). In this way we may well believe that the Areopagites, still the richest group in Athens, if not the Areopagus as such, contributed vitally to the preparations and added to their own reputation. The date is complicated by the usual confusion between the decree and the proclamation, but the circumstances (the preparation of the fleet) point to a time before Artemision.

Lines 38-40. For the *ἀρεστήριον* see Hesychios, *s.v.* *ἀρέσασθαι ἰλάσασθαι, ἀρεστὸν ποιῆσαι*; also *s.v.* *ἀρεστήριον ἱερεῖον, καὶ θῦμα*; Herodotos, VII, 141, 3 (the oracle of

⁴³ μετὰ δὲ τὰ Μηδικὰ πάλιν ἴσχυσεν ἡ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλὴ καὶ διώκει τὴν πόλιν, οὐδενὶ δόγματι λαβοῦσα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι τῆς περὶ Σαλαμίνα ναυμαχίας αἰτία. τῶν γὰρ στρατηγῶν ἑξαπορησάντων τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ κηρυξάντων σφῆξιν ἕκαστον ἑαυτόν, πορίσασα δραχμὰς ἑκάστῳ ὅκτ' διέδωκε καὶ ἐνεβίβασεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς (cf. Aristotle, *Politica*, 1304 A, 20-21).

⁴⁴ οὐκ ὄντων δὲ δημοσίων χρημάτων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, Ἀριστοτέλης μὲν φησι τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλήν πορίσασαν ὅκτ' δραχμὰς ἑκάστῳ τῶν στρατευομένων αἰτιωτάτην γενέσθαι τοῦ πληρωθῆναι τὰς τριήρεις, Κλειδῆμος δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ποιεῖται στρατήγημα. καταβαινόντων γὰρ εἰς Πειραιᾶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, φησὶν ἀπολέσθαι τὸ Γοργόνειον ἀπὸ τῆς θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγάλματος· τὸν οὖν Θεμιστοκλέα προσποιούμενον ζητεῖν καὶ διερευνώμενον ἅπαντα χρημάτων ἀνευρίσκειν πλῆθος ἐν ταῖς ἀποσκευαῖς ἀποκεκρυμμένον, ὃν εἰς μέσον κομισθέντων εὐπορῆσαι τοὺς ἐμβαίνοντας εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐφοδίων.

⁴⁵ E.g., Jules Labarbe, *La loi navale de Thémistocle*, p. 136.

⁴⁶ *Gr. Geschichte*², II, p. 691, note 3; denied by G. De Sanctis, *Atthis*², Turin, 1912, p. 381. N.G.L. Hammond, *History of Greece*, Oxford, 1959, p. 238, paints a picture of the rôle of the Areopagus in the evacuation that goes altogether beyond the evidence.

the "Wooden Walls"): οὐ δύναται Παλλὰς Δί' Ὀλύμπιον ἐξιλάσασθαι; Xenophon, *Oeconomicus*, V, 19: πρὸ τῶν πολεμικῶν πράξεων ἐξαρεσκομένους τοὺς θεούς (cf. *ibid.*, V, 3: θεοὺς ἐξαρέσκεσθαι θύοντας). It may be that the hostility of Zeus as described by the oracle required this placatory sacrifice. In other Attic inscriptions, however, the ἄρεστήριον has a special purpose. See F. Jacoby, *Atthis*, p. 238, note 12: "The offering of the ἄρεστήριον after (or before: Aischin. 3. 116?) alterations were made in sacred buildings, cult statues, votive gifts, etc., certainly is an early and established custom, even though our evidence does not begin until the fourth century." The examples are: *I.G.*, II², 403, lines 18-20 (Jacoby, *Atthis*, p. 8, A 2; ca. 350-320 B.C., made on instructions from an exegete); *I.G.*, II², 204, lines 57-60 (restored, 352/1 B.C.); *I.G.*, II², 839, lines 45-47 and 82 (221/0 B.C.); *I.G.*, II², 841, line 16 (second century B.C.); *I.G.*, II², 1035, lines 12-14 (Jacoby, *Atthis*, p. 9, A 3; first century B.C. The sacrificers are the στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλείτας and the βασιλεύς). See also Dionysios of Halikarnassos, I, 67, 2, for θυσίαι ἄρεστήριοι on bringing back the ancestral gods from Alba Longa to Lavinium. In view of this technical usage, it is possible that removal of the most sacred objects of the city was contemplated.

There is evidence that this, in fact, was done:

(1) The ancient *xoanon* of Athena survived the war, and had presumably been carried away, probably to Salamis; Kleidemos, *Frag. Gr. Hist.*, III B, No. 323, Frag. 21, mentions the loss of the gorgoneion from the statue at the time of the manning of the ships. (2) Herodotos (VIII, 64, 2; 83, 2; 84, 2; cf. V, 80, 2) tells of the images of the Aiakidai being sent for from Aigina before the battle, and the Spartan kings regularly carried the Tyndaridai with them on campaign (Herodotos, V, 75, 2). The sacred images would protect as well as be protected. (3) Hypereides, in his emergency decree after Chaironeia, proposed ἱερὰ δὲ καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἀποθέσθαι (cf. [Plutarch], *Vitae X Oratorum*, 849A). The anti-Macedonians were consciously attempting to recover the spirit of the Persian Wars (see the discussion of the date of the inscription, above) and sending the women and children to the Peiraeus can only be preparatory to shipping them overseas, as in 480 B.C. The location of the small states to which Athens had appealed (Lykourgos, *In Leocratem*, 42), including Troizen, suggests that they were to be places of refuge. It follows that Hypereides had precedent for sending away the sacred objects as well. In any case we seem to have something stronger than the usual vows and sacrifices before a battle or a campaign.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Cf. Aischylos, *Septem*, 264-280; Xenophon, *Anabasis*, III, 2, 12, and Aristophanes, *Equites*, 660-661 with scholia (Kallimachos the polemarch to Artemis Agrotera before Marathon); Plutarch, *Aristides*, 11, 3 (vows and sacrifices to Zeus, Hera of Kithairon, Pan, the Sphragitides Nymphs, and the seven Archegetai before Plataia); Thucydides, VI, 32, 1-2 (the εἶχαί νομιζόμεναι before the departure of the Sicilian expedition); Demosthenes, XVIII, 184 (from a decree before the

Line 39. For Zeus the Almighty see Hesychios, *s.v.* παγκρατής· Ζεύς· Ἀθηναῖοι. Otherwise the epithet seems to be literary: Aischylos, *Septem*, 255: ὦ παγκρατὲς Ζεῦ, appealed to by the chorus in terror of the enemy (cf. lines 116-117); *Idem*, *Eumenides*, 916 ff. (a passage with a strong patriotic tinge), *Supplices*, 816 (cf. also *Prometheus*, 389, 526); Euripides, *Frag.* 431 Nauck²; Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae*, 368-369 (where the preceding prayer invokes his help against, among others, those who bring on the Medes). After the war it was as Eleutherios, Soter, and Tropaios that he received thanks.⁴⁸ Zeus Soter, Athena, and Nike are grouped in this order as recipients of sacrifice in Demosthenes, *Prooemia*, LIV.

Lines 39-40. Asphaleios was a universal epithet of Poseidon (Pausanias, VII, 21, 7). Its use in Aristophanes, *Acharnenses*, 682, is comic. Here it is used of the god of the sea rather than of earthquakes. Cf. Preller-Robert, *Griechische Mythologie*,⁴ I, Berlin, 1894, pp. 572, 582-584.

Lines 41-44. For βοηθεῖν in the sense of *adversus hostes concurrere*, see Isokrates, IV, 87 (of the Athenians at Marathon); Thucydides, II, 94, 2; etc. See also Lysias, II, 30: Ἀθηναῖοι δ' οὕτω διακειμένης τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτοὶ μὲν εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐμβάντες ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐβοήθησαν, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἔνιοι εἰς Θερμοπύλας ἀπήντησαν.

The new information must inevitably affect our thinking on the vexed question of the numbers engaged at Artemision and Salamis, though it must be remembered that the decree embodies the plan before the event and is not an account of what actually happened. On the Athenian contingent at Artemision, see Herodotos, VIII, 1, who mentions 127 ships (these do not include the 20 furnished to Chalkis) and VIII, 14, 1, where he mentions a reinforcement—or so, at least, it is usually understood—of 53 ships. Isokrates (IV, 90) has ἐξήκοντα τριήρεις πληρώσαντες; Diodoros (XI, 12, 4) alleges 140 out of 280. On the problems, see especially W. W. Tarn, *J.H.S.*, XXVIII, 1908, pp. 202-233; Jules Labarbe, *B.C.H.*, LXXVI, 1952, pp. 384-441; *Idem*, *La loi navale de Thémistocle*, Paris, 1957. Note that περὶ . . . τὴν ἄλλην Ἀττικὴν ναυλοχεῖν can include the east coast of Attika and the southern entrance of the Euboian straits for the protection of which Bury assigned the second Athenian contingent of

launching of ships: εὐξαμένους καὶ θύσαντας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἡρωσι τοῖς κατέχουσι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Ἀθηναίων).

⁴⁸ For Plataia see Plutarch, *Aristides*, 21; Strabo, IX, p. 412; Pausanias, IX, 2, 5; scholion on Pindar, *Olympian Odes*, VII, 154. For Athens see R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, III, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, Princeton, 1957, pp. 25-30. The *tropaion* and *temenos* on Salamis belonged to Zeus (Timotheos, *Persae*, 210; *I.G.*, II², 1006, lines 8-9, 1008, lines 17-18, 1028, lines 24-28 [cf. *I.G.*, I², 190, line 9: Marathon or Salamis ?]). On παγκρατής, F. R. Walton calls my attention to the relevant discussion in Wolfgang Kiefner, *Der religiöse Allbegriff des Aischylos*, Diss. Tübingen, 1959.

53 ships (*B.S.A.*, II, 1895/6, p. 89). On the Aiginetan reserves see also Herodotos, VIII, 46, 1: *τῇσι μὲν τὴν ἑωυτῶν ἐφύλασσαν*.⁴⁹

Lines 44-48. As a note on *ὁμονοοῦντες* one may recall that Andokides (I, 108) emphasized Athenian success after amnesty and victory in the Persian Wars *διὰ τὸ ἀλλήλοις ὁμονοεῖν*. He also described the deliberations for amnesty after Aigospotamoi (I, 73: *ἐβουλευσασθε περὶ ὁμονοίας*) and its consummation (I, 76: *πίστιν ἀλλήλοις περὶ ὁμονοίας δοῦναι ἐν ἀκροπόλει*). Lysias (XXV, 27) says of the amnesty in 404 B.C.: *τοὺς μὲν φεύγοντας κατεδέξασθε, τοὺς δ' ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ἐποιήσατε, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις περὶ ὁμονοίας ὅρκους ὤμνυτε*; and Demosthenes (XXVI, 11) quotes from a decree proposed by Hypereides after Chaironeia: *εἶναι τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους, ἵν' ὁμονοοῦντες ἅπαντες ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας προθύμως ἀγωνίζονται*. Aristides (XLVI, Vol. II, p. 248 Dindorf) describes the political activity of Themistokles, abroad and at home, in these words: *πρῶτον μὲν γε τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς συνεστῶτας τότε ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφορὰς καὶ στάσεις ἔπανσεν ἀπάντων, καὶ ἓνα μὲν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους, αὐτοὺς δὲ φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς, ἔπεισεν ἡγήσασθαι ἔπειθ' ὅσοι τῶν πολιτῶν μεθεισθήκεσαν, τούτους καταγαγεῖν συνεβούλευσεν Ἀθηναίοις, ἐν οἷς καὶ τῶν διαφόρων τινὲς ἦσαν αὐτῷ, τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔν τε τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν σῶζων*.

What characterized the ostracized among exiles was the limited period of their exile (cf. Aristotle, *Politica*, 1284 A, 21-22: *μεθίστασαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως χρόνους ὥρισμένους*; Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 11, 1: *τοῖς ἐπὶ χρόνον* [Cobet; *χρόνω* codd.] *μεθεστῶσιν*).

The recall of the ostracized is mentioned by Andokides (I, 107; cf. 77), Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, 22, 8), Nepos (*Aristides*, 1, 5), Plutarch (*Themistocles*, 11, 1 and *Aristides*, 8, 1), and Aristides (XLVI, Vol. II, p. 248 Dindorf [quoted just above]); all but Andokides and Aristides (the rhetorician) specify Aristides (the Just), who is named also by the scholiast on Aristides (Vol. III, p. 593 Dindorf). Aristides alone is mentioned in Demosthenes, XXVI, 6, and his return from Aigina to Salamis is described by Herodotos (VIII, 79; cf. Aristodemos, *Frag. Gr. Hist.*, II A, no. 104, Frag. 1 [1, 4]) without reference to an actual recall.

Andokides adds to the recall of political exiles the restoration of political rights (*ἐγνώσαν τοὺς τε φεύγοντας καταδέξασθαι καὶ τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιῆσαι*); such restoration was the mark of a general amnesty and is found in the sources for four of the six known Athenian amnesties.⁵⁰ In the decree of Patrokleides of 404 B.C.,

⁴⁹ It is doubtful that Ktesias' statement (*Frag. Gr. Hist.*, III C, no. 688, Frag. 13, § 30) that on the approach of Xerxes the Athenians manned 110 ships and sailed to Salamis is based on accurate knowledge.

The concept of a reserve force of 100 ships is found in Perikles' defense policy (Thucydides, II, 24, 2). Cf. Andokides, III, 7, and Thucydides, III, 17, 2, though it is uncertain what, if any, relationship the *ἐξάιρετοι τριήρεις* had to those ships that *τὴν τε γὰρ Ἀττικὴν καὶ Εὐβοίαν καὶ Σαλαμίνα ἑκατὸν ἐφύλασσαν* (430 or 428 B.C., or spurious?).

⁵⁰ See also Plutarch (*Solon*, 19, 4) for the amnesty of Solon; Andokides (I, 73), Xenophon

quoted by Andokides (I, 77-79), there followed a list of exceptions to the amnesty, and these too recur in the other amnesties.⁵¹ It seems likely, therefore, that we should read, e.g., τοὺς δὲ [ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους εἶναι – –], and suppose that a list of exceptions, with particular reference to the Peisistratids, followed.

However, the recall of the exiles in our decree was not considered final. It required a further decision of the people, presumably on Salamis, whither, according to Herodotos, Aristides returned.⁵² It may be that decision, embodied in a decree also proposed by Themistokles (cf. Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 11, 1), which was known in antiquity, for, as has been pointed out, our decree does not seem to have been generally known beyond line 18, and the amnesty is not associated with the evacuation decree.

Certain phrases, also, in Plutarch and in Andokides suggest provisions that do not seem to be embodied in our decree and that were probably included in the final decree: Plutarch (*Themistocles*, 11, 1): πράττειν καὶ λέγειν τὰ βέλτιστα τῇ Ἑλλάδι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν [cf. ὥστε λέγειν ἐξεῖναι in the decree of Patrokleides quoted by Andokides (I, 77)]; Andokides (I, 107) δόντες ἀλλήλοις πίστει καὶ ὄρκους μεγάλους [cf. Andokides, I, 76, in his introduction of the decree of Patrokleides, and Lysias, XXV, 27].⁵³

The date of the recall of the exiles is given by Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 22, 8, as in the archonship of Hypsichides, i.e., 481/0 B.C. Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 11, 1, speaks of Xerxes marching through Thessaly and Boiotia at the time, but places it in his narrative after the evacuation and before the battle of Salamis.⁵⁴

The tentative approach to the problem of the exiles, rather less generous than one might have expected from patriotic allusions, is one further piece of evidence to confirm the authenticity of our text. Had we only the first eighteen lines which found their way into the literary and didactic tradition, it would have been not unreasonable

(*Hellenica*, II, 2, 11), and Lysias (XXV, 27) for the amnesty after Aigospotamoi; Demosthenes (XXVI, 11) and Lykourgos (*In Leocratem*, 41) for the amnesty after Chaironeia.

⁵¹ Cf. Plutarch, *Solon*, 19, 4; Μαρκελλίνου Βίος Θουκυδίδου, 32 (assigned to 404 B.C., after the surrender to Lysander, by J. M. Stahl, *Rh. Mus.*, XXXIX, 1884, pp. 458-465): πλὴν τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν.

⁵² The story of Xanthippos' dog in Philochoros (*Frag. Gr. Hist.*, III B, no. 328, Frag. 116) shows Xanthippos participating in the evacuation of Attika. This may be after the proclamation, which would then be dated after the final decision.

⁵³ The phrase τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους may well have been used in both decrees. I agree with C. Hignett, *A History of the Athenian Constitution*, Oxford, 1952, pp. 163-164, that a change in the future conditions of residence for men ostracized, as described by Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, 22, 8), is hardly conceivable in this crisis.

⁵⁴ Nepos (*Aristides*, 2, 1) speaks of Aristides not yet released from his *poena* at the time of Salamis, which is impossible if he commanded the troops used against Psyttaleia, and which conflicts directly with Aristotle. Andokides (I, 107) puts the recall before Marathon rather than Salamis; cf. A. E. Raubitschek, *Rh. Mus.*, XCVIII, 1955, p. 259, note 2.

to suspect them of being the creation of the antiquarian enthusiasm of Lykourgan Athens. But it is too much to suppose that any antiquarian forger could be responsible for all the following points: trierarchs chosen for qualities of command rather than wealth, a larger number of marines than were used even fifty years later and disagreeing also with the numbers for the battle of Salamis itself, the term *τάξις* of a contingent forming a crew (only in Aischylos, writing of Salamis), the careful spelling out of the practical details of mobilization, the epithet *Παγκρατής* of Zeus (most prominent in the contemporary Aischylos), the early date of the decree which destroys the Athenian claim of having been forced to abandon the city by the Peloponnesian failure to fight in Boiotia, the cautious commitment of only half the fleet to Artemision, and finally the gradual rapprochement with the exiles. What the history of the decree may have been between its passage and its publication in Troizen over 150 years later we can only guess, but we know too little to deny that it could have survived. Very likely we owe to the historical sense of the Greeks themselves, and to their desire at a time when freedom seemed once again in peril to recapture the spirit of the great struggles of the past, both the form of this text and our very knowledge of what may justly be called the clearest new light on the Persian Wars.

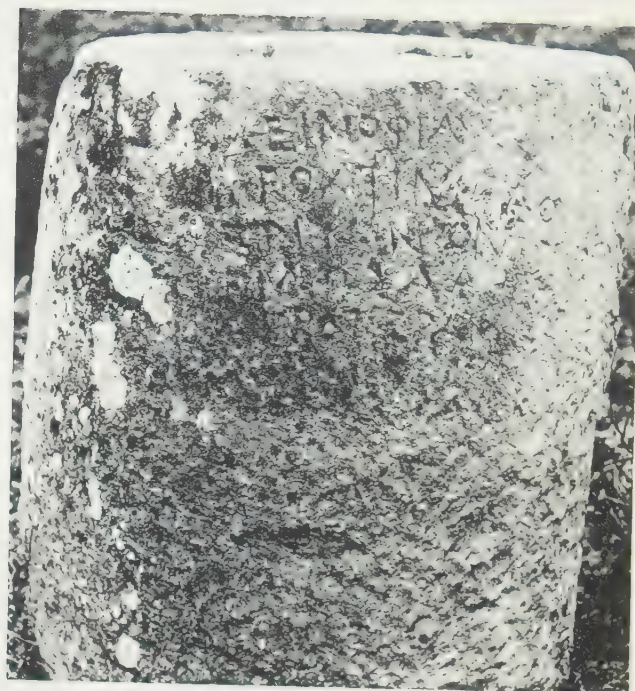
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No. 1: Inscribed face.



No. 2: Inscribed face.



No. 1: Top.



No. 2: Top.

JAMES R. MCCREDIE AND ARTHUR STEINBERG: TWO BOEOTIAN DEDICATIONS



a. The Plain of Leuktra from Eutresis.



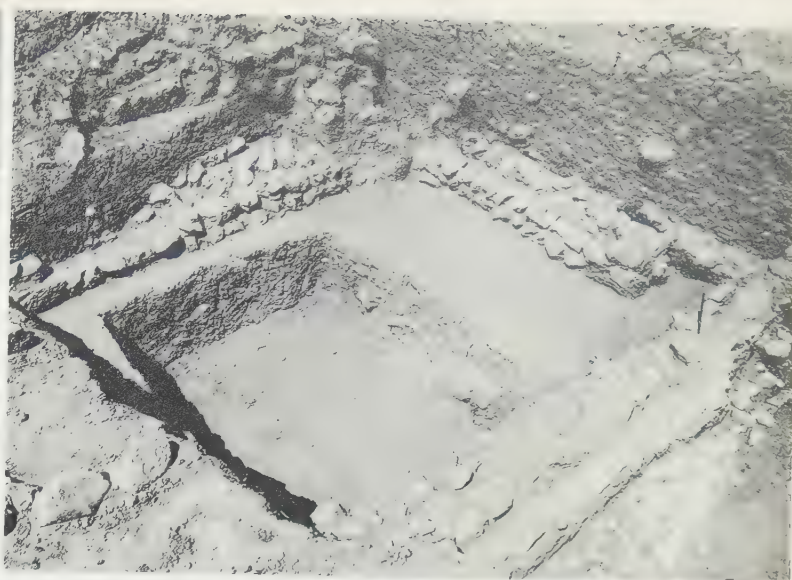
b. Trench A from East. Building O and Retaining Wall.



c. Trench A from East. North Wall of House L.



a. Trench A from East. House 9.



b. House 9 from Southeast.



c. Trench A from West. Fifth Pavement.

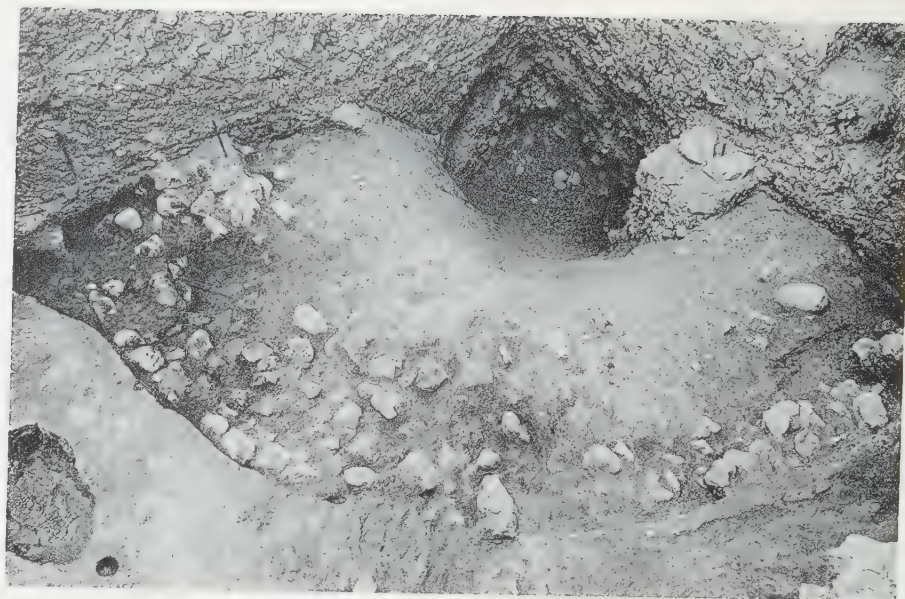


d. Fifth Pavement above Fourth.



e. Fourth Pavement.

JOHN L. AND ELIZABETH G. CASKEY
THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENTS AT EUTRESIS. SUPPLEMENTARY EXCAVATIONS, 1958.



a. Wall of Building B and Shaft of Chasm.



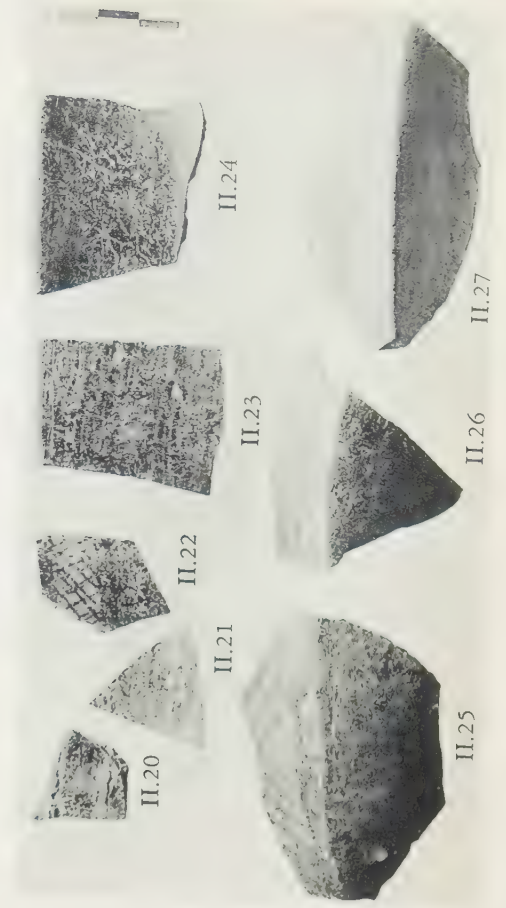
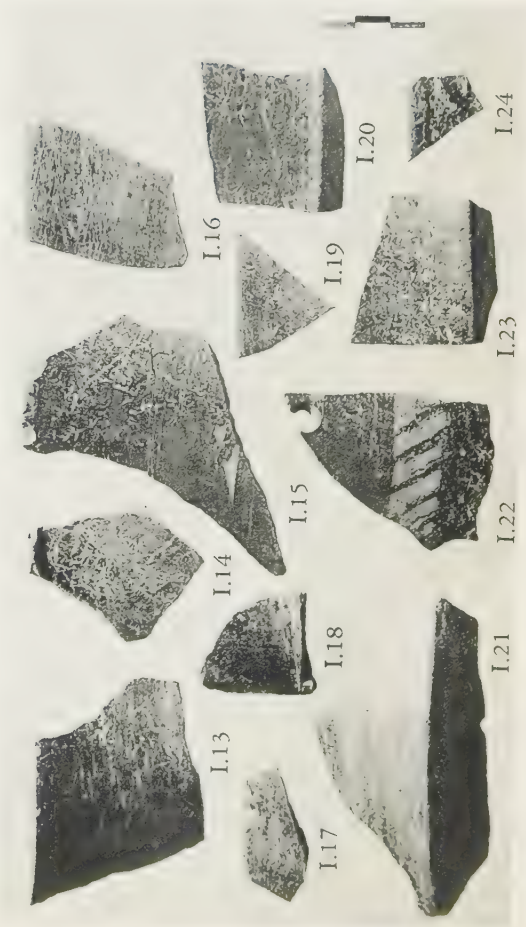
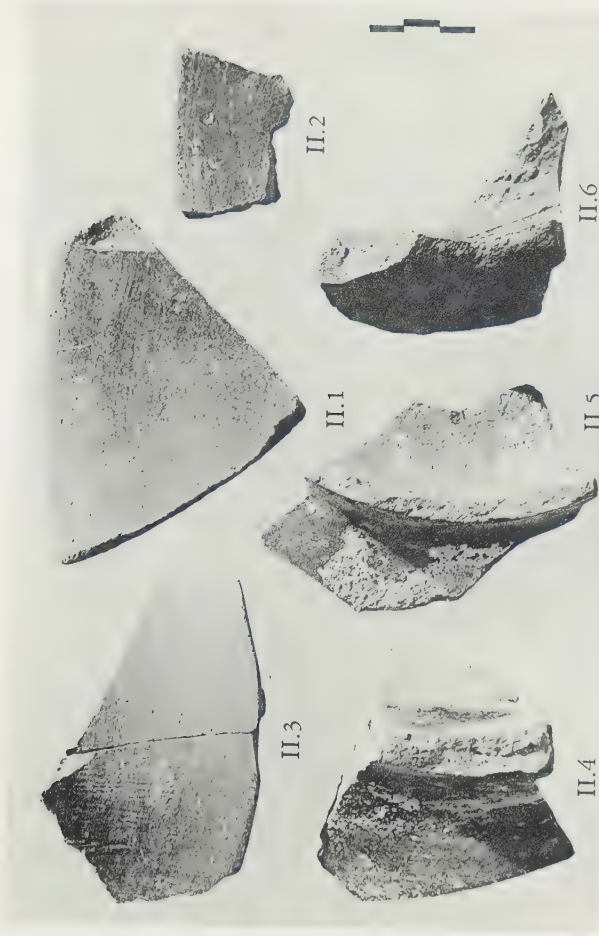
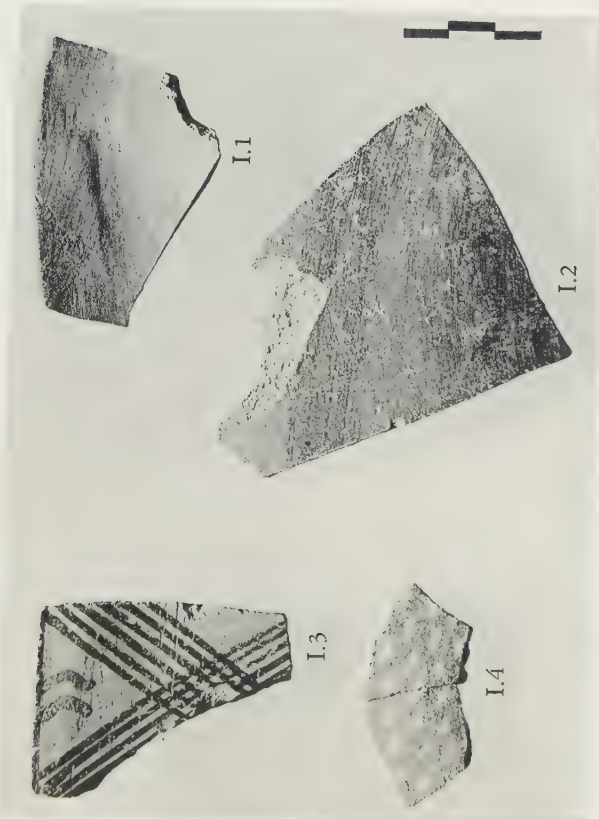
b. Rim of Chasm.



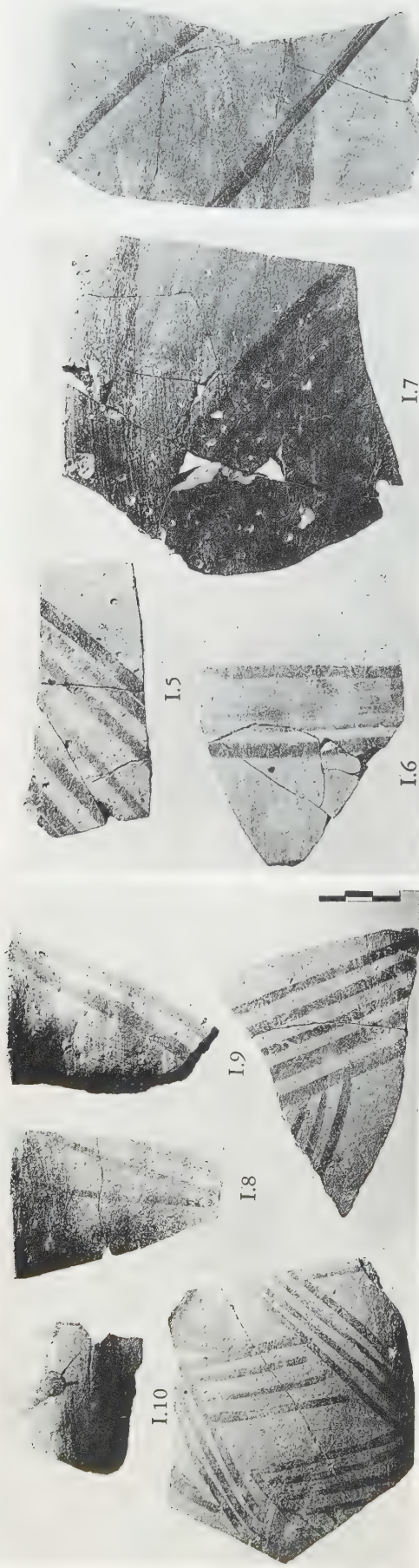
c. Trench A from East. Cavities in Virgin Soil.



d. Trench A from West. Virgin Soil.
Workmen in Trench B, above.



JOHN L. AND ELIZABETH G. CASKEY
THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENTS AT EUTRESIS, SUPPLEMENTARY EXCAVATIONS, 1958.



I.11

I.7

I.5

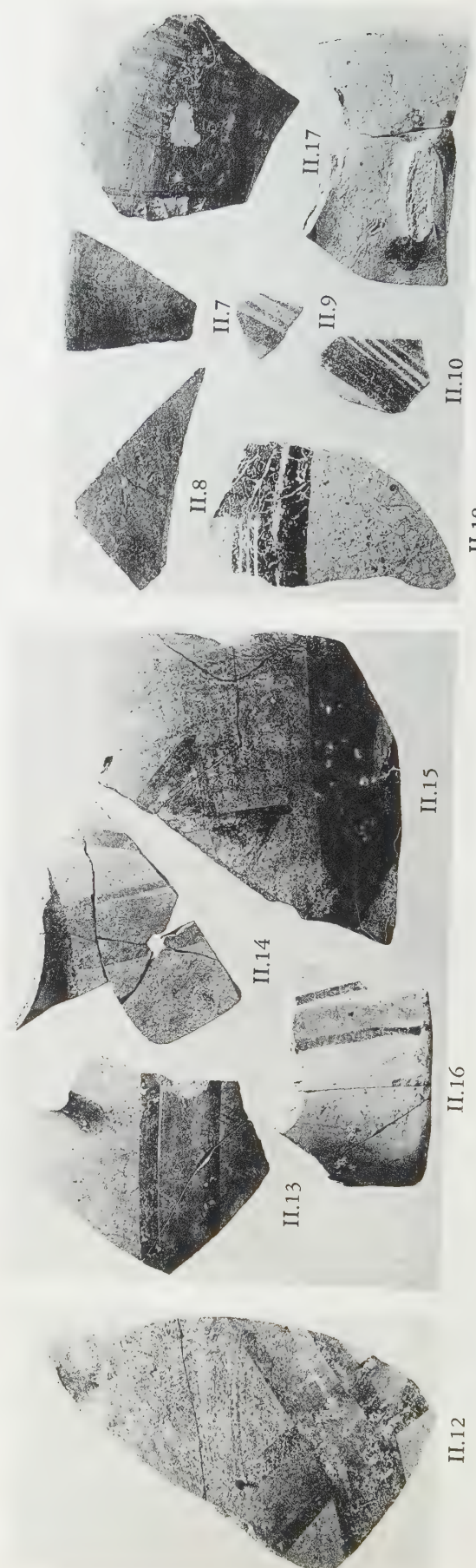
I.6

I.9

I.8

I.12

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II.19

II.10

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II.7

II.17

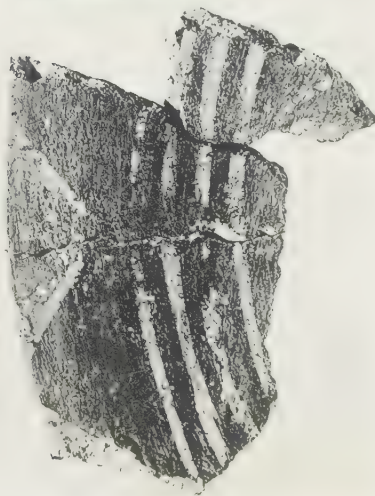
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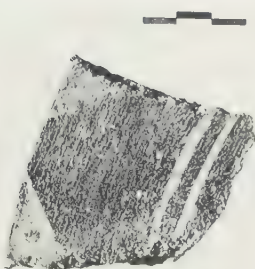
THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENTS AT EUTRESIS. SUPPLEMENTARY EXCAVATIONS, 1958.



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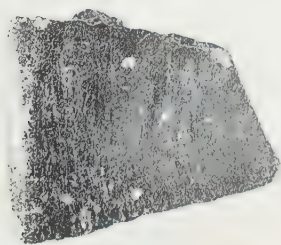
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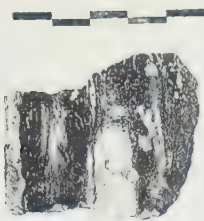
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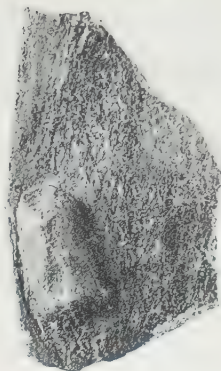
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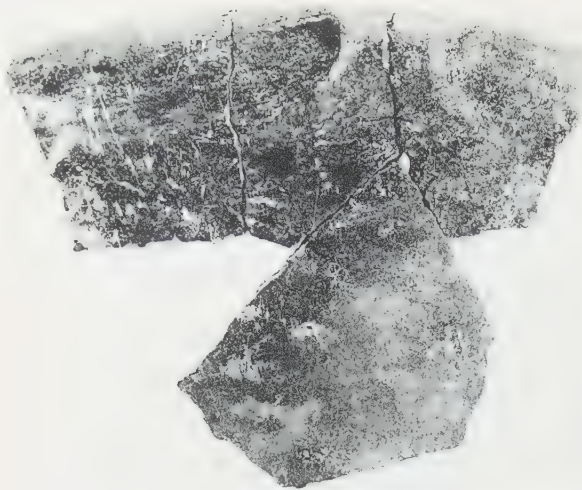
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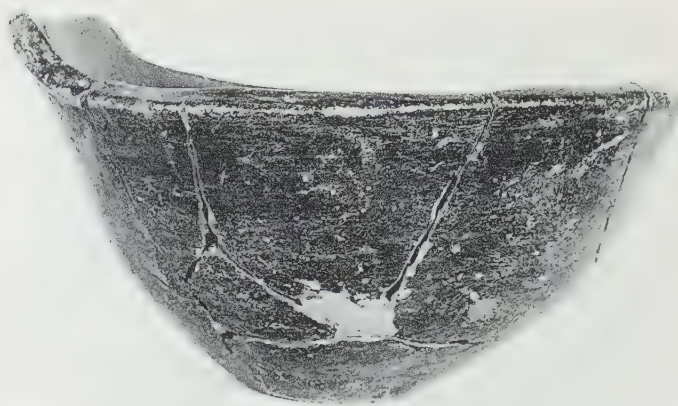
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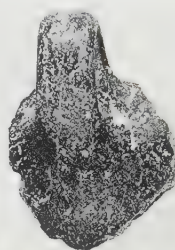
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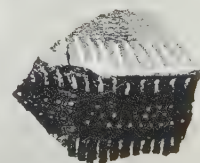
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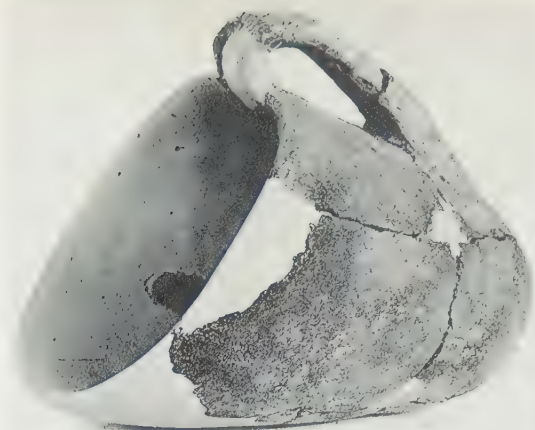


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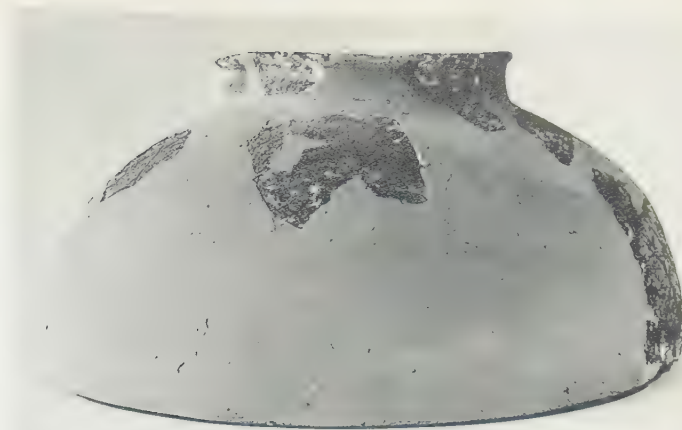


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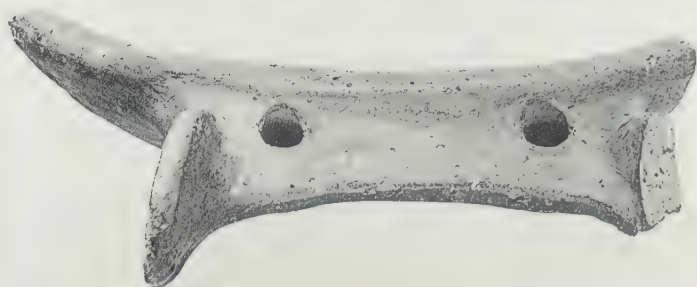
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THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENTS AT EUTRESIS. SUPPLEMENTARY EXCAVATIONS, 1958.



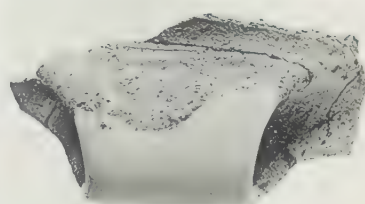
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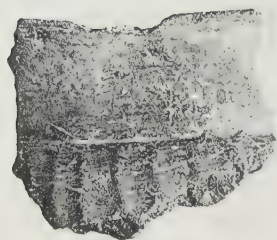
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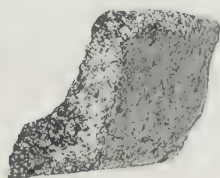
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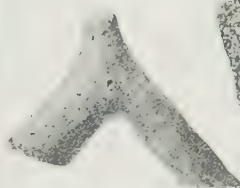
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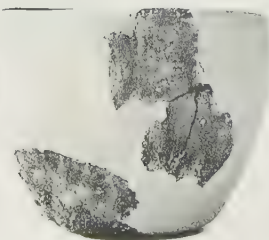
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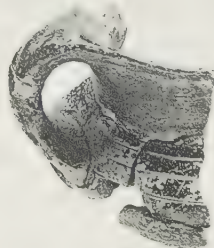
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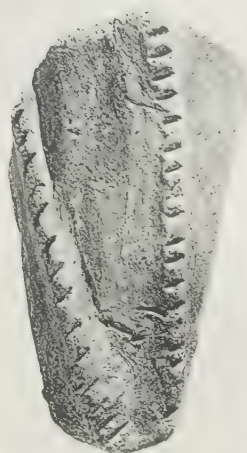
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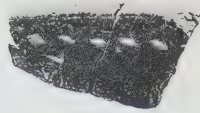


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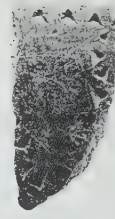
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VII.1



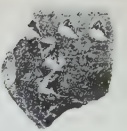
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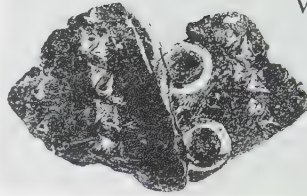
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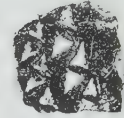
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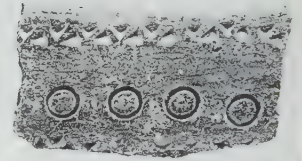
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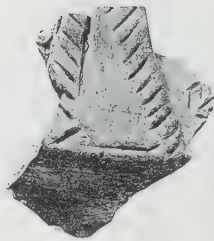
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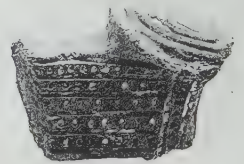
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VIII.29



VIII.19



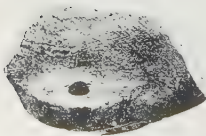
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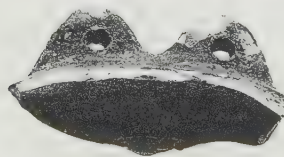
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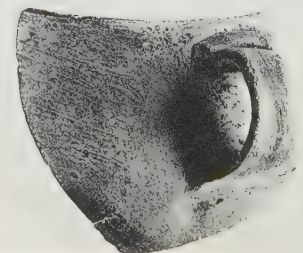
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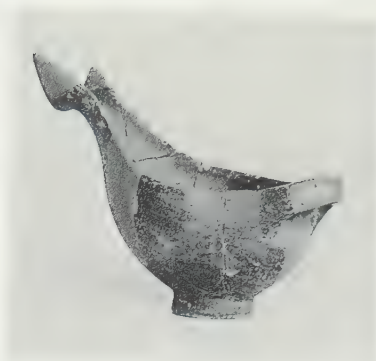


VIII.38

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VIII.15



VIII.7



VIII.13



VIII.44



VIII.39



VIII.35

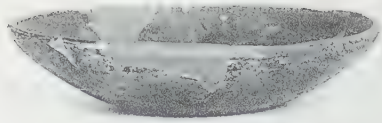


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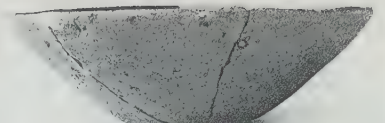
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THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENTS AT EUTRESIS. SUPPLEMENTARY EXCAVATIONS, 1958.



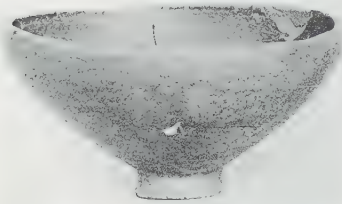
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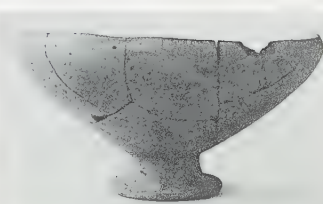
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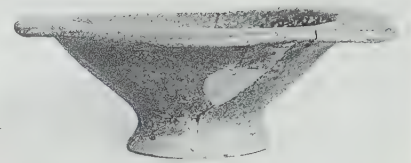
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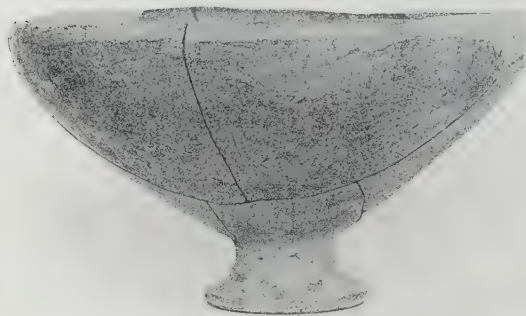
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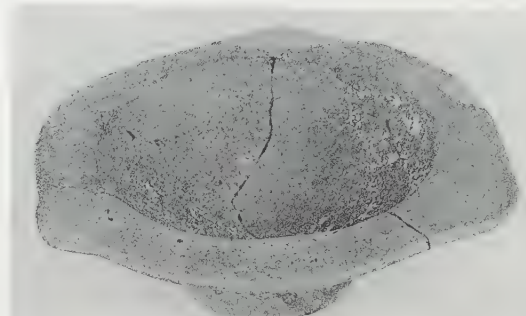
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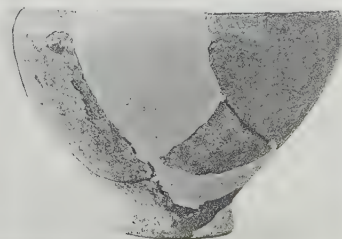
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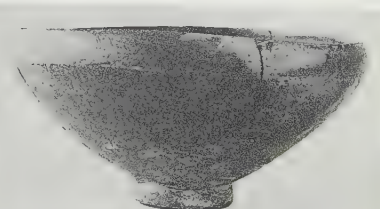
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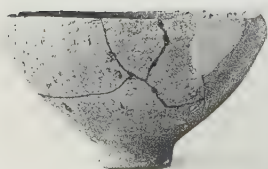
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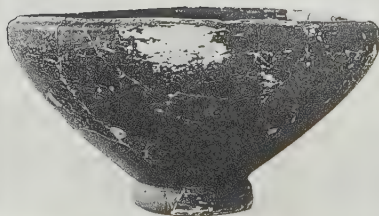
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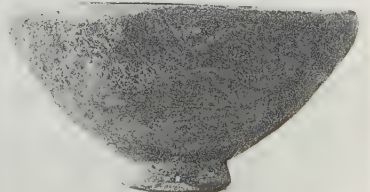
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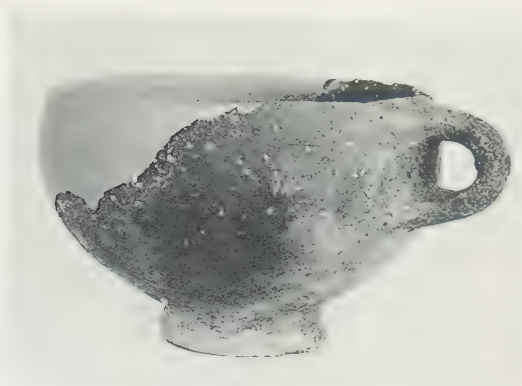


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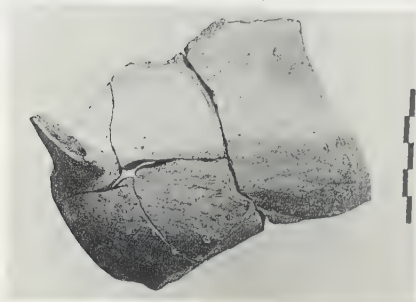
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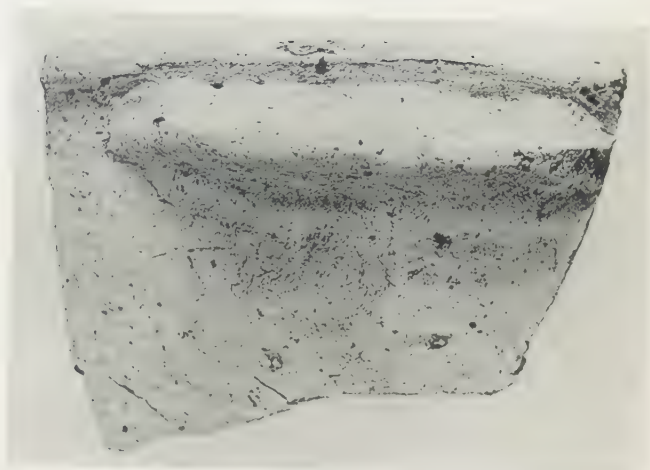
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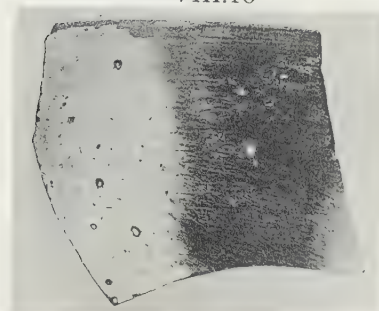
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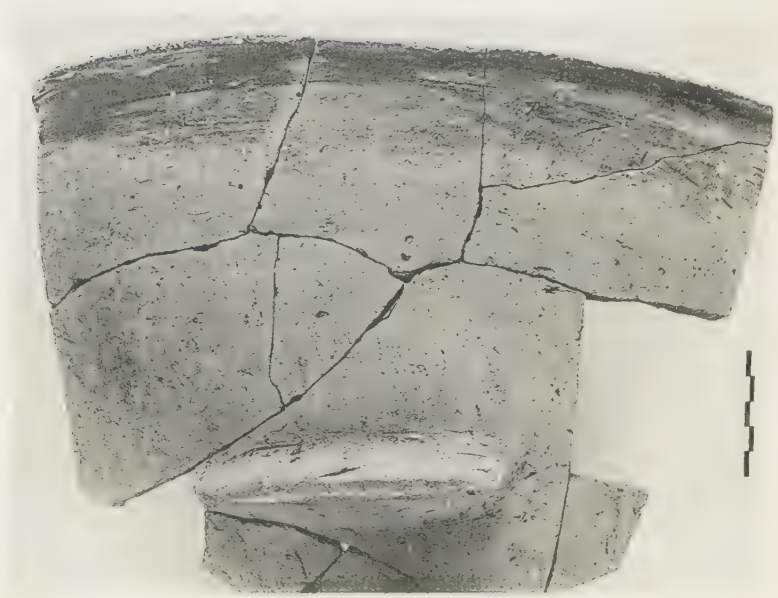
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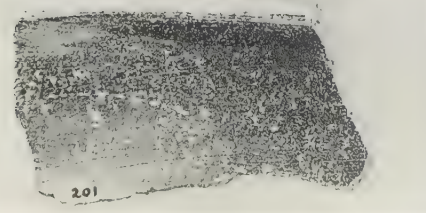
VIII.27



VIII.56



VIII.10



VIII.11

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THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENTS AT EUTRESIS. SUPPLEMENTARY EXCAVATIONS, 1958.



I.33 1:1



II.47 1:1



(I).34 1:1



III.21



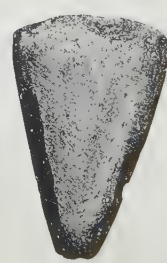
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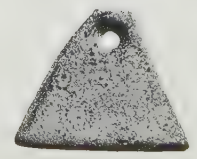
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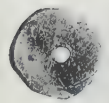


V.6

JOHN L. AND ELIZABETH G. CASKEY
THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENTS AT EUTRESIS. SUPPLEMENTARY EXCAVATIONS, 1958.



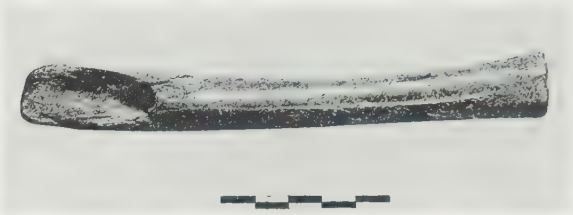
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III.17



III.18



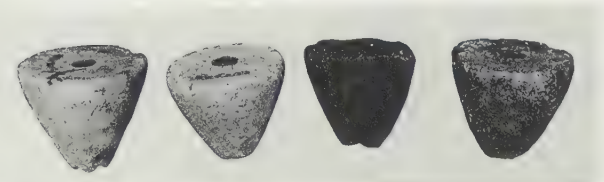
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IV.26

III.23

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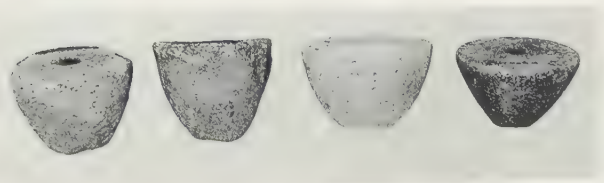


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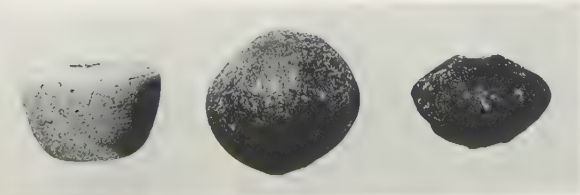


VIII.64

VII.3

VIII.68

VIII.69



VIII.70

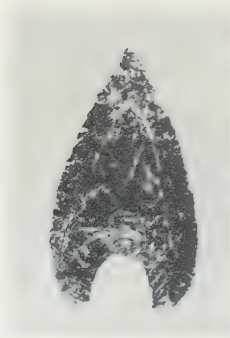
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X.2

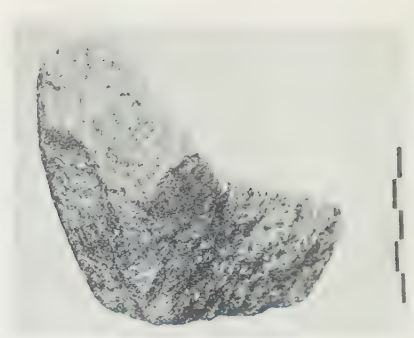


VIII.61

VII.2



Unstratified 1:1



IX.1



VIII.66

IV.21

IV.22

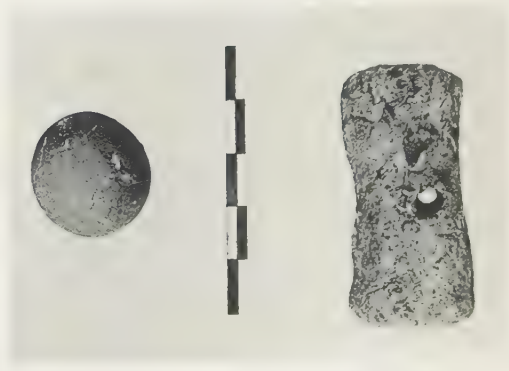
VIII.67

II.46

IX.2



VIII.65' 1:1



VIII.63

IX.3



No. 1. Skyphoid Krater, Side A.



No. 1. Side B.



No. 2. Skyphos.



No. 1. From above.



No. 1. Figures 1, 2.



No. 1. Figures 3, 4.



No. 1. Side A.



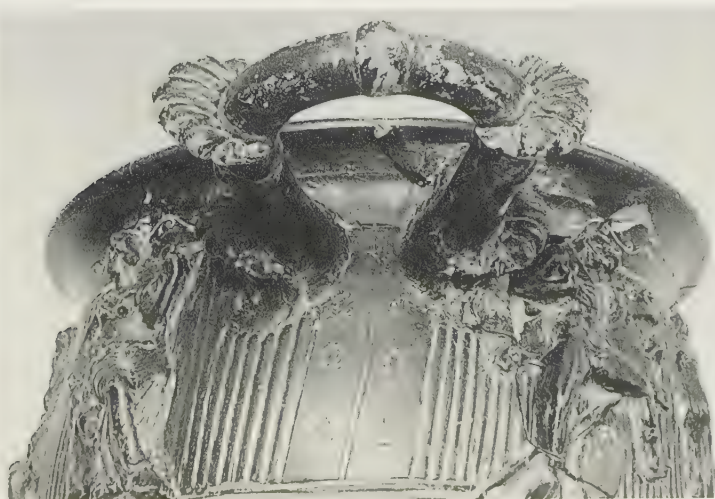
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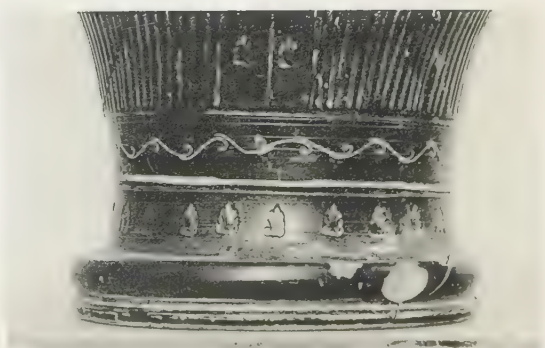
No. 1. Figures 5, 6.



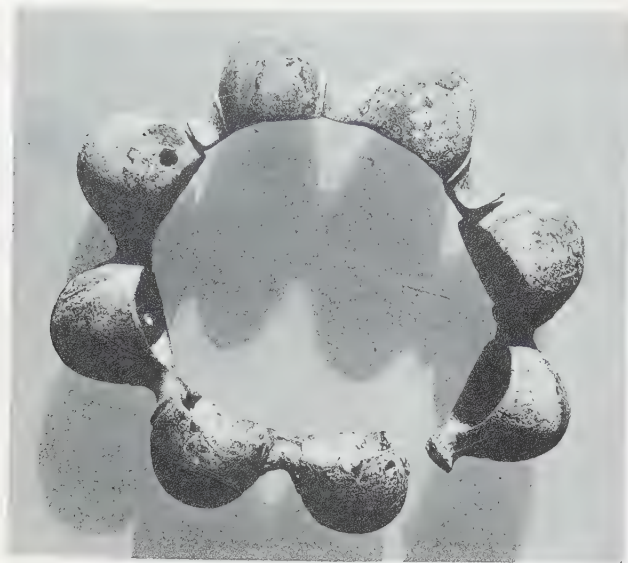
No. 1. Figure 7.



No. 1. Handle.



No. 1. Foot.



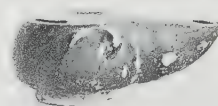
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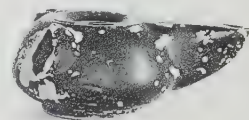
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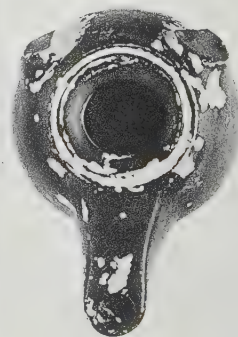
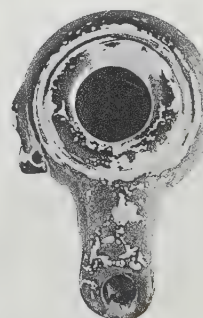
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No. 13



No. 12



No. 4

No. 5



No. 11

No. 10

EXCAVATIONS AT CORINTH, 1959

(PLATES 57-64)

PART I

EXCAVATION was resumed in Ancient Corinth in the spring of 1959 after an interval of five years.¹ Between 1951 and 1957 five important volumes had been published on the architectural monuments of Corinth, classical and medieval.² As a result of this activity and of the campaigns of excavation just before and after the war, the Roman and Byzantine architectural remains of the agora of Corinth had been in large measure exposed and published. There remained, however, one area within the limits of the classical agora in which no excavation had yet been attempted: the southwest corner, between the west end of the South Stoa and the south end of the West Shops.³ In 1959, when the School's excavation at Lerna was drawing to a close, it was decided to resume work at Corinth and to start in the southwest corner of the Agora.⁴ Since this area of some 1700 square meters (Fig. 1, bottom center) presented an opportunity of studying as a unit a large extent of Byzantine remains, it was decided to clear the entire corner, within the fenced archaeological zone, to Byzantine levels and only after a thorough study of these to proceed further to the Roman and Greek deposits.

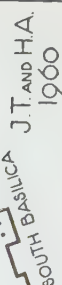
¹ For the reports of the last excavation campaigns, see *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 131-140; XXIV, 1955, pp. 147-157.

² I, iii, *The Monuments of the Lower Agora and North of the Archaic Temple*, by R. L. Scranton; I, iv, *The South Stoa and its Roman Successors*, by Oscar Broneer; II, *The Theater*, by Richard Stillwell; XIV, *The Asklepieion and Lerna*, by Carl Roebuck; XVI, *Mediaeval Architecture in the Central Area of Corinth*, by R. L. Scranton. Volume I, v, *The Southeast Building, The Twin Basilicas, The Mosaic House*, by Saul S. Weinberg, has appeared in 1960.

³ See *Corinth*, XVI, plan IV, grid M-O/1-4.

⁴ Work began on April 6, 1959, and continued until May 27. Elizabeth Milburn, White Fellow of the School, and Alesandra Schmidt, Arnold Fellow from Brown University, assisted in the direction of the field work. Evangelos Lekkas was again our foreman. George Kachros, though retired, continued to supervise the mending room, with the assistance of Nikos Didaskalou. John Travlos, the Architect of School Excavations, in the fall and winter of 1959-60 drew up the plans which are here published. The photographs were taken in part by J. L. Caskey. For whole-hearted support and encouragement I am deeply indebted to Mr. Caskey and also to Nikolaos Verdelis, Ephor of Corinthia and Argolis; Dimitrios Pallas, Ephor of Byzantine Antiquities for the Peloponnese, Northwest Greece and the Ionian Islands, showed great interest in our work and gave much valuable advice. I should like to express the sincere thanks of the School for the financial support given to the Corinth Excavations in 1959 by Brown University.

A report on Mr. Weinberg's separate excavation of Neolithic deposits at Corinth in 1959 appears below, pp. 240-253.



The clearance in 1959 of some 800 square meters of the available area enabled us to expose the Byzantine structures shown in Figure 2. Extending north from the northwest corner of the South Stoa, a row of stumps of Doric monolithic columns of the archaic period marks the line of an aqueduct built in Roman times.⁵ In the Byzantine era some of these column stumps still rose above ground level and formed the eastern edge of a firmly packed, gravelled road which descended from the south (Pl. 57, a).⁶ Beyond the fifth column north of the corner of the South Stoa the road turned northeast and entered the agora of the Byzantine city.⁷ The road metal here showed that this thoroughfare had carried heavy traffic during the 12th and early 13th centuries after Christ and that it had gone out of use in the Frankish period, in the later 13th century. Bordering the road on the west appeared a complex of structures of which only the northern eight rooms (1-8 on Fig. 2) can now be distinguished as a unit. Here we found four two-room apartments, none of which appears to have communicated with another (Pl. 57, a, b). Each apartment was entered from the road at the east; from the east room a door led into a western chamber; from that, in turn, another door gave access to a large open courtyard behind the structure (Pl. 57, c).⁸ Though the four apartments were independent of one another, they appear to have used the courtyard in common, since no dividing walls were found within that area. The walls of the building are of poor construction, employing much re-used material (including some poros blocks which probably belong to the South Stoa), field stones, brick and tile fragments; no mortar was utilized in the construction. In one doorway (between rooms 5 and 6) the threshold is of marble (an Ionic column capital, re-used); the other thresholds are of poros blocks or small stones. Floor levels were distinguished only with difficulty. In every case the floor was of earth and appears to have been laid about 0.10 m. below the threshold. In several rooms successive floor levels could be observed and there was some indication of elevation of the thresholds as the exterior and interior ground levels were raised. The earliest of the floors, however, cannot be dated before the end of the 11th century, while the last belongs to a period not later than the beginning of the 13th. The life of these eight rooms, in the arrangement in which they appear in Figure 2, was little more than one hundred years; they went out of use before traffic ceased on the road at the east. Many of the walls were built over earlier walls of the same or only slightly

⁵ *Corinth*, XVI, pp. 2, 24 (5th century after Christ); *Corinth*, I, iv, p. 155 (Hadrianic).

⁶ The level of the road drops approximately 1.00 m. in a distance of about 30.00 m. from the southern limit of the excavation. The highest preserved road strosis was observed at 84.10 m. above sea level at the south, at 83.04 m. further north. The depth of the road gravel was as much as 2.00 m. at some points. For datum point and bench marks, see Appendix, pp. 00-00 and Figure 5.

⁷ The northeast extension of the road was discovered in earlier campaigns. See *Corinth*, XVI, plan VI, grid L-M/4 ("The Road to Acrocorinth").

⁸ Room 2 did not communicate directly with the court, but with another room at the north which was excavated in earlier campaigns; that room may have had a means of egress to the court.

different orientation; but even the earlier walls cannot long antedate those of the 12th century settlement. For, although the plan of earlier structures is not yet clear because of the overlying building, excavation to considerable depth in all or a part of each of the eight rooms revealed no significant deposits which could be dated by pottery or coins to the period between the 6th and the late 11th centuries.

Living arrangements within the apartments were simple in the extreme. Only in two rooms could we distinguish built hearths. In the northeast corner of room 7 is a rectangular structure, built of materials similar to those of the walls, 1.80 m. x 0.95 m. and rising 0.30 m. above the hard-packed earth floor (Pl. 57, d). The hearth proper appears to have been in the western half of the rectangle, while the eastern portion, filled with stones, may have provided a levelled space on which to set pots after cooking. In the northeast corner of room 1 a curving line of small stones forms a very simple hearth of modest dimensions. Against the east wall of the same room rests a small block of poros (0.40 m. square) rising 0.23 m. above the floor level; this, too, appears to have served as a hearth, for a depression in its top surface (0.27 m. x 0.30 m.; 0.12 m. deep) was found partly filled with soft black ash. In room 2 we observed along the west wall four slabs of stone projecting into the room at a level about 0.10 m. above the 12th century floor level; in the northeast corner, at approximately the same level, appeared a marble column base (taken from the colonnade of the West Shops), placed upside down (Pl. 57, c, upper right). The column base may have served as a low table or table-support; the blocks along the west wall might have supported a bench. Other than these, we found no traces of interior arrangements of a permanent character in rooms 1 to 8.

No storage pithoi were found in any of the rooms, nor was there any evidence of wells or cisterns in use in the 12th century. Presumably water was brought from some near-by spring (the fountain of "Hadji Mustafa," which must have served in Byzantine as it certainly did in Turkish times, lies some 300 m. to the south and west) or perhaps from a well in the courtyard to the west, still not completely excavated.

South of the four-unit structure just mentioned lies a more impressive building oriented from east to west, its east wall lying some three to four meters west of the gravelled road. This building (rooms 10 and 12) obviously antedates rooms 1-8 and probably antedates the 12th century road gravel as well, since it is not constructed in relation to the direction of the road. Built very solidly, it is constructed of square piers of poros set at intervals of about 2.00 m.; the spaces between the piers are filled with smaller blocks of poros, field stones, brick and tile; the fragments of brick and tile are frequently set in the vertical as well as the horizontal joints of the masonry. No mortar is employed. This pattern of construction appears also in some parts of the walls of rooms 1-8, 9 and 11 (Pl. 57, c); but here the execution is much more careful. At several points in rooms 10 and 12 the walls are preserved to sufficient

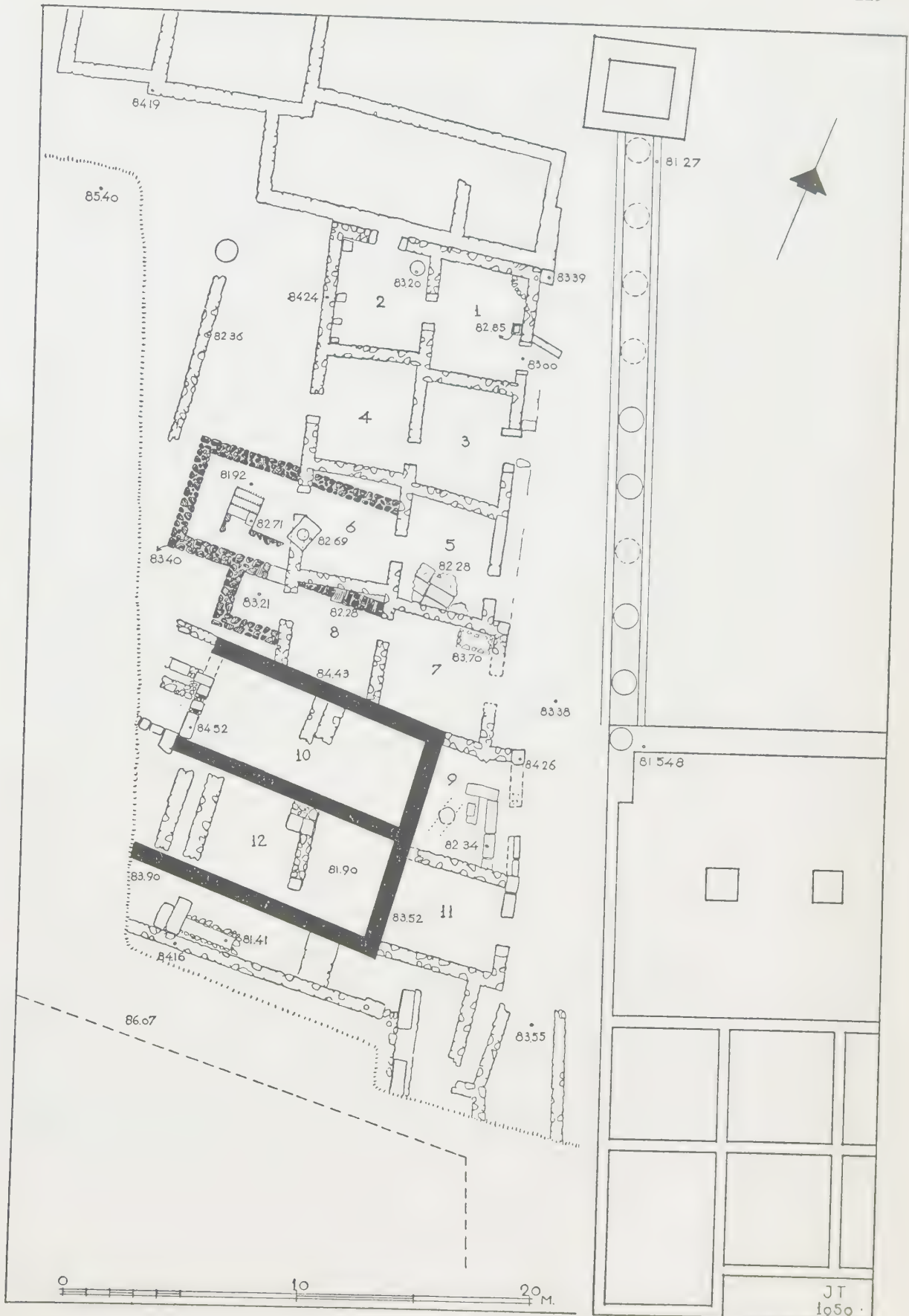


FIG. 2. Corinth. Plan of Byzantine Settlement in Southwest Corner of Central Area (1959).

height to show that each pier (*ca.* 1.00 m. to 1.50 m. in height) was capped by a wider block (Pl. 58, b) above which rose a second pier. The arrangement of vertical piers and horizontal cap stones creates a cross pattern which is met frequently in Byzantine architecture of the 11th and 12th centuries—examples are to be seen in the Argolid, Corinthia, Attica and elsewhere;⁹ but our building is an especially good example, of careful workmanship, the walls 0.70 m. thick. The building is divided longitudinally; the west end of the structure has not yet been found, though we have excavated for a distance of 12.00 m. beyond the east wall. The highest preserved point of the wall is at 84.50 m. above datum. At several points within rooms 10 and 12 we have dug to 81.70 m. above datum without reaching the bottom of the wall. Moreover, we have found no doorways in the walls, nor any thresholds. At two points the wall is broken—where room 7 abuts against room 10 and near the western end of the south wall of room 12 (Pl. 58, b)—but in both places the gaps are due to pillaging of the walls in the late 13th century. Further, the fill within the rooms, below 83.00 m., is primarily late Roman. It appears probable that the Byzantine builders dug well over a meter down through an accumulation of Roman (and even of Hellenistic) fill in order to make the trenches for the foundations of the walls of rooms 10 and 12. The quality of the construction is surprising indeed for what must have been in large measure invisible foundation. It should be pointed out, however, that because of the general incline of terrain down toward the north, the north face of the building was probably exposed to a greater depth than the south face in the time before the construction of the adjoining rooms (1-8) at the north.

Between the large early building and the north-south road two rooms were built in the 12th century (9 and 11). These do not seem to have communicated with one another nor with rooms 10 or 12 to the west. The interpretation of the few walls which appeared to the south of rooms 11 and 12 must await further excavation in the area (now private property) which lies due south of the fenced archaeological zone at this point.

It is fortunate that the excavation has given us a clear indication of the use of most of these various rooms. In at least one room of each apartment (in rooms 1, 4, 5, 7) and in room 11 also were found scoriae of iron and bronze, fragments of small crucibles, bits of moulds of stone and clay for casting metal objects, and partly finished objects of bronze which had been left in the condition in which they emerged from the moulds. The greatest concentration of these traces of industrial activity was in room 4, which would appear to have been the principal factory in the group. It is well to recall that at points even closer to the center of the Byzantine agora have been

⁹ See Megaw, *B.S.A.*, XXXII, 1931-32, pp. 100-102 (Holy Apostles and Kapnikarea in Athens; Daphni); Struck, *Ath. Mitth.*, XXXIV, 1909, pp. 196-201 (Chonika in the Argolid); *Corinth*, XVI, pp. 98-99; Stikas, *L'église byzantine de Christianou*, 1951, pp. 24-25 (Christianou in Triphyli).

found potteries and glass factories.¹⁰ These establishments were for the most part on the south edge of the agora, as, in a sense, are our bronze-working shops.

At a few points we have exposed walls of pre-Byzantine date. Beneath and to the west of rooms 6 and 8 are two rooms, probably of late Roman times (Pl. 57, b). Within the western half of the northern room lies a flight of stairs, of which three treads are preserved, rising from north to south (Pl. 58, a).¹¹ It is possible that the fourth tread constituted a landing from which the stair turned at a right angle and continued up to the east, along the inner face of the south wall of the room. This area will be investigated more fully in the 1960 campaign. In room 9 two Roman walls, extending in a north-south direction, lie about 0.75 m. below the 12th century floor level. Just to the west of these walls, and about 0.30 m. below their highest preserved point, is the mouth of a manhole; this was found covered by a marble relief (Pl. 60, a; below, p. 235) placed upside down, and by irregular slabs of rough stone. Below the cover slabs the shaft extended down only 3.70 m. At bottom (78.39 m. above datum) channels 1.00 m. wide and 1.70 m. high open out to northeast and southwest. The fill in the shaft was consistently late Roman, of the 4th and 5th centuries. We made no effort during the 1959 season to open the channels, the roof of which lies about 1.25 m. below the level of the stylobate of the South Stoa. Below the base of the west wall of room 6 appeared another manhole, covered by a single slab of poros (Pl. 57, b, behind the stairway). The wellhead was cut in part into a block of fine poros, the mouldings on which are similar in character to those of the copings on the triglyph walls above the Sacred Spring (Fig. 3).¹² The upper fill of the shaft contained Byzantine pottery; at the bottom, where channels opened out to northwest and southeast, the fill appeared to be late Roman. The floor of the channels lies at 71.38 m. above sea level. They are cut in soft clay and their roof (at 73.18 m.) is formed by the layer of conglomerate rock above the clay. Obviously we have here hit upon another of the manholes of the Peirene system; the southeast channel must certainly connect with that which was discovered earlier in the line of the west wall of the South Stoa, about 6.00 m. south of the northwest corner column of the Stoa.¹³

¹⁰ *Corinth*, XVI, pp. 35, 47-48, 49, 56, 59, 61, 67-68, 73, 135.

¹¹ The lowest two treads are partly covered by a mass of later masonry.

¹² A 350. Cf. *A.J.A.*, VI, 1902, p. 309, fig. 2, pl. IX; L. T. Shoe, *Profiles of Greek Mouldings*, 1936, pl. L, 19. The mouldings of the newly discovered stone differ in part from those of each of the two series of triglyph wall copings which occur in the area of the Sacred Spring; our coping must represent a third triglyph wall located somewhere in the central area of Corinth of the 5th century before Christ. The fine stucco which covered the surface has suffered considerable damage and the colors of the painted ornament have faded, for the most part, beyond recovery. However, the incised lines of a complex meander can be read on the upper fascia; the cavetto shows traces of a painted leaf pattern, similar to that illustrated in *A.J.A.*, VI, 1902, pl. IX; some red paint can be distinguished on the lowest fascia, probably a band of solid color without ornament.

¹³ *Corinth*, I, iv, p. 5, plan IX.

In room 5, at 82.28 m. above datum (and 0.73 m. above the stylobate of the South Stoa) appeared several slabs of limestone, possibly paving blocks such as those of the Lechaion and Kenchreai roads. The stones may be in situ and may thus represent the road which in Roman times led south from the Agora toward Acrocorinth.



FIG. 3. Triglyph Wall Coping Stone. Profile. Scale 1:3.

By the 4th or 5th century after Christ the traffic on this road must have decreased appreciably, for we found the remains of a limekiln built over the paving blocks in the area of room 5.

Two large sections of a marble, Ionic raking cornice were found lying flat in the lower levels of the filling of the courtyard west of rooms 2 and 4. On neither block is the full width preserved; each has been cut, for re-use, out of a wider block, but they are not both from the same block. The proportions of the cyma reversa of the geison soffit and the inconsiderable height of the fascia beneath the cyma may indicate

a 3rd or 2nd century B.C. date (Fig. 4).¹⁴ It is indeed tantalizing to find these remains of a building of the Greek period which must have been of exceptional importance and magnificence; marble as a building material at Corinth in Greek times is most uncommon after the 6th century.



FIG. 4. Ionic Raking Cornice. Profile. Scale 1:2.

In addition to the pre-Byzantine structures, there appeared a few of post-Byzantine date, possibly Frankish of the late 13th or 14th century. The isolated fragments of wall of these buildings, found not far below the modern surface, were not sufficiently well-preserved to provide any coherent plan.

THE FINDS

Pottery was turned up in embarrassing quantity. The glazed wares of Corinth in Byzantine times are already well known through Morgan's volume on the Byzantine pottery.¹⁵ It was not to be expected that our campaign would materially enhance our knowledge of these wares. Yet several interesting finds did appear. A sgraffito plate of mid 12th century style,¹⁶ unfortunately fragmentary, is decorated with a figure of a bird (facing l., head turned r.) and an inscription incised around the rim, under the glaze (Pl. 58, c): (fragment a) -]νατουστοπερηφανεσδηκαστηρηοντουαφ[-; (fragment b) -]νηλοσ[-; (fragment c) -]ενησκ[-; (fragment d) -]ντουγανδαροτηνραγ.

¹⁴ A 351, A 352. Cf. *Profiles of Greek Mouldings*, pl. XXXI, 38, p. 74.

¹⁵ *Corinth*, XI.

¹⁶ C-59-28. Est. diam. 0.21 m. One non-joining fragment (c) which appears in Plate 58, c was found on the third day of the 1960 campaign.

The large cursive *omega* which appears within a rectangular frame below the bird's tail would appear to mark the beginning of the text, for the painter had to crowd the last six letters of fragment *d* in beside and above this frame. The condition of the glaze and underpaint and the pattern of ornamentation suggest that the fragments should be arranged in the order given above, with the longest lacunae between *a* and *b* and between *d* and *a*. We may suggest the following reading: *-να τοὺς τὸ* (or, *τοῦ στὸ*) *περηφανὲς δηκαστήρηρον τοῦ ἀφ[έντη (?) --] νηλοσ [--] ἐνησκ[---] ν τοῦ γαυδά-ρο<ν> τήν <οὐ(?)>ράν* (or, *τὴν ῥάχ<ιν>?*). We invite interpretations of this text. The plate was decorated by the same hand which produced Corinth plates C-37-879 (Morgan, *Corinth*, XI, no. 1107, p. 276, pl. XLII, b), C-33-403 (Morgan no. 1177, p. 282, pl. XLII, a) and perhaps C-33-363 (Morgan no. 1500, p. 315); this artist we may dub the "Donkey Master."

One interesting group of 13th century pottery appeared in a bothros dug deep into the fill of the courtyard behind rooms 1-8. In addition to coarse cooking and storage vessels (Pl. 59, b),¹⁷ the group contained a number of specimens of Proto-Majolica ware and at least two imported, Near Eastern vessels (Pl. 59, a):¹⁸ a cylindrical vase of gritty fabric much like faience, covered with a thick, bluish green glaze;¹⁹ and a large amphora of fine, reddish fabric covered with metallic bluish green glaze and decorated with applied spiral ropes on the handles.²⁰ Of the coarse wares illustrated in Plate 59, b it may be remarked that both types of vessel are characteristic of Corinthian pottery of the 13th century. The amphorae with "matt painted" spirals in black or reddish brown paint on buff clay do not seem to appear before the very end of the 12th century. The cooking pots with high, plain rims are quite distinct from their counterparts of the 12th century, which generally have reddish rather than gray or black clay and have a low rim marked by a horizontal groove on the exterior (Pl. 59, c illustrates typical cooking vessels of the 12th century).²¹ In addition to the "matt painted" ware, which bears a remote and almost certainly accidental resemblance to certain Middle Helladic fabrics, our campaign of 1959 produced a few examples of another type of vessel whose decoration may quite possibly be an intentional reproduction of Protogeometric patterns (Pl. 59, d).²²

¹⁷ The vessels shown in Plate 59, b are, left to right: C-59-73, C-59-74, C-59-75, C-59-71.

¹⁸ The vessels shown in Plate 59, a are, left to right: C-59-76, C-59-77, C-59-78.

¹⁹ C-59-76. Cf. C-38-332 (*Corinth*, XI, p. 170, fig. 151, B).

²⁰ C-59-77. Cf. C-34-412.

²¹ The vessels shown in Plate 59, c are, left to right: C-59-81, C-59-85, C-59-83.

²² C-59-51. The clay is red, the dull glaze is black. None of these vessels is complete; some seem to have had four vertical handles, and in at least two instances the spout was decorated with an *appliqué* bird on either side. The French excavators at Argos report that they have discovered a grave of the Geometric period which had been disturbed in Byzantine times and resealed, after the addition of a Byzantine pot to the Geometric offerings (*B.C.H.*, LXXXIII, 1959, p. 764). It is not impossible that the chance discovery of a Protogeometric grave gave the Byzantine potter the

Sculpture and inscriptions found in the excavation were not distinguished. The most interesting piece of sculpture is the votive relief used as a cover for the manhole in room 9 (Pl. 60, a; see above p. 231).²³ This is a well-executed specimen of a common type of funeral banquet relief ("Totenmahlrelief");²⁴ the quality of the carving suggests a date in the late 4th or early 3rd century B.C.

Of the small objects of bronze the best preserved are the mortar and pestle found together in the eastern part of room 10 (Pl. 59, e) in a deposit of the 12th century.²⁵ By far the most interesting material from the excavation was the bronze-factory debris, including crucibles, moulds and incomplete bronze objects. A selection of these, all from room 4, is illustrated in Plate 60, b, c, d.²⁶

The coins of the 1959 campaign have not yet been studied in detail. Some 2500 coins were found, of which many disintegrated in cleaning. Of the bronzes, most were issues of the 12th century (especially Alexius I, 1081-1118, and Manuel I, 1143-1180) and of the 13th (Frankish rulers). One gold coin, a solidus of Constantine VII and Romanus II (945-959) turned up in fill of the early 13th century. A few bronzes of Corinth as a Roman colony present types not previously recorded.

inspiration for a new form of decoration; it is improbable, however, that the shape of the vessel was derived from the same source.

²³ S 2632. Fine-grained, white marble. H. 0.39 m.; W. 0.615 m. The damage at the center of the lower edge results from the fracture of the projecting tongue, ca. 0.125 m. wide, which fastened the relief to its stela-base (cf. Reinach, *Répertoire de reliefs grecs et romains*, II, 1912, p. 43, 4); after this damage the relief was re-erected and held in position by means of four metal clamps, the cuttings for which appear in either side and at the two lower corners. There is no trace of inscription.

The relief panel is enclosed by pilasters at l. and r.; above, an entablature crowned by eaves tiles. An elderly, bearded male figure, half draped, head facing and crowned with polos, reclines on a draped couch; he holds a rhyton in his raised r. hand, a cup in his l. At his feet a woman is seated, facing r., holding in front of her with both hands a bowl containing fruits. Before the couch, a table with food (cakes, including some of pyramidal shape). At l. stands a small, youthful male figure, naked, half right; he holds a patera in his raised l. hand, an oinochoe in his r. In front of him, a large krater of slender proportions. Above the youth's head, the head and neck of a horse, to r.; the horse's head is framed by a pilaster at r. only. This relief contains no trace of the serpent which so often appears, nor are there any worshippers or attendants approaching from the left; the woman is not veiled. A close parallel to the relative positions of the figures which are present may be found in a relief from Halikarnassos, now in the British Museum (A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*, I, 1892, no. 717).

²⁴ See P. Gardner, *J.H.S.*, V, 1884, pp. 107 ff.; W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, 1902, pp. 20-23; A. H. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 298-301, 333-346; S. Reinach, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-45, 163, 178-179, 292-293, 412-414, 430-431, 507; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, *Katalog der Sammlung antiker Skulpturen*, III, 1928, K 94-101; F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains*, 1942, pp. 417 ff. (esp. p. 419, note 1); U. Hausmann, *Kunst und Heilum, Untersuchungen zu den griechischen Asklepiosreliefs*, 1958, pp. 111-124; D. von Bothmer, *Bull. Metr. Mus. Art*, XVI, 1957-58, pp. 187, 190.

²⁵ MF 10006 (mortar) and 10007. Cf. *Corinth*, XII, nos. 572, 1440.

²⁶ Plate 60, b, top row, left to right, MF 10037, MF 9998, MF 10035; below, MF 10029. Plate 60, c, MF 10036 (above) and MF 10034. Plate 60, d, MF 10018.

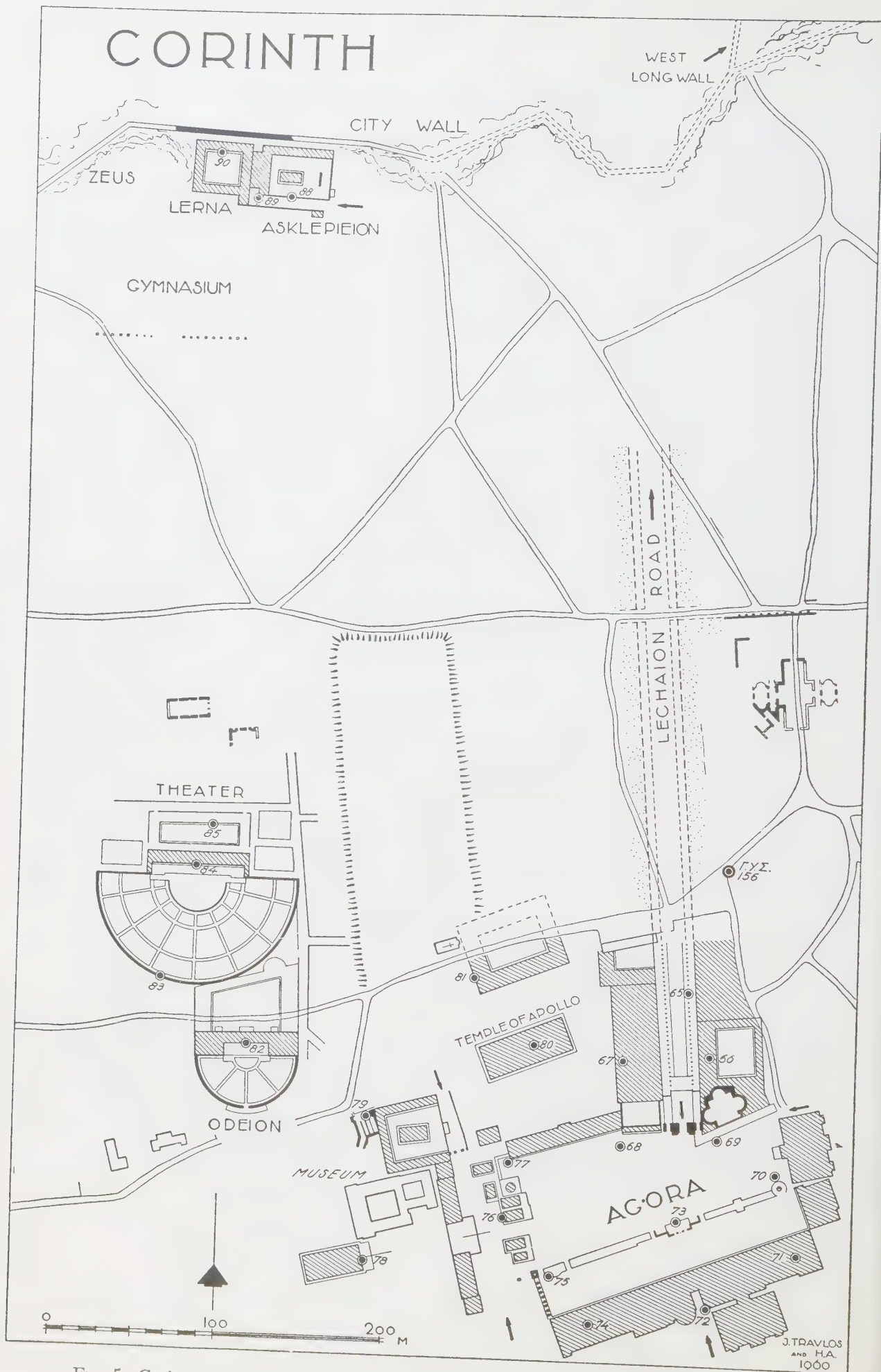


FIG. 5. Corinth. Plan of Central and Northern Areas, with Bench Marks (1960).

APPENDIX

CORINTH DATUM POINT AND BENCH MARKS

In the early years of the excavations at Ancient Corinth the datum point for determining elevations was the stylobate of the archaic temple, measured at the south-west angle.²⁷ In the publications of certain buildings a specific level within each building was used as datum point.²⁸ In more recent years, especially since the survey made in 1946 by the staff architect of the American School, John Travlos, the datum point has been mean sea level,²⁹ as determined by the Geographical Service of the Greek Army. This Service has installed in the village square of Archaia Korinthos a metal pin set at 74.046 m. above mean sea level;³⁰ that bench mark has served as the basis for Travlos' survey. Within the area of the American excavations at Ancient Corinth Travlos has set up twenty-three similar bench marks, heavy metal pins set either vertically or horizontally in cement; each is marked with the letters "A A" (Ἀμερικανικαὶ Ἀνασκαφαί) and a serial number. Figure 5 shows the positions of these bench marks. The elevation of each and a detailed description of the location appear below.³¹

AREA	BENCH MARK NUMBER	ELEVATION	LOCATION
Lechaion Road	65-V	71.204 m.	Lechaion Road, East sidewalk, 16.60 m. north of the line of the north wall of the Peribolos of Apollo, 0.78 m. east of the curb.
	66-V	72.028 m.	Temple A. In the top course of the foundations of the east cella wall, 1.18 m. north of the inner face of the south foundation wall.
	67-V	77.207 m.	North Basilica. In a masonry pier of the foundations for the western colonnade of the later Basilica, almost due west of the southwest corner column of the Greek North Building and opposite Shop IV of the Lechaion Road West Shops; on the upper surface of the third course from the top of the pier.

²⁷ *A.J.A.*, VIII, 1904, p. 438; *Corinth*, I, p. 160, note 2; *Corinth*, X, pl. III. The level of the stylobate is 84.85 m. above sea level (measured in 1946).

²⁸ *Corinth*, II (Theater), p. 15, note 2; *Corinth*, I, iv (South Stoa), p. 18, note 3.

²⁹ *Corinth*, I, iii (Lower Agora); *Corinth*, XIV (Asklepieion and Lerna).

³⁰ Γ.Υ.Σ. station no. 156; at the northeast corner of the village square, in the north wall of a building belonging to Panayotis Tselios, 0.23 m. from the northwest corner of the structure and 0.39 m. above the sidewalk.

³¹ The letters "H" and "V" appended to the several serial numbers indicate the horizontal or vertical position of the pin. The pins have a head which is circular in plan and convex in elevation. The effective measuring point is: the top of the convex surface of pins which are set vertically; the highest point on the circumference of the head of pins which are set horizontally.

AREA	BENCH MARK NUMBER	ELEVATION	LOCATION
Agora, East	68-V	77.049 m.	South of Captives Façade. Large monument base which extends from 7.30 m. to 12.30 m. east of the southeast corner of the Triglyph Wall. On top of the foundation, 2.28 m. in from the south face, 0.95 m. in from the east face.
	69-V	78.037 m.	South of Peirene. Monument base, adjacent to the south façade and near the west end of the later colonnade which lies above and to the south of Peirene. On the top surface of the foundations, 0.68 m. in from the south face and 0.45 m. in from the west face.
	70-H	78.637 m.	Central Terrace, east end. Rectangular podium in front of the Circular Monument. In the north face, 2.11 m. west of the northeast corner and 0.73 m. below the highest preserved course.
Agora, South and Center	71-V	81.046 m.	South Stoa, east end. Partition wall between Shops II and III. On the top surface of the euthynteria, at the north face of the block which bonds the intersection of the partition wall and the east-west median wall of the shops.
	72-V	82.724 m.	South Stoa. On the south wall, 0.84 m. west of the inner face of the west wall of Shop XV and immediately east of the east edge of the paved road leading south through the Stoa.
	73-V	78.164 m.	Bema. North face, on the top of the limestone euthynteria for the marble facing; 6.67 m. east of the northwest corner of the lower marble step and 0.42 m. in from the line of the north face of the step.
	74-V	81.644 m.	South Stoa, west end. In the toichobate of the front wall of the shops, on the axis of the partition wall between Shops XXIX and XXX.
Agora, West	75-H	79.947 m.	Central Shops, west end. Dionysion. In the north face of the rear wall of the west room, 0.92 m. east of the west wall and 0.47 m. above the toichobate.
	76-H	80.983 m.	Temple H ("Hērakles"). In the west face of the poros casing of the podium, between the second and third courses from the bottom, 2.69 m. south of the northwest corner of the second course.

AREA	BENCH MARK NUMBER	ELEVATION	LOCATION
Temple Hill	77-V	78.900 m.	West Terrace, north end. Lower court to east of Temple D ("Hermes"). On top of the foundations of a monument base, 2.04 m. west and 0.55 m. south of the southwest corner of the stylobate of the Northwest Shops.
	78-V	85.502 m.	Temple E. On the top surface of the lowest course of poros casing of the podium, east end, 4.42 m. north of the south face of the euthynteria and 1.02 m. west of the east line of the euthynteria.
	79-V	81.138 m.	Fountain of Glauke. On the top surface of the parapet bedding, at the joint between the north face of the draw basins and the wall which divides the two eastern basins.
	80-V	83.282 m.	Archaic Temple. In bedrock, between the foundation beddings for the interior colonnades of the cella; 4.45 m. east of the west edge of the bedding for the dividing wall of the cella and 1.23 m. north of the north edge of the bedding for the south interior colonnade.
Odeion-Theater	81-V	74.888 m.	North Market. West wall. On top of the first course above the toichobate, on the axis of the partition wall between the second and third shops from the south (<i>Corinth</i> , I, iii, plan K).
	82-V	75.910 m.	Odeion. In the top course of the foundations of the north wall of the stage building, on the axis of the central door leading to the Odeion court, 1.22 m. in from the south edge of the foundation.
	83-V	72.732 m.	Theater. Outer cavea wall. In the line of stair IX of the Greek cavea, on top of the second highest preserved course of the wall.
	84-V	58.240 m.	Theater. Near southwest corner of the "masonry foundation" set into the central passage of the Greek <i>skene</i> as basis for the central apse of the Roman <i>scaenae frons</i> (<i>Corinth</i> , II, pp. 61-62, figs. 26, 55); approximately under the position of the stairs which are restored as leading from the apse up to the level of the theater peribolos.
	85-V	60.886 m.	Theater Peribolos. On the limestone stylobate (second period) of the colonnade, north side, 5.17 m. west of the interior northeast corner of the stylobate.

AREA	BENCH MARK NUMBER	ELEVATION	LOCATION
	86		(Not yet assigned)
	87		(Not yet assigned)
Asklepieion and Lerna	88-V	52.870 m.	Asklepieion. On the highest preserved course of the south wall of the precinct colonnade, 13.95 m. east of the southwest corner of the wall.
	89-V	48.980 m.	Asklepieion. Gateway at the west end of the ramp, at the south edge of the central block of the threshold.
	90-V	47.684 m.	Lerna. On the highest preserved course of the rear wall of the north colonnade, 7.55 m. west of the northeast corner of the wall.

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES
ATHENS

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PART II

Evidence of the prehistoric occupation of Corinth appeared in the first year of the American excavations (1896) and we now know that this occupation began with the earliest pottery Neolithic culture represented in Greece and continued, with some gaps, down to the end of the Mycenaean world.¹ Most of the deposits located are of Neolithic and Early Helladic date, before 2000 B.C.; in the central area of the ancient Agora and north to the edge of the first terrace above the coastal plain, there is a gap in our evidence of occupation until Mycenaean times.¹ Only in a series of graves in the main area of the North Cemetery in the coastal plain are there remains of the Middle Helladic period.² The Late Helladic period is scantily represented here, slightly more copiously in the Cheliotomylos area near by. The systematic exploration of prehistoric Corinth began in 1914, when many of the areas revealed by chance in earlier excavations were investigated, and this work continued from 1920 to 1935,³ but most of it was of necessity done in pits and small trenches, often dug through deep deposits of the Classical and post-Roman debris, which had not yet been removed from the Agora area. Some larger trenches were dug on Temple Hill in 1937,⁴ but here the

¹ Weinberg, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 487-488; XVIII, 1949, pp. 156-157; Broneer, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 292-293.

² Shear, *A.J.A.*, XXXIV, 1930, pp. 406-409; Platner, *Art and Archaeology*, XXXI, 1931, pp. 155-160.

³ Kosmopoulos, *The Prehistoric Inhabitation of Corinth*, Munich, 1948, pp. 7-39.

⁴ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 487-524.

shallowness of the prehistoric deposit to the north of the Temple of Apollo, due to the washing out of much of the earth, and the very limited area of it preserved to the south precluded the establishment of a reliable stratigraphic sequence of Neolithic and Early Helladic deposits. For twenty-two years thereafter, the discoveries relevant to prehistoric Corinth were incidental to the excavation of later remains; all consisted of small, widely scattered deposits, none of which helped in any way to fill the need for a stratigraphic sequence.

In an attempt to discover deposits of sufficient depth to yield such information, I examined again the accounts of all previous excavations of prehistoric deposits at Corinth.⁵ Three mentions of deep and apparently well stratified deposits appeared: 1) 2.50 m. of fill of what we now call Early and Middle Neolithic, found in a trench somewhere on the south side of Temple Hill,⁶ but subsequent exploration in this area had shown that little or no fill of this nature remains here; 2) 2.50 m. of Neolithic deposit, with perhaps a few Early Helladic sherds, below the earliest graves in many parts of the North Cemetery,⁷ but with some three meters of later deposits above; 3) 3.25 m. of fill, largely Neolithic, but with some Early Helladic sherds, tested in a trench dug in 1926 in the colonnade on the east side of the Lechaion Road, just to the north of the foundations of the Greek Temple A (Fig. 1).⁸ Mrs. Kosmopoulos saw some of the prehistoric pottery taken from this trench and assigned it to her Period II, though pottery of Period I was also present; thus it seemed to be largely Early and Middle Neolithic.⁹ The last area sounded the most promising, and the Geometric, Protocorinthian and Corinthian material that had been found above the prehistoric fill, in a depth of not more than two meters, was also of great interest.

The opportunity to investigate again some of the prehistoric deposits at Corinth presented itself in the spring of 1959,¹⁰ and it was decided to start in the area east of the Lechaion Road. The colonnade of the road itself, the Peribolos of Apollo, the Baths of Eurykles and the complex of Byzantine walls which remains standing in

⁵ This work was done in Greece during the year 1958-1959 as Fellow of the American Council of Learned Societies, while preparing a larger work on Neolithic Greece.

⁶ Kosmopoulos, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-18.

⁷ Shear, *op. cit.*, p. 404.

⁸ Hill, *A.J.A.*, XXXI, 1927, pp. 72-73; Askew, *Corinth*, I, ii, p. 4.

⁹ Kosmopoulos, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28.

¹⁰ The excavations were made possible through the very helpful cooperation of the Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Professor John L. Caskey, and of the Associate Director (now Director), Professor Henry S. Robinson, who was in charge of the 1959 campaign of excavations at Corinth; to both I am greatly indebted. Funds for the prehistoric excavations were provided by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. This part of the campaign was conducted from March 17 to April 9, with the author in charge of excavations, assisted by Mr. Perry A. Bialor, who also drew the plans and sections of the trenches and studied the stone artifacts, a part of his larger study of the lithic industries of prehistoric Greece. Mr. Evangelos Lekkas was foreman for the excavation and Mr. George Kachros was pot mender.

the area of the Baths ¹¹ have so cut up this whole region as to make difficult the finding of areas of any size for excavation. Since it was desirable to keep as close as possible to the 1926 trench, the areas chosen for investigation were in the vicinity of the Roman latrine (Pl. 61, a): 1) the second shop of the colonnade to the south of the latrine, where a trench 2.00 m. x 4.00 m. was dug, and 2) the larger shop immediately north of the latrine, which accommodated a trench 2.50 m. x 4.50 m. Both trenches were dug through 4.50-5.00 m. of fill to virgin soil (Pl. 61, c, d), which here was in the form of a thick layer of impervious greenish clay that sloped down both to west and north. With a datum established at the top of the stylobate of the Lechaion Road east colonnade, the depths to the clay layer were as follows: in Trench 1, to the south of the latrine, —4.80 m. at the southeast corner, —5.10 m. at the northeast, —5.20 m. at the southwest and —5.40 m. at the northwest; in Trench 2, just north of the latrine, —5.10 m. at the southeast corner, —5.30 m. at the northeast, —5.45 m. at the southwest and —5.80 m. at the northwest. In each trench small amounts of water collected in the northwest corner, but that in Trench 2 was considerably below the level of water in Trench 1. There seems, thus, to be no general water level in the area; rather, the water flows slowly along the top of the clay layer, accumulating in so far as the trench walls served as a dam, but dissipating slowly through them.

Since the two trenches were only about ten meters apart, it was to be assumed that they would give much the same evidence, serving as a check on one another, but at the same time giving a picture of the prehistoric accumulation over an area roughly fifteen meters long. In this length it is clear that all the strata, from the Early Neolithic to the archaic period, slope down to the north, much as does the virgin clay. It may not have been until the erection of a long stoa running north-south, the North Building, in the 5th century B.C.¹² that there was any major filling and leveling operation in the valley lying between Temple Hill on the west and the long north-south ridge on the east. This North Building probably reflects the orientation of the valley, north-northwest, more closely than does the later Lechaion Road; the trough of the valley may also have lain to the west of the Lechaion Road, more in the position of the North Building, skirting closely the east side of Temple Hill. It is apparent from the fill in our two trenches that for thousands of years, from the first occupation of Corinth in the Early Neolithic period, very likely in the fifth millennium B.C., down to the time of the construction of the first large-scale drainage system, probably not before the 5th century B.C., heavy rains brought tons of earth and debris from the slopes of Acrocorinth and from those of Temple Hill and the east ridge down into this valley, filling it gradually with the residue of cobblestones of all sizes and of the habitation debris caught among the cobbles after the water and the bulk of the earth

¹¹ See Scranton, *Corinth*, XVI, plan IV.

¹² Stillwell, *Corinth*, I, i, pp. 212-228.

had drained off. It is likely that a road always followed the bottom of the ravine, hugging rather closely the east flank of Temple Hill. The natural springs, later Peirene and the Sacred Spring, that issued from beneath the rock ledge at the south end of the valley, made this a desirable area for early settlement. That Temple Hill was a focus for settlement from earliest times has long been established;¹³ it is clear from our latest excavations that already in Early Neolithic times the settlement extended southward from the hill and very likely to the east of the road through the valley as well.

The greatest part of the prehistoric fill in Trenches 1 and 2, however, was found to consist of water-laid deposit, almost always stony, at times sandy or clayey as well (Pl. 61, c, d). No road metal was found, for the road most likely lay to the west. Only at the very eastern edge of Trench 2 (Pl. 61, d) was there found a succession of clearly stratified floor levels, the topmost one with a clay hearth. But even in the water-laid deposit there was a kind of stratification resulting from the gradual filling of the ravine, though the action of torrential rains must frequently have cut into this deposit and churned it up. The stratification of Trench 2 (Pl. 61, d) was the more satisfactory, for the mud on the sloping clay of the bottom contained mainly a variety of Early Neolithic wares—variegated, red-slipped, painted, spongy coarse,¹⁴ but mixed already with some of the red-slipped pottery of the Thessalian A1 variety.¹⁵ All of this pottery, indeed almost all of the prehistoric pottery throughout the whole depth of accumulation in both trenches, was badly worn by the action of water and stones. In addition, it had obviously been removed from its place of original deposit, for almost none of the pieces could be fitted together. The pottery found above this very earliest accumulation was largely of the Middle Neolithic varieties—plain Neolithic Urfirnis ware and a small quantity of the painted variety, some A1 type pottery, but mixed with a considerable quantity of Early Neolithic wares. A cobble layer in the east half of the trench, possibly a floor, at —4.80 m., marked the first clear division of the fill, and it is significant that on it occurred the first fragments of wares usually called Late Neolithic, including a piece of matt black on red ware, one of gray ware and several of black monochrome ware.¹⁶ The fill remained predominantly Middle Neolithic, however, with Early Neolithic still mixed in, but for the next 0.45 m. the Late Neolithic varieties increased as the others diminished, and from —4.35 m. and up the pottery became predominantly Late Neolithic and earlier wares dwindled in quantity, until they disappeared almost entirely at —4.00 m. At the same time, the first red-slipped wares of the Early Helladic I type began to appear, and between —4.00 m. and —3.70 m. they were mixed in some quantity with the Late

¹³ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 487-524.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 492-498.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 498-503.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 503-515.

Neolithic pottery. The fill from —3.70 m. to —3.30 m. contained almost exclusively the E. H. I slipped ware, with but one fragment of E.H. II glazed ware and a few strays of Late Neolithic pottery. Above —3.30 m. the E.H. II glazed wares increased and soon became predominant. The Early Helladic fill continued to a height of —2.50 m.; above this level the fill of the archaic period began. There was thus a maximum of 3.30 m. of prehistoric fill in Trench 2, from the —2.50 m. level to —5.80 m., the greatest depth in the northwest corner. Approximately one meter of this was Early Helladic, roughly one meter Late Neolithic, the remainder Middle Neolithic with only a bit at the very bottom which was predominantly Early Neolithic.

Trench 1 yielded a similar succession of layers (Pl. 61, c), with some variations. Mixed Early and Middle Neolithic pottery, with a bit of Late Neolithic, occurred from the bottom; the fill did not become predominantly Late Neolithic until the —4.40 m. level, as compared with —4.80 m. in Trench 2. Bits of Early Helladic ware began to occur at —2.80 m., over a meter higher than in Trench 2, but Late Neolithic pottery continued in some quantity up to —2.00 m. It was only at —1.85 m. that the E.H. I red-slipped wares became predominant and the first definite Early Helladic shapes were recognizable, this as compared with the same occurrence at —3.70 m. in Trench 2. The Early Helladic deposit seems to have been truncated at —1.75 m., where the pottery was still predominantly of the E.H. I type, but a little of the E.H. II glazed ware had begun to occur. Here the fill of the archaic period began, 0.75 m. higher than in Trench 2. The clear truncation of the top of the prehistoric fill in Trench 1 suggests that the same thing may have occurred in Trench 2; it is possible that in archaic times there was a series of terraces stepping down towards the north and these will be discussed below; indeed, what appears to be a terrace wall ran diagonally across the west half of Trench 2 from southeast to northwest through the E.H. I fill (Pl. 61, b) and suggests that there was terracing in the prehistoric period as well. In connection with the probable terracing in archaic times and the resultant removal of the top of the prehistoric fill, almost certainly at the higher (—1.75 m.) level of Trench 1 and possibly in Trench 2 as well as (at —2.50 m.), it is noteworthy that no fill which could be attributed to E.H. III, with its late glazed and painted wares, occurred in either trench. That such a level may never have existed is indicated by the fact that no E.H. III type pottery appeared among the quantities of prehistoric pottery of both Neolithic and Early Helladic types which was found mixed with the archaic or later pottery in both trenches. We shall see below that this is also true of the area dug on the western terrace of the Agora, as it was of the Temple Hill deposits excavated in 1937.¹⁷ Mrs. Kosmopoulos makes no mention of E.H. III type pottery, of which the painted variety is so characteristic and has been shown at Lerna, most recently, to belong exclusively to that phase.¹⁸ It would appear, then, that the Early

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 515-521.

¹⁸ Caskey, *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pp. 161-162, 172-173; XXVI, 1957, p. 161; XXVII, 1958, p. 144.

Helladic occupation of Corinth probably ended at the close of the E.H. II phase, *ca.* 2300-2200 B.C., rather than at the end of E.H. III, *ca.* 2000 B.C. Whether this came about through abandonment or destruction is not known, and the excavations of 1959 gave no evidence in this regard; if the top of the E.H. II stratum were removed by levelling operations, such evidence would have been destroyed. However, the end of the Early Helladic occupation at Corinth would seem to be concurrent with the violent destruction of the E.H. II House of the Tiles at Lerna, which there marked the end of an era and was succeeded by the quite different E.H. III culture.¹⁹ It is thus possible that this disturbance was more than a local one at Lerna.

The historic deposits, from —2.50 m. in Trench 2 and —1.75 m. in Trench 1, began to accumulate in the late 8th century B.C., as indicated by the profusion of early Protocorinthian ware, much of it of the geometric variety.²⁰ In Trench 2, the next 0.20 m. of deposit is largely Protocorinthian, then the pottery changes to Corinthian and soon shows an admixture of Attic pottery of the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. Already at —2.30 m., Roman sherds appeared; in a pit along the south edge of the trench a Roman intrusion extended down to —2.60 m. Above —2.30 m., the fill is very disturbed, showing everything from Protocorinthian to Roman; the top fill is almost purely Roman. The late Roman and post-Roman fill over the area had been removed down to a general level of *ca.* —1.40 m. In Trench 1, the same kind of Protocorinthian and Corinthian pottery as was found in Trench 2 occurred above the prehistoric fill from —1.75 m. to —1.40 m. At —1.70 m. was found the bronze lamp with iron hanger to be described below (p. —); in the level from —1.40 m. to —1.30 m. were the very fine Protocorinthian sherds shown at the left in Plate 64, d. Some Attic ware of the 6th century B.C. appeared in this last level, and it became more frequent in the level from —1.30 to —1.05 m., though Protocorinthian and Corinthian pottery still predominated. The presence of some of this Attic pottery may be due to the fact that a well, *ca.* 1.00 m. in diameter, was sunk through the fill at the very northwest corner of the trench. Its complete circle was isolated first at —1.45 m., but its top may originally have been higher and its fill could have contaminated the upper part of the archaic levels. The well, which descended to a depth of —5.55 m., down to the layer of impervious clay and cutting slightly into it to form a collecting basin, would appear to have been put out of use by a collapse of its sides in the lower meter, where the diameter now bells out decidedly. The fill of the bottom 0.10 m. was exclusively mixed Neolithic; above that the fill consisted largely of coarse archaic pottery, but contained a few pieces of finer wares as well. In the fill from —5.45 m. to —5.00 m. was found one of the finest pieces, the lower part of a vase shown in Plate 64, e and described below (p. 252). Apparently the sides

¹⁹ Caskey, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 29; XXV, 1956, pp. 164-165, 172-173; XXVI, 1957, p. 161; XXVII, 1958, pp. 127-129, 144.

²⁰ Weinberg, *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, pp. 30-44.

of the well continued to collapse as the well was filled; from -4.55 m. to -3.70 m. there was an admixture of considerable Early Helladic pottery. The fine pottery from the well, scant as compared with the coarse or prehistoric fabrics, is largely Proto-corinthian and Corinthian, with a small amount of Attic black-glazed and black-figured ware dating not later than the 6th century B.C. Just to the south of this well and in the southwest corner of the trench, a terrace wall running east-west was found, its base at *ca.* -1.65 m. (Pl. 62, a). It suggests, again, that in archaic times the area was a series of terraces descending toward the north. Over the northern half of Trench 1 there was a cobble pavement at -1.05 m., and a white clay floor at the same level occupied the southern half (Pl. 62, b). The date of the floor, which clearly sealed the area over the well, is probably late 6th or 5th century B.C. When we began excavating, the floor formed the present surface over much of the trench, but across the east end and in the two western corners ancient fill had been left at higher levels. Roman pottery occurred, mixed with various Greek wares, in all the fill above the -1.05 m. level.

The two trenches dug to the east of the Lechaion Road are thus seen to have yielded much important topographical information concerning both prehistoric and early historic Corinth. Although the prehistoric fill was largely water-laid, the hearth at -4.30 m. at the very southeast corner of Trench 2 and the several successive floor levels below for the next half meter (Pl. 61, d) suggest that well stratified habitation debris of the Middle and Late Neolithic periods exists eastward from Trench 2, where further testing is possible. The historic deposit is habitation debris, and the well in Trench 1 indicated a probable area of houses. Yet the well stratified prehistoric deposit for which we had hoped was not found in these trenches in any significant quantity. We turned, therefore, to investigations at the western end of the Lower Agora and on the West Terrace, where scattered pockets of prehistoric fill had often been observed during the large-scale clearing of these areas in the 1930's. Many groups of Middle and Early Neolithic pottery especially gave evidence of very early occupation in this area, and the excavator on several occasions indicated that prehistoric fill had been left for future investigation.²¹ The slope that rose to the west from the low area later occupied by the Agora, across the extent of the West Terrace and up onto the height where now stands the museum, apparently was thickly settled in prehistoric times.²² Of the several possible sites for testing, we chose two that seemed most promising and excavated trenches as large as the sites permitted (Fig. 1).

²¹ Scranton, *Corinth*, I, iii, pp. 5, 135. References to specific areas and deposits, both excavated or undug, were made by Scranton in his field notebooks for the St. John's Area for 1936-1938. Upon examination, the context pottery from these excavations proved to contain numerous Neolithic sherds in late deposits, as well as the several groups that Scranton specifically indicated.

²² Besides the evidence already cited in note 21, Neolithic and Early Helladic remains excavated in 1940, in preparation for construction of the new east wing of the museum, were reported in

Trench 3, 3.70 m. x 3.00 m., was dug into the core of the cella foundations of Temple K on the West Terrace²³ (Figs. 1, 6, Pl. 62, c). The depth of fill averaged one meter and consisted mainly of successive layers of road metal sloping down to the east (Pl. 62, d).²⁴ While the topmost of these road levels contained Greek and Hellenistic pottery, the bulk of the pottery was Early Helladic and Late Neolithic. In the next layer below there was a little pottery of the 6th and 5th centuries B.C., but the rest was prehistoric. The fill then changed to one predominantly Late Neolithic, but with some Neolithic Urfinis ware of Middle Neolithic type. Successively lower



FIG. 6. Trenches 3 and 4, inside and in front of Temple K on West Terrace of Agora.

layers were almost purely Middle Neolithic, then mixed with an increasing amount of Early Neolithic pottery, while at the very bottom and along the east edge of the trench was a deposit that was pure Early Neolithic. The preliminary examination of the pottery from this stratified deposit indicated a gradual change from the variegated type of the Early Neolithic period to the better fired Middle Neolithic varieties and displays several pieces that show the characteristics of both types. Such a developmental sequence has not been available from Corinth; it is the major contribution of Trench 3 to our knowledge of prehistoric Corinth. The possible presence of a pure

Hesperia, XVII, 1948, pp. 197-203. Again, there is both Early and Middle Neolithic pottery, especially Neolithic Urfinis ware, and considerable Early Helladic deposits, including a well. The mixed Late Neolithic—Early Helladic fill (probably dumped in as part of a levelling operation) found to the west of the museum was reported in *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 599. The same fill was apparently noted in a pit dug to the south of Temple E (Kosmopoulos, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-39); Mrs. Kosmopoulos noted that here too there was no pottery of the kind characteristic of E. H. III.

²³ *Corinth*, I, iii, plan A.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6, pl. 3, which shows the similar layers in a trench dug just to the north of Temple K.

Early Neolithic level is also of great importance, for it very likely continues downhill towards the east and might be found there.²⁵ It indicates that the earliest settlement at Corinth was not confined to Temple Hill, but extended down its southern slopes, thus enjoying protection from the north winds which excavators at Corinth know so well.

Trench 4 was laid out in a trapeziform area to the south of Temple K, from just in front of the foundations for its porch to a point six meters to the south where a small section of the Roman Agora pavement of the West Terrace is preserved in place (Figs. 1, 6, Pl. 62, c, e), just about on the line of the north wall of Temple H.²⁶ The long Byzantine wall from the south half of the west end of the Monastery of St. John Theologos²⁷ has been left standing (Pl. 62, c, left), and the area between it and the foundations for Temples H and J diminishes in width towards the south. The trench that could be laid out, therefore, was 5.00 m. wide at the north end and 3.70 m. at the south. Although the area had been much disturbed in Byzantine times by two large, stone lined pits (Pl. 62, c),²⁸ and earlier had been dug into for a Hellenistic cistern,²⁹ so much prehistoric pottery, especially Neolithic Urfirnis ware, had been mixed with the later deposits that the area seemed to warrant investigation. Only a small island of fill remained after decontaminating the trench area of post-Classical debris by removing the stone linings of the pits and the Byzantine fill behind them. In the northwest corner was found the remainder of a large prehistoric pit (Pl. 62, e, top center), some of which had been cut away during Byzantine times. The fill, of very soft black earth with a heavy admixture of cobbles, contained quantities of Late Neolithic pottery in a wide variety as well as both slipped and glazed Early Helladic pottery. The pit bottom was formed by a thin and very compact Middle Neolithic layer just above hardpan. What fill remained in an even smaller island after clearing this pit contained a mixture of everything from Hellenistic pottery and even a bit of Roman to Early Neolithic. It was not until this mixed fill had been removed to within 0.20 m. of hardpan that there appeared over almost the entire trench, except where later intrusions had extended to hardpan, a Middle Neolithic stratum (Pl. 62, f) which yielded large quantities of Neolithic Urfirnis ware, both plain and with painted patterns, and contained some of the A1 red-slipped ware and a little Early Neolithic pottery as well. This is undoubtedly the most considerable area of pure Middle Neolithic deposit found thus far at Corinth and it will help greatly to define the ceramic

²⁵ In this regard, it is noteworthy that among the groups of context pottery from the St. John's Area there is one from the north side of the bottom of the foundation for the Babbus Monument, just to the east of Temple K (*Ibid.*, plan A), which contains only Early Neolithic variegated ware.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, plan A.

²⁷ *Corinth*, XVI, plan VI, K-2, along the St. John's Road.

²⁸ See *Corinth*, I, iii, pl. 21.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 5, plan A.

characteristics of that period; that it was a distinct period, with but few survivals of the Early Neolithic phase and completely independent of the pottery types ascribed to Late Neolithic, is here fully confirmed. If, as has been suggested,⁸⁰ the gray and Anatolian black wares appear in the latter part of the Middle Neolithic period, that phase must be subsequent to the period of the deposit in Trench 4, for they are not found in it; they do appear immediately above in mixed Middle and Late Neolithic fill. The Middle Neolithic deposit on hardpan extends beyond the limits of Trench 4 on the south and west; on the north and east it was most likely removed for the construction of the foundations of Temples K and J.

The excavations both along the Lechaion Road and on the Agora West Terrace have thus served well their purpose of revealing the location of substantial prehistoric deposits. The finds from the four trenches have increased greatly the prehistoric material remains available from Corinth and have added much that was not known before. For the Early Neolithic period it is the presence of a pure deposit of this phase on the slope at the west end of the Agora which is most important. All the wares previously associated with this phase have been found in quantity.⁸¹ The spongy coarse ware occurs in proportionately greater quantity than on Temple Hill. It is this ware which forms a link with the following Middle Neolithic period, for it occurs with the red slip that is typical of the A1 ware and it also bears the glaze-like paint of the Neolithic Urfirnis, as was noted in the Temple Hill material.⁸² It is likely that from the much larger quantities of both Early and Middle Neolithic pottery now available it will be possible to establish a developmental sequence from the red-slipped Early Neolithic ware, through the A1 slipped ware to the Neolithic Urfirnis type, which came into being through new throwing techniques and better firing methods. There will also be additions to the repertory of shapes and of painted designs in the Neolithic Urfirnis ware. The pure Middle Neolithic stratum on hardpan in Trench 4 is of the greatest importance for determining the components of what seems to be an initial phase of that period.

Of particular interest is the fact that in all four trenches the Late Neolithic pottery is quantitatively of much greater importance than would have been thought from previous excavations at Corinth. In Trenches 1 and 2 there were especially deep accumulations of this phase; the pit in Trench 4 has also yielded much Late Neolithic pottery. Its components are chiefly the three wares usually associated with this phase—Neolithic gray ware, the Anatolian type black burnished ware and matt-painted ware. There seem to be few, if any, additions to the repertory of Late Neolithic shapes, but new kinds of incised and grooved decoration on gray ware are shown

⁸⁰ Weinberg, *A.J.A.*, LI, 1947, pp. 174-175; *Relative Chronologies in Old World Archeology*, Chicago, 1954, pp. 97-98.

⁸¹ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 492-498.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 500.

in Plate 63, a; the circular or spiraliform patterns have not been noted before. New to the Corinthian repertory of Late Neolithic pottery is the red or brown variety of stroke-burnished ware (Pl. 63, b), a number of sherds of which were found in Trench 1 at levels which would suggest that it belongs to a late phase of this period. The ware has been reported only from Prosymna,³³ where Blegen rightly considered it to be a version of the burnish-decorated wares common among the Late Neolithic black pottery. Among the Corinth sherds there are pieces from fruitstand bases and from the cups and jugs usual in the black ware. Requiring further investigation is the large quantity of rather heavy, somewhat coarse red-slipped ware that was found associated with the Late Neolithic groups. While this pottery appears in fabric to be an early form of E.H. I red-slipped ware, none of the usual Early Helladic shapes were present; they occurred only in later levels in which the Late Neolithic wares were present only as survivals, if at all. Nowhere were the Late Neolithic strata so pure as to eliminate the possibility of contamination from above and mixture with the first Early Helladic debris, but the absence of typical E.H. I shapes does suggest that we have to do here either with a very early form of E.H. I red-slipped ware or with a type of Late Neolithic pottery which may be due to Early Cycladic inspiration, but which antedates the actual arrival on the mainland of the full force of the first wave of metal users coming across the Cyclades. In Trench 3, in one such layer of Late Neolithic fill with the early type of red-slipped ware, there was a fragment of Cycladic ware with stamped spirals; two fragments in the same group of pottery looked very much like Cretan Late Neolithic ware and were certainly totally foreign to Corinth.

The large quantities of Early Helladic pottery comprised both the slipped and glazed varieties of E.H. I and E.H. II, together with much coarse pottery. To the latter group belong two interesting pieces. A rim and handle fragment of a large bowl (Pl. 63, c) is apparently an imitation of an elaborate metal form with rivets over the handles and bosses at the sides as well as a crescentic ridge below the handle. It is in the heavy, very light buff clay often used for Early Helladic coarse ware; its context is E.H. II. A coarse bowl with sharply incised decoration in hatched contiguous zones (Pl. 63, d) is from the thick E.H. I layer in Trench 2. A high handle rose from the rim of what seems to have been a simple hemispherical bowl with a flat bottom. It is one of the few pieces from Trenches 1 and 2 of which the shape could be obtained. It must be emphasized again that among these quantities of Early Helladic pottery from all four trenches, there are none of the partially glazed or patterned wares characteristic of E.H. III; it may be that this phase did not exist at Corinth (below, p. 300).

In addition to pottery, a large variety of other artifacts were found, including a few terracotta figurines (Pl. 63, e). Most interesting is a typical steatopygous female figure (1), here enhanced with blackish paint marking off the feet, filling the

³³ Blegen, *Prosymna*, Cambridge, 1937, pp. 375-376, fig. 635.

incision, the navel and also the slight depressions, or dimples, over the hips in front and the buttocks behind. The figurine was found in the mixed context of Trench 4. Also from Trench 4, but from the Late Neolithic pit, is the seated steatopygous figurine (2) of Plate 63, e. It too is painted, but in the normal Late Neolithic matt-painted technique and in sweeping curved lines across the lap and over the buttocks. While these two figurines are preserved below the waist, the third shows only the torso of a female figure with pellet-like breasts (3). It is of a dark red-brown fabric that appears to be foreign to Corinth. There are breaks where arms, or arm stubs, had been attached, and the arms were clearly free of the body, which is unusual in Neolithic clay figurines; the context is Late Neolithic.

Bone implements, such as are shown in Plate 63, f, were found in all the trenches; with the exception of the two on the right which may be Middle Neolithic, they are Late Neolithic in date. More numerous and more important are the stone artifacts, both chipped and polished, found everywhere in the prehistoric deposit. Seventy pieces have been inventoried and they, along with the numerous uninventoried pieces, have been studied by Mr. Perry A. Bialor, who has offered the following preliminary observations. None of the stone artifacts could be assigned to the Early Neolithic period, mainly because so little pure deposit of this phase was found; some of the stone artifacts in later Neolithic levels may be strays from the early phase, just as much Early Neolithic pottery was found in later levels. The Middle Neolithic group comprises largely scrapers, but includes as well two stemmed arrowheads (Pl. 63, g, 2, 3) and an awl, besides two pieces of problematic usage; one arrowhead and the awl are of obsidian, all the rest are of flint of varying color. In the Late Neolithic period, arrowheads and scrapers remained the principal types, supplemented by a few knives, a couple of blade tools (Pl. 64, b, 3) and an awl; obsidian largely replaced flint, which continued to be used only for heavier tools such as scrapers. There are five arrowheads (Pl. 63, g, 1, 4-6) and fourteen scrapers (Pl. 64, a) from this period; half of the scrapers are of flint. To the Neolithic period in both the middle and late phases belong four of the five polished stone celts that were found—the fifth was a stray in top soil; there are three adzes and two axes. While the numbers are still small, it is perhaps significant that the arrowheads, the scrapers and the celts are Neolithic, with none of those types that can clearly be assigned to the Early Helladic period. The arrowheads are all of the stemmed type, none of the basal-notched variety. The Early Helladic repertory of stone artifacts is in contrast to that of the Neolithic period. In the Early Helladic period arrowheads and scrapers, for which Mr. Bialor suggests there were now metal substitutes, are absent in our present small selection; flint has disappeared almost completely and the majority of the implements are obsidian blades. One sickle blade of flint (Pl. 64, b, 1) is very likely to be ascribed to E.H. I; an obsidian trimming blade (*lame de degagement*) (Pl. 64, b, 5) is certainly E.H. I. On the other

hand, the many narrow, almost parallel-sided, two-edged obsidian blades (Pl. 64, b, 2, 4 and c) are all clearly E.H. II. Thus the typical Early Helladic implement is a blade, whereas such true blade tools seem to have been absent in the Neolithic period. The analysis of the stone artifacts, even from this limited excavation, points up very clearly the important role that this class of objects can and must play as a valuable indicator of periodic changes, of regional interrelationships and of cultural origins.

The early historic deposits in Trenches 1 and 2, which were expected after the indications of the 1926 trench, have given valuable information on the topography of archaic Corinth. It was known that the area to the north of Peirene was used for burials in the second half of the 9th century B.C.³⁴ The new investigations indicate that it was in the second half of the 8th century B.C. that regular settlement began in this region; at this time the cemetery had been shifted to the south and west sides of the later Agora, and the North Cemetery as well may already have been in use.³⁵ The debris above the —1.75 m. level in Trench 1 and the —2.50 m. level in Trench 2 would appear to be ordinary habitational debris. The terrace wall in Trench 1, already mentioned, and the well just to the north of it suggested an area of houses on terraces descending to the north. The pottery in this fill begins with the Protocorinthian-geometric variety and progresses through the Protocorinthian and Corinthian series, towards the end of which Attic pottery appears and becomes increasingly important. No relatively undisturbed levels are later than the 5th century B.C.; in the upper levels Greek, Hellenistic and Roman pottery are found mixed. The best of the Protocorinthian pottery is exemplified by the two sherds from Trench 1 (Pl. 64, d, 1, 2); they are from one vase which exhibits very fine drawing, probably of the second quarter of the 7th century B.C. The other fragment (3) in Plate 64, d is from an equally fine Corinthian vase of about a century later. Of the Attic pottery, the finest example is a large part of the base and lower body of an early black-figured vase (Pl. 64, e) exhibiting an animal frieze with rosette fill-ornaments in a Corinthianizing style of the early 6th century B.C.

In these archaic levels were found numerous other objects, such as fragments of lamps and loomweights, but the most unusual and important object from the archaic period, indeed from the whole excavation, is the bronze and iron lamp found at —1.70 m. at the very east end of the south side of Trench 1 (Pl. 64, f). Next to the lamp lay a pyxis cover, upside down, and another was found just under the lamp (Pl. 64, g); they date the lamp securely in the Late Protocorinthian period, about the middle of the 7th century B.C. The bronze lamp lay on the ground right side up and the iron hanger had collapsed toward the back. The lamp itself has the cocked-hat shape which is known in clay lamps from the second half of the 7th century B.C.³⁶ The

³⁴ *A.J.A.*, XXXI, 1927, p. 73; *Corinth*, I, ii, p. 4; *Corinth*, VII, i, pp. 16-19, Nos. 54-66, 68.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-32.

³⁶ Howland, *Athenian Agora*, IV, p. 12, Type 3.

three rods of the hanger were attached to the rim at the corners on either side of the nozzle and at the back opposite it; the last had broken away from the rim and slipped under the lamp. A long piece of bronze chain apparently joined the hangers at the top and was used for suspending the lamp; a rivet at the top of one rod shows traces of wood that may also have helped to join the hangers. The lamp, somewhat cleaned, is shown in Plate 64, h in the position in which it was found. A more detailed description and discussion of this unusual lamp will appear separately. It is indicative of the wealth of early historic, as well as prehistoric, material that awaits the excavator in the area east of the Lechaion Road.

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GREEK DRAMATIC MONUMENTS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA AND PNYX

(PLATES 65-68)

THE excavations of the Athenian Agora and of the Pnyx have produced objects dating from the early fifth century B.C. to the fifth century after Christ which can be termed dramatic monuments because they represent actors, chorusmen, and masks of tragedy, satyr play and comedy. The purpose of the present article is to interpret the earlier part of this series from the point of view of the history of Greek drama and to compare the pieces with other monuments, particularly those which can be satisfactorily dated.¹ The importance of this Agora material lies in two facts: first, the vast majority of it is Athenian; second, much of it is dated by the context in which it was found. Classical tragedy and satyr play, Hellenistic tragedy and satyr play, Old, Middle and New Comedy will be treated separately. The transition from Classical to Hellenistic in tragedy or comedy is of particular interest, and the lower limit has been set in the second century B.C. by which time the transition has been completed. The monuments are listed in a catalogue at the end.

TRAGEDY AND SATYR PLAY

CLASSICAL: A 1-A5 HELLENISTIC: A6-A12

One of the earliest, if not the earliest, representations of Greek tragedy is found on the fragmentary Attic oinochoe (A 1; Pl. 65) dated about 470 and painted by an artist closely related to Hermonax. Little can be added to Miss Talcott's interpretation. The order of the fragments is A, B, C as given in Figure 1 of Miss Talcott's article. When we examined them in 1955, Miss Barbara Philippaki pointed out that raised lines can be seen both down the left edge of fragment C and on the projecting point on the left of fragment B. It is therefore highly probable that B belongs under or just to the left of C and that the figure represented was a man wearing a short chiton with one foot already in a laced boot and the other raised because he was

¹ The writing of this article has been made possible by an award of membership in the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, N. J. The Central Research Fund of the University of London made a grant towards my travel in Greece at Easter, 1958. I am deeply indebted for much advice, information and help of every kind to Professor Homer A. Thompson, Mrs. D. B. Thompson, Miss Lucy Talcott, Miss Virginia Grace and Miss Alison Frantz. Professor and Mrs. Thompson read and helped me to improve my manuscript. They are in no way responsible for the errors that remain.

pulling on his laced boot (compare the chorusman dressing on the Boston pelike of about 440).² From left to right the vase had a woman facing left, a man (perhaps a warrior), a boy attendant holding the mask of a young woman, and a woman moving rapidly towards the right. The two women are identically dressed, and they may therefore be members of the chorus; the one on the right is already in action, the mask held by the boy may be intended for the one on the left. Miss Talcott decided that this was the mask of a shorn maiden, but she noted that a similar broad fillet could be worn by a maenad; the short hair is no obstacle and the probability that the mask belongs to a member of the chorus makes the interpretation as a maenad now seem more likely.

Two vases which were painted within ten years of the Agora oinochoe, a pelike in Berlin³ and a bell krater in Ferrara,⁴ both show stage maenads, and it is possible that the chorusmen in short peploi on the Boston pelike should also be interpreted as maenads; if so, the earliest female tragic chorus *not* composed of maenads is that on the fragments in Würzburg⁵ from the very end of the fifth century. I suspect therefore that from the beginning of the fifth century, particularly on wine vessels, stage maenads were occasionally substituted for mythical maenads just as stage satyrs were occasionally substituted for mythical satyrs.⁶ The bell krater in Ferrara has a stage maenad wearing himation, fawnskin and sakkos, dancing in front of a man wearing a long chiton, himation and boots, who holds a mask in his left hand. The mask has hair which falls to the level of the chin and could belong either to a woman or a very young man. The boots suggest a man, and an effeminate Dionysos, as we know him from contemporary fragments of Aeschylus,⁷ is at least a possibility. The man on the Agora oinochoe with his short chiton is a more strenuous character, and if the women are maenads he must be Pentheus, Lykourgos, or another of the resisters.

² Boston 98.883. Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 655,38; Bieber, *H.T.* (*History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, Princeton, 1939), fig. 108; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals (Dramatic Festivals of Athens)*, Oxford, 1953), fig. 39; Webster, *G.T.P.* (*Greek Theatre Production*, London, 1956), A 7 (2).

³ Berlin 3223. Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 397,39; Weinreich, *Epigrammstudien*, 1948, pl. 1; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 6 (104); Beazley, *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 312.

⁴ From Valle Pega. I owe photographs to the kindness of Dr. G. Riccioni who is to publish the vase in *Archaeologia Classica*.

⁵ Würzburg, fragments of a volute krater. Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 965; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 40; Buschor, *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson*, II, p. 91; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 12 (41). The echo of another early chorus of maenads may be seen in the Kleophrades Painter's frontal maenad on his hydria in the Wilhelm Collection, Beazley, *Antike Kunst*, I, 1958, p. 6.

⁶ For stage satyrs see note 10. Other early tragic choruses: the Persians on the Attic hydria, Corinth T 1144, Beazley, *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 305, pl. 45, and the chorus rehearsing on the red-figure cup, New York 27.74, Bieber, *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 529; Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 267,10; Webster, *G.T.P.*, p. 38, note 2. An echo of a special mask in the frontal Io on the pelike in Cancelli, Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 390,1; Engelmann, *Jahrb.* XVIII, 1903, p. 46.

⁷ *Edonoi*, fr. 59 Nauck; *Isthmiastai*, P. Oxy. no. 2162, line 68 (see Loeb *Aeschylus*, II, Appendix, pp. 546 ff.).

Three terracottas of the first half of the fourth century represent performers in the satyr play.⁸ All come from the Pnyx. The most interesting is **A 2**, a chorusman from a satyr play with his hands on his hips and wearing shaggy loincloth and phallos. He is a direct plastic parallel to the painted satyrs of the nearly contemporary Pronomos vase.⁹ On the Pronomos vase all the satyr chorusmen except one have shaggy loincloths; he has a smooth, presumably fabric, loincloth decorated with a star. The shaggy loincloths are too shaggy for horses and must indicate the goat element in the satyr's composition. Both types can be traced both backwards and forwards, but the Pronomos vase is unique in mixing them.¹⁰ But on this vase or elsewhere satyr chorusmen are only shaggy round the middle, whereas the father of the satyrs, Papposilenos, is shaggy all over, because the actor who took the part wore tights covered with flocks of white wool—actor, because he is distinct from and may converse with the satyr chorusman who leads the chorus. Therefore in a satyr play in which a single satyr played an important role the actor would presumably be dressed as Papposilenos. This, I think, explains why Papposilenos appears on a fourth century

⁸ I have omitted from the catalogue, because they are not dramatic, three interesting objects: 1) wine amphora fragment, Agora SS 7614, from Mende, last quarter of fifth century, profile satyr mask (not necessarily dramatic), P. Corbett and V. Grace, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 336, no. 106, pl. 18. 2) fragment of Attic red-figure bell krater, Pnyx P 169, 400-390 B.C., satyr wearing a brassiere and dancing to the right, L. Talcott, *Hesperia*, Suppl. X, 1956, p. 56, no. 249, pl. 23; Brommer, *Satyrspiele*, no. 118 a. (Cf. also J. D. Beazley, *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, XXXIII, 1946, p. 40 on Dionysos dancing in a short chiton). 3) terracotta statuette, Agora T 1468 and T 1575, satyr wrapped in a long thin cloak and dancing forwards. Note also the following: Corinthian plastic vase, satyr with earrings, Athens, N.M. 12476, early sixth century, R. J. H. Jenkins, *J.H.S.*, LV, 1935, p. 124; Attic red-figure oinochoe, satyr dressed as woman with Dionysos and maenads, London (N. Hamilton Smith), late sixth century, J. Boardman, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies (London)*, V, 1958, p. 6; Corinthian vase fragment, satyr with chous in very short chiton, Corinth Museum (unpublished). The tradition of satyrs dressed as women thus lasts from the early sixth century into the Hellenistic Age (cf. Brommer, *loc. cit.*); they have nothing to do with the stage but are a translation into mythical terms of men dressed as women (e.g., Anakreon and his boon companions, cf. J. D. Beazley, *Attic Vases in Boston*, II, p. 55 for examples).

⁹ Naples 3240. Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 849,1; Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 20; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 28; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 9 (D 2); Brommer, *Satyrspiele*, no. 4.

¹⁰ Earlier: smooth, i) red-figure hydria, Boston 03.788, Beazley *A.R.V.*, p. 377,5; *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 310; Brommer, *Satyrspiele*, no. 1; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 3 (D 19); ii) red-figure kalyx krater, Vienna 985, Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 413,15; Brommer, *Satyrspiele*, no. 13; hairy, i) red-figure stamnos, Louvre, Campana fragments 275, Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 156,40; *Misc. Libertini*, p. 91; Brommer, *Satyrspiele*, no. 23 (the satyrs are spotted, which represents hair, but they also wear loincloths; the painter has transferred the hair from the loincloths to their bodies); ii) red-figure cup, Munich 2657, Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 312,191; Brommer, *Satyrspiele*, no. 5 (the spots on the loincloth represent hair). Later: smooth, South Italian bell krater, early 4th century, Sydney 47.04, Trendall, *Frühitaliotische Vasenmalerei*, p. 41, B 73; Brommer, *Satyrspiele*, no. 8; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 27 (D 71); hairy, mosaic in Naples from Pompeii (original early Hellenistic), Bieber, *H.T.* fig. 21; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 69; Beazley, *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 314.

red-figure vase as an assailant of Amymone; the artist was thinking of a stage performance.¹¹ Papposilenos was a very popular figure with coroplasts and other artists in the fourth century and later, and the other two Pnyx terracottas represent him standing by himself with a himation folded round his stomach (**A 3**), very much as he stands serving Dionysos on a relief from Aixone celebrating a successful dramatic performance¹² and holding the child Dionysos on his left shoulder (**A 4**) like the marble group from the Theater of Dionysos.¹³ The type was evidently created in the first half of the fourth century as the dated examples¹⁴ like ours show. Sometimes the artist is thinking of the mythical Papposilenos, sometimes of the stage Papposilenos, as he shows by the wide-open mouth of the mask, e.g. in the Pnyx example. He may then be thinking of a particular play such as the *Dionysiskos* of Sophocles,¹⁵ but in the marble group the child Dionysos holds the mask of himself as a young man and the sculptor must have thought of a satyr play in which the god appeared as a youth.

It will be convenient to add here the early Hellenistic satyrs from the Agora. The earliest is the Papposilenos head (**A 10**) recently published by Mrs. D. B. Thompson and dated by her to 300 B.C. or a little after. It seems to me to connect in style with another head from the Agora, which in its turn has been connected by Mrs. Thompson with a Papposilenos head (not dramatic) and some comic masks to be discussed later.¹⁶ It also explains the confusion which interpreters often feel as to whether they are faced with a satyr or a comic slave or a bald old man of comedy. There is no doubt that this head is a Papposilenos; bestial ear and flowing beard show that, but the mouth is trumpet-shaped like a comic slave's and the artist has apparently adapted a slave head to Papposilenos. I think that the large mask with flowing beard on a Megarian bowl (**A 11**) from the Pnyx is also Papposilenos, but the tell-tale ear is not clear. However, the mask on another Megarian bowl (**A 12**) must be a satyr because of its ear, although it looks like a wreathed, trumpet-mouthed comic slave. A terracotta (**A 13**) from the Agora of the fourth to third century gives the body of a seated Papposilenos.

¹¹ Red-figure bell krater, New York 56.171.55, early fourth century; cf. also Papposilenos and Sphinx, Paestan bell krater, Naples 2846, Trendall, *Paestan Pottery Supplement*, no. 156; Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 22; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 40 (D 8); Brommer, *Satyrspiele*, no. 178.

¹² Marble relief from Aixone, Leningrad, *I.G.*, II², 1202; Brunn-Bruckmann, pl. 785 b (Schefold); Buschor, *Misc. Acad. Ber.*, II, 2, pp. 25 f.; Webster, *J.H.S.*, LXXI, 1951, p. 222, note 7.

¹³ Athens, N.M. 257; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 29; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 13 (D 21).

¹⁴ i) Halai 390-50 B.C., H. Goldman and F. Jones, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 405, pl. 23, no. V-i-1; ii) Leningrad, 370-60 B.C., *Compte Rendu*, 1869, p. 11, pl. 2, 1 (dated by gold finds, Schefold, *Untersuchungen*, p. 69, no. 3); iii) Olynthos, before 348 B.C., D. M. Robinson, *Olynthus*, XIV, no. 380 f.; iv) Rosarno, 420-370 B.C., Orsi, *Not. Sc.*, 1917, p. 55, fig. 29.

¹⁵ Cf. Brommer, *Satyrspiele*, p. 82, on his nos. 175-177.

¹⁶ D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 115 ff., no. 6, pl. 35. Cf. below note 112.

The remaining five terracottas are tragic. I have discussed elsewhere¹⁷ the question of when the *onkos*, the tower of hair over the forehead which made certain tragic masks look both solemn and archaic, was introduced and have suggested that "this change was due to the statesman Lykourgos in the sense that when the Theater was rebuilt in stone (between 338 and 330) and adorned with the statues of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, the new masks were also introduced to match the stately new setting," and this archaic solemnity chimes in with the beginning of historical scholarship by Aristotle. My evidence for the latest pre-*onkos* masks was an Attic relief (dated by style alone) and a Roman copy of a Greek painting of about 340 B.C. and for the earliest *onkos* mask the Roman Aeschylus which is believed to reproduce the statue set up in the Theater by Lykourgos. A red-figure fragment from the Agora (**A 1a**), probably of the second quarter of the fourth century, has a man holding a white-faced long-haired mask not essentially different from the mask of the heroine on the Pronomos vase but considerably later. The posture of the actor may have been much the same as the man on the Attic relief in Copenhagen to which I have just referred; the actor on the vase, however, holds the mask with his thumb through the attaching band and his fingers resting on the hair of the mask. The mask has no *onkos*. This vase cannot be precisely dated. But the mask (**A 5**) from the Pnyx, which dates from before the rebuilding by Lykourgos in 330-326,¹⁸ and one of the Agora masks (**A 6**), which comes from a cistern filled in the last quarter of the fourth century, provide closer contemporary evidence for the change. The mask from the Pnyx (**A 5**) with its full brows and heavy overlids recalls the Aberdeen Herakles of Praxiteles and is unlikely to be much earlier than 340. The hair is luxuriant, and in contrast to the later heads the line of the eyebrows is not emphasized. I believe this may be the mask of the young Dionysos, which we know earlier from the sculptured group of Papposilenos and the child Dionysos and from a South Italian vase.¹⁹ Our mask, like the others, has no *onkos*, but later masks of the youthful Dionysos have a considerable *onkos*.²⁰ The Agora mask (**A 6**) from the last quarter of the fourth century is broken in a way that suggests that it had originally a considerable mass of hair above the forehead (I owe this observation to Mrs. Thompson), and therefore it is highly probable that it had an *onkos*. Thus the Athenian evidence combines with the other evidence to put the introduction of the *onkos* near to the date of Lykourgos' rebuilding of the Theater.

¹⁷ Most recently in *G.T.P.*, pp. 43 f.

¹⁸ Cf. H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 300.

¹⁹ Sculptured group, cf. above note 13. South Italian bell krater, Bari 1364, Trendall, *Frühitaliotische*, p. 26, note 41; Bieber, *H.T.* fig. 40; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 41; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 29 (48).

²⁰ Cf. *G.T.P.*, pp. 48, 124 f.; a good example, marble mask, Naples 6608, Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 59.

Mrs. Thompson²¹ has recently discussed this Agora mask with an Agora mask (A 7) from the Altar Well of about 300-275 B.C. and with the statuette of a tragic actor (A 8) from a cistern filling of the mid-third century. To these can be added a fragmentary mask (A 9; Pl. 65), which cannot be dated but may not be very much later. The heads can be divided into two distinct types by the treatment of the eyebrows. On two (A 6, A 7) the brows slope downwards from the nose; on two (A 8, A 9) the brows swing upwards from the nose. All except A 9 are bearded (in A 7 the beginnings of the moustache can be seen); A 9 may come from a bearded or a clean-shaven mask. For these Hellenistic masks it is justifiable to use Pollux' list (IV, 131), which seems to go back to a good Alexandrian source.²² The upward swinging brows can be identified with Pollux' "raised brows," which can be seen on a number of comic masks, e.g., the leading old man, both leading slaves, the admirable young man, and the flatterer; all these are energetic or angry characters, and the only tragic mask in Pollux' list with "raised brows" is the "curly-haired" youth, "who is virile in expression." If A 9 was beardless, then it was the curly-headed youth; the other youths as we know them from the monuments have level brows.²³ But the characterization of the comic masks with raised brows as energetic or angry allows us to identify the tragic "healthy complexioned fair man" and "the dark man who is fierce in expression" with bearded masks which have raised brows like our A 8 (and A 9, if it was bearded).

The other type Pollux calls "drooping brows" (and once in the comic list "falling brows"). He attributes these to the "white" old man's mask, and this I should recognize in A 6 and A 7; if Mrs. Thompson is right in finding an Oriental King in A 7, he will presumably be the aged Priam. Drooping brows are very clear on the very fine stone mask of an old man from Leriza,²⁴ which may still be Hellenistic in date, and in several female masks,²⁵ particularly those which can be identified with Pollux' "long-haired pale" mask; this he characterizes as wearing an expression of grief. Grief or pain are expressed by drooping brows, just as energy or anger are expressed by raised brows.

If we look back at earlier tragic masks, it appears that this sharp distinction into raised, level, and drooping brows was made only a little earlier than the introduc-

²¹ *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 141-142.

²² For details see *G.T.P.*, pp. 45 ff.

²³ E.g., painting from Herculaneum, actor as King, Naples 9019, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 217; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 43; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 57 (20). Pollux uses the expression "straight brows" of the wife in his list of comic masks.

²⁴ Marble mask (from relief), Corinth 2622, from Leriza (perhaps from Phleious), *J.H.S.*, LXXVII, 1957, Suppl. pl. 1, g; *B.C.H.*, LXXXI, 1957, p. 532, fig. 14.

²⁵ E.g., wall painting from Pompeii, Naples 9036, Bieber *H.T.*, fig. 218; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 44; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 58 (45); silver cup from Boscoreale, Louvre, *Mon. Piot*, V, 1899, p. 58; Schefold, *Bildnisse*, p. 167, fig. 4 (both perhaps from early Hellenistic originals).

tion of the *onkos*. The masks of Herakles and the King on the Pronomos vase both have level brows when raised brows might have been expected; the old man's mask on the Peiraeus relief ²⁶ has level brows when dropping brows might have been expected; the long-haired Kore mask on a Lucanian squat lekythos of the third quarter of the fourth century still has level brows although she can be identified as Elektra.²⁷ The earliest upward swinging brows, and they are much less exaggerated than in the Hellenistic examples, are on the mask of the fair-haired man held by the tragic actor of the Tarentine fragment in Würzburg which can be dated about 350 B.C.²⁸ The earliest sloping brows, and again they are less exaggerated than later, are on a little group of female masks ²⁹ which can probably be dated about 340; two marble masks with clearly marked drooping brows may perhaps be rather later but probably still belong to the fourth century.³⁰

The Agora statuette (A 8) represents Herakles. The inside edges of the lion's jaws can be seen on both sides just below the break; they cut into the hair just as they do on an early Hellenistic silver cup, on the Herakles mask held by the Vatican Melpomene and, I suspect, on the bearded tragic mask on the second century frieze from Pergamon.³¹ The hooked nose, raised brows and curling hair are closely akin in all these four. The same type also can probably be detected in the late terracotta ³² of an actor holding the mask in his left hand and the club in his right and dressed like our Herakles in short cloak and long robe with a broad girdle (worn higher

²⁶ Pronomos vase, see above, note 9. Peiraeus relief, Athens, N.M. 1500, Bieber, *H.T.*, figs. 66, 67; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 26; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 11 (11).

²⁷ British Museum, Webster, *B.M. Quarterly*, XXIX, 1959, p. 100.

²⁸ Würzburg 832, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 216; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 34; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 34(3).

²⁹ Marble masks from frieze, Acropolis Museum 2292, Walter, *Beschreibung*, 1923, no. 413; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 37; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 18 (76). Marble relief, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg 233; Poulsen, *Billedtavler*, pl. 17, 233; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 20 (151). Painting on marble from Herculaneum, Naples 9563, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 423; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 70; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 56 (22). (On date of original, Rumpf, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, p. 136).

³⁰ Athens, Acropolis Museum 2294, 2367 + 2353, Walter, *Beschreibung*, nos. 415, 417; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 16, 17 (77, 78).

³¹ Vatican, Sala delle Muse 499, Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 64; Bieber, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, p. 23. Berlin, Pergamon Museum, *Pergamon*, VII, 2, no. 404, b; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 53, b; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 77 (107). Compare also the Herakles mask on the Tarentine silver cup, dated 300-275, Nachod, *Röm. Mitt.*, XXXIII, 1918, p. 115, pls. 7-8; Wuillermier, *Tarente*, pp. 338 f.; Webster, *G.T.P.*, C 8 (301). Q. von Ufford, *Bull. ant. Beschaving*, XXXIII, 1958, p. 43, dates down to 250 B.C., but Nachod's date, which is in agreement with the coins, still seems to me to hold. Hooked noses show a great soul, and flaring nostrils are a sign of spirit (Aristotle, *Physiognomonica*, Ch. VI). The wrinkled nose on this Herakles and our A 8 and A 9 (and many other Hellenistic masks) shows hatred and disgust, cf. A. S. F. Gow, *J.H.S.*, LXXI, 1951, p. 84.

³² Louvre CA 1784, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 203; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 52; Webster, *G.T.B.*, A 75 (51).

than on the Peiraeus relief), a costume very like that of the tragic actor in the picture from Herculaneum.³³ Our Herakles has his left hand wrapped in his cloak and his right arm raised. His right hand may have held his club; it is conceivable that an actor would stand thus to deliver the lines in Euripides' *Hercules Furens* (565 ff.) when Herakles returns from Hades to find his father, wife, and children threatened by Lykos: "But—for now the action of my hand is needed—I will first go and destroy the palace of the new king, cut off his unhallowed head and throw it to the dogs to tear."

OLD COMEDY

B 1–B 6.

By Old Comedy I mean comedy down to the end of the fifth century. The earliest representation of a comic actor is on a fragment of a cup interior from the Tholos dump (**B 1**; Pl. 67), which comes from the workshop of the Penthesilea painter and cannot be later than 430 B.C. Part of one figure is preserved and there was room for another figure to the right in the tondo. The preserved figure is male, wears tights seen on his arm and over them what is probably a short chiton, like that worn by the actor with a torch on the later oinochoe in the Louvre³⁴ and by the seated actor on the well-known oinochoe in Leningrad.³⁵ His right hand holds something which presses into his chiton, because the chiton shows folds here; it must be either a short staff or a stick. Similar figures can be seen on several of the so-called phlyax vases; the most like is an old man leaning on a shortish stick greeted officiously by an old woman who has come out of her house (possibly a parody of Odysseus and Circe?).³⁶ I think we may claim our man as a traveler or at least a walker, who was in conversation with another figure who is lost.

Miss Crosby has published and interpreted the four oinochoai (**B 2–B 5**; Pl. 65) which were discovered in an Agora well in 1954 and has included with them the very similar oinochoe in the British Museum which was said in 1898 by the dealer in Athens to come from Egypt.³⁷ They are technically unique (polychrome paint laid directly on the clay). I think we may ask whether they could not have been a set or part of a set made for a particular occasion, of which one escaped destruction and found its way whole to the British Museum. If so, the occasion must have been the produc-

³³ Cf. above, note 23.

³⁴ Louvre CA 2938, Van Hoorn, *Choes*, no. 854, fig. 147; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 3 (64).

³⁵ Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 121; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 80; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 4 (1); *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1953-1954, II, p. 198.

³⁶ Harvard University, formerly Hirsch Collection 703, Sale Catalogue, no. 30; cf. also Heidelberg U 8, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 392.

³⁷ British Museum 98.2-27.1, M. Crosby, *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 76, no. 5, pl. 37; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 5; *Wiener Studien*, LXIX, 1956, p. 112.

tion of a successful comedy; the oinochoe in the Louvre with the comic Herakles driving his team of comic centaurs, the Pronomos vase with the actors and chorus of a satyr play by Demetrios, and the fragments³⁸ by the same painter showing the actors and chorus of a tragedy must have been made originally for similar dramatic occasions and then found their way possibly by the second-hand market to the Cyrenaica, Vulci, and Tarentum respectively. Old Comedy would lend itself to such a series of pictures; for instance the *Birds* might be celebrated by five jugs portraying Euelpides, a Bird chorusman, Kinesias, Prometheus, and Poseidon and Basileia. It is not therefore difficult to conceive a contemporary play with a chorus of fish-men (British Museum) containing scenes for Tyro, Pelias, and Neleus (**B 2**), a sexless, clean-shaven reveller (**B 3**), two men carrying a giant cake (**B 4**), and Dionysos (**B 5**).

There are many interesting points in these pictures. Dionysos (**B 5**) is in no way distinguished from the ordinary mortals (he wears tights, short chiton, and phallos), and the little that remains of Neleus (**B 2**) shows that he wore a mask with wild hair, which I take to be the rake's mask perched on an inverted amphora on a red-figure oinochoe fragment from the Agora (**B 6**) and known also from Boeotian terracottas and South Italian vases.³⁹ If only Pelias had also been preserved, we should know whether they were a pair of sober and frivolous young men like the pair in Aristophanes' *Banqueters* (mentioned in the *Clouds*, 528 f.). The sexless man (**B 3**) is naked (he wears pink tights) and is clean-shaven; to be clean-shaven for Aristophanes means effeminacy and worse, and the clean-shaven Agathon is similarly sexless in Mnesilochos' description in the *Thesmophoriazousai* (141 f.). Agathon is clothed, but a naked poet appears in the *Birds* (934 f.); Miss Crosby suggested to me that the curved lines on and near his left arm may be a lyre; he may therefore be a poet on his way to or from a party, as his oinochoe and cuffed boots show. The padded man who rows a large fish with very long oars (British Museum) shows no phallos, and the painter would have shown it if he had been wearing one. Here another explanation is needed; the marble relief from the Agora (**B 7**; Pl. 66) shows that the chorus did not wear the phallos any more than their remote ancestors, the sixth century padded dancers (the Corinthian padded dancers had a phallic leader,⁴⁰ and from such a leader the phallic actors of comedy developed). He is therefore a chorusman like the "Gentlemen Fish," who formed the chorus of Archippos' *Ichthytes*. I think it is

³⁸ Louvre L 9, Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 848,22; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 2 (3). Pronomos vase, above note 9. Würzburg fragments, above note 5.

³⁹ Cf. *G.T.P.*, p. 63, mask D. Of the terracotta B 16 (204) (Munich Inv. 6929, Bieber, *H.T.* fig. 116) there are other examples in Munich Inv. 5391 and Stockholm N.M. 818; Mr. R. A. Higgins tells me that they are Boeotian. South Italian vases, e.g., Taranto 8953, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 395; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 49 (88).

⁴⁰ This is clearest on the aryballos in the Jensen Collection, Oslo, a photograph of which I owe to A. Seeberg; see *G.T.P.*, p. 135; *Wiener Studien* LXIX, 1956, p. 110.

possible that the very long oars are stilts, between which a canvas fish (smaller no doubt than the painter has represented it) was suspended. Pollux (IV, 104) speaks of Laconian dances on stilts, and an Attic dance on stilts, danced by men wearing pointed caps and skin breastplates, is shown on a black-figure amphora⁴¹ of the third quarter of the sixth century; it is therefore perfectly possible that the stilt dance like other pre-dramatic performances survived into comedy.

MIDDLE COMEDY

The term Middle Comedy I use for comedy between 400 and 325; the nature of the change between Middle Comedy and New Comedy will have to be defined later and the material here presented will help to make the definition more precise. From Middle Comedy no complete plays survive except the two last plays of Aristophanes, *Ekklesiazousai* and *Ploutos*, and the archaeological remains greatly enrich the picture which can be drawn from the literary fragments. The material from the Agora and Pnyx adds new types and confirms by excavation the Athenian origin of existing types, showing at the same time how wide the diffusion of Athenian comic terracottas was and how much they were imitated. The terracottas from the Agora and Pnyx are for the most part dated by their contexts, but this particular batch of material is well cross-checked by other sites,⁴² to which I shall refer where the figurines are interesting from the point of view of comedy. The objects are so numerous that they will be presented in the following sections: marble relief, early group of terracottas, the New York group, other terracottas of the second quarter of the fourth century, a group which links forward to New Comedy, terracotta masks, pottery, amphora handles (black-glaze ware and amphora handles have not, as far as I know, been adduced as evidence before).

MARBLE RELIEFS: B 7, B 33.

Only four illustrations of comic choruses survive (unless the two black-figure vases⁴³ of bird choruses are accepted as very early comedy rather than pre-dramatic). One is the fish-man who has just been discussed; the second is the pair of chorusmen dressed as women on the bell krater in Heidelberg,⁴⁴ and the others are represented on

⁴¹ Christ Church, N. Z., by the Swing painter, Trendall, *Felton vases*, p. 5; Webster, *Greek Art and Literature 700-530*, p. 64.

⁴² Cf. D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 118 f., particularly on Olynthos, South Russia, Corinth, Delphi.

⁴³ British Museum B 109, Beazley, *A.B.V.*, p. 473; Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 76; Webster, *G.T.P.*, F 7 (36). Berlin 1830, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 77; Webster, *G.T.P.*, F 8 (37) I doubt if they can be dated precisely before or after 486 B.C., the official date for the introduction of comedy at the Dionysia.

⁴⁴ Heidelberg B 134, Kraiker, *Gr. Vasen in Heidelberg*, p. 239, pl. 48; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 9 (4).

the marble reliefs from the Agora (**B 7**, **B 33**; Pl. 66). The relief of **B 7** seems to run around the four sides of a block and may well have come from a choregic monument. Three letters [— —] XΩN of an inscription survive but are not sufficient to suggest a date; the style of the relief, however, suggests a date in the third quarter of the fourth century. It is probably therefore a little later than the choregic inscription from Aixone decorated with five comic masks, which can be dated 340 B.C., and contemporary with the relief of the Tyranny decree of 337/6 from the Agora.⁴⁵ Fragments of at least ten figures survive; three are preserved from head to knee and five from knee (or a little above) to foot. The former are not phallic; again therefore we have evidence that the comic chorus did not wear the phallos. The men are padded and wear tights (indicated by a fold over the ankles), short chiton, chlamys, flat hat, and carry a staff resting on the shoulder. I took the staffs, on which I thought I could see a differentiation for the blade of the spear, to be an abbreviation for spears and the hat to be a rather different stylization of the Macedonian *Kausia* worn with chlamys, chiton and spear by the braggart soldier's soldier slave in the lost Pompeian wall painting;⁴⁶ in that case the play had a chorus of soldiers. I still think that this is the most likely interpretation. The difficulties are 1) that the staff looks much more like a staff than a spear, and 2) that the *Kausia* is wider, has a sharp edge at the bottom, then a tight band, then an overlapping loose top. I suppose that paint made good these deficiencies. It is natural to look for parallels on fourth century vases.⁴⁷ The New York Scythian has a short staff but

⁴⁵ Athens, Epigraphical Museum 1338, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVI, 1941, pl. 73; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 18; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 31 (25). Agora Museum, I 6524, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 355, no 5, pl. 90. Kyparissis and Peek date the Aixone relief 313/2 B.C. (archonship of Theophrastos) and were followed by Pickard-Cambridge in *Festivals*. On the other hand the earlier Theophrastos archonship 340/39 seems to me to suit better a) the personalities (cf. *J.H.S.*, LXXI, 1951, p. 222 note 7), b) the style of the relief and its framing (I owe this suggestion to Professor A. Rumpf), c) the masks, which fit better with what we know of late Middle Comedy than with New Comedy.

⁴⁶ Pompeii, House of the Great Fountain, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 237; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 98; Webster, *G.T.P.*, C 25 (26). Cf. also the Hellenistic terracotta head Delos A 3701, Laumonier, *Délos*, XXIII, no. 1129, and a terracotta statuette in New York, 07.286.27 (unpublished).

⁴⁷ Vases: a) Scythian, New York 24.97.104, Trendall, *Frühitaliotische*, no. B 75; Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 381; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 33; Beazley, *A.J.A.*, LVI, 1952, p. 193. b) Zeus with wide crown and short scepter, Leningrad 1775, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 354. c) Eurystheus with low crown, Catania, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 357. d) Kreon with short scepter, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 364; Webster, *Wiener Studien*, LXIX, 1956, p. 114. e) Zeus with kalathos-like crown, Attic oinochoe in Leningrad, see above, note 35. f) Zeus on Paestan bell krater, Vatican U 19, Bieber, *H.T.* fig. 368; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 60; Trendall, *Vasi Dipinti*, I, p. 27. g) Zeus on Tarentine oinochoe, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 395; *G.T.P.*, B 49. Terracotta statuettes: a) Corinth KT24-11, *Corinth*, XV, ii, Group XIX, 12, pl. 29. Polos added to head made in mould which was possibly of Attic derivation (*Corinth*, XV, i, p. 102; R. V. Nicholls, *J.H.S.*, LXXVIII, 1958, p. 174). b) Taranto, Winter, *TK*, II, 423-425; Wuilleumier, *Tarente*, p. 420, pl. 37, 3. c) Oxford 1884.571, from Tarentum.

provides no solution because the police force was apparently manned by ephebes at the time of our relief. Very short scepters are held by kings, Zeus on the Leningrad Phlyakes vase and Kreon (note 47, d); also Zeus and Eurystheus (note 47, c) wear crowns not unlike the hats on the Agora relief and much wider, lower on the head and straighter in outline than the crown of Zeus on the Leningrad oinochoe, the Paestan bell krater, and the Tarentine oinochoe. Intermediate between the high, narrow, curved crown and the low, wider, straight-sided crown are the hats on Corinthian and Tarentine terracotta actors, but the heads and figures give no clue to their identity. A chorus of kings cannot be completely excluded because Nikostratos wrote a *Basileis* and the plural title may refer to the chorus. Unless, however, more conclusive evidence appears, I think that the interpretation as soldiers is most likely. One of the Agora figures, of which unfortunately little more is preserved, has a round beard instead of a pointed beard and he must be an actor; Miss Harrison tells me that the veining of the marble suggests that he would come either from the same side as the inscription or from the opposite side. I think it is possible that his mask is the same as the mask on the left hand side of the Aixone relief and that the other men wear the wedge-bearded mask which appears in the background of the Lyme Park relief.⁴⁸ The men are led by a figure in a long chiton, who may be their flute player.

A relief (**B 33**) found recently in the Eleusinion shows a similar chorus wearing the same headgear. The members of this chorus neither wear cloaks nor carry sticks; they are dressed in tights, short chitons, and *exomis*. Like the other chorus they do not wear the phallos. The dancing step is the same, but the dancers are arranged in two rows. The heads in the front row are in much higher relief than the heads in the back row, but probably they all wear the same mask and it is the same as the mask worn by the other chorus. The costume is that of the ordinary comic actor except for the headgear. If it is the *Kausia*, they also are soldiers but there is nothing else to identify them.

EARLY GROUP OF TERRACOTTAS: B 8–B 10

The two statuettes (**B 8**, **B 9**) may be dated to about 375, partly because the two examples from the Coroplast's Dump are from worn moulds, and partly because the style, particularly the thin legs pressed close together, suggests the early part of the fourth century. Instances of **B 8** are found both in the Pnyx and in the Coroplast's Dump of the Agora and in another Agora context. It is an old man with a longish beard, in chiton and himation, with his hand to his brow spying something, probably

⁴⁸ Aixone relief cf. above note 45. Lyme Park relief, Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 89; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 10; K. Schefold, *Antike Kunst*, I, 1958, p. 73.

a pretty girl (cf. Philokleon at the end of the *Wasps*). **B 9** is found in two versions in the Coroplast's Dump, with and without a roll of blankets on his back. This is a traveller or a traveller's servant in travelling cap (*pilos*), himation, and chiton, and his flask and basket hanging in front of him. Lamachos' servant in the *Acharnians* might so appear or the man in Diphilos (55K) who looked like a walking junk-shop. The figure was very popular and examples have been found with or without the roll of blankets. Yet another variant⁴⁹ has a wreath round his hair and a square box or basket on his left arm; this may be the *kiste* which Dikaionpolis fills with good things in the *Acharnians* (1097) contrasted with the *gylion* which Lamachos packs for his expedition. Then there are two other figures which on style I should like to associate with this early group: a small man in London⁵⁰ wrapped very tightly in a cloak and a fierce man in Amsterdam⁵¹ with elaborate hair and beard and raised left arm; the mask may be a very elaborate version of the wedge beard mask worn by the Agora chorusmen but should probably be distinguished from it.

The mask (**B 10**; Pl. 67) is included now because it was found in a context which was largely fifth century. The treatment of the eyes, cheeks and beard remind me of a head which was found at Olynthos,⁵² and I think that here again we have the wedge beard mask.

THE NEW YORK GROUP: B 11-B 13

By the New York group I mean the set of fifteen terracottas which were bought together in Athens for the Metropolitan Museum;⁵³ they consist of seven statuettes of yellow clay and seven statuettes of red clay said to have been found together in a single Athenian tomb and a single statuette on a smaller scale and of a different red clay. It is at least possible that the yellow set and the red set were chosen to form the cast of a play, the yellow set for a mythological comedy which parodied the story of Herakles and Auge, and the red set for an intrigue comedy, in which we may guess that the slave seated with his chin pillared by his hand (the *os columnatum* mentioned by the old man when he describes the slave's gestures as he thinks out a plan in Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus*, 200 f.) thinks out a method of diverting the money of the man with the purse in order to secure the girl for the young man. It is ex-

⁴⁹ Terracotta statuette in Larnaka District Museum, Cyprus, probably an Attic import (I owe a photograph of this to Dr. V. Karageorghis).

⁵⁰ British Museum 1907-12-19-1, Higgins, *Catalogue*, no. 724, dates early in fourth century.

⁵¹ Amsterdam 1325, *Algemeene Gids*, no. 294, bought at Livhadia.

⁵² Olynthos Inv. 407, *Olynthus*, IV, no. 390.

⁵³ Metropolitan Museum 13.225. 13, 14, 20, 22, 23, 26, 27 form the yellow set; 16, 18, 19, 21, 24, 25, 28 form the red set; 17 is the single statuette not reported as found in the tomb. I am most grateful to Miss Christine Alexander for the opportunity of examining these in detail. References: Bieber, *H.T.*, figs. 122-135; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 84-88; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 11 and 12; D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 143.

tremely interesting to have this kind of comedy securely dated before the middle of the fourth century.⁵⁴ The date is secure because copies of two of the yellow set and three of the red set have been found in Olynthos and must be earlier than 348;⁵⁵ also one of the yellow set and two of the red set were found in South Russia in a context dated 370-60,⁵⁶ and one of the red set is echoed in a terracotta of the third quarter of the fourth century in Gela.⁵⁷

The dating is confirmed by the two terracottas from Period III of the Assembly Place of the Pnyx; they must be earlier and may be much earlier than 330. **B 11** is the intriguing slave of the red set; the headless **B 12** is a replica of the New York statuette which was not found in the tomb with the rest. Another replica is known from South Russia and a head is in Copenhagen.⁵⁸ But this old woman is extremely like three other old women; an almost identical head with lean cheeks and continuous fringe of hair appears on the old woman of the red set in New York⁵⁹ who is however pulling her veil back, and on a terracotta in Athens⁶⁰ who is however moving forward. Yet another old woman,⁶¹ similarly clothed, has a much fatter face and is probably a procuress like the similar type in New Comedy—evidence again that the intrigue comedy in which a hetaira was wrested from her owner had already started by the middle of the fourth century. The thinner faced old woman (of whom **B 12** is the lower part) I suppose to be a concubine or an elderly wife.

B 13 (Pl. 67) from the Agora, which has no useful context, is the mould for the seated slave in the yellow set.⁶² Another replica was found in Lindos.⁶³ It is most interesting that a figure extremely like him but not, I think, an actual replica was found at Corinth.⁶⁴ R. V. Nicholls⁶⁵ has recently pointed out that three of the actor terracottas from the potter's quarter at Corinth, which can be dated before 338, may

⁵⁴ Cf. my *Studies in Latin Greek Comedy*, pp. 74 ff.: Euboulos, *Stephanopolides* can be roughly dated 350-320, probably nearer the earlier limit.

⁵⁵ *Olynthos*, IV, no. 364 with New York 13.225.23; XIV, no. 378c with 13.225.13; XIV, no. 380 d with 13.225.21; IV, no. 404 with 13.255.24; VII, no. 308 with 13.225.16.

⁵⁶ Copies of New York 13.225.23, 16 and 18 were found in the same tomb as the Papposilenos quoted above, note 14, ii).

⁵⁷ D. Adamasteanu, *Mon. Ant.*, XLIV, 1958, col. 643, no. 34, fig. 270, from Butera near Gela may be compared with New York 13.225.19. Cf. also now L. Bernabo Brea, *Castello di Lipari*, pl. 31, 4 with New York 13.225.25.

⁵⁸ New York 13.225.17. Leningrad, Winter, *TK*, II, p. 462,3; *Compte Rendu*, 1869, p. 164, pl. III, 10. Copenhagen, N. M., Inv. 7303, Breitenstein, no. 327 (head only).

⁵⁹ New York 13.225.25.

⁶⁰ Athens, N.M. 6074 (P 398), Winter *TK*, II, p. 462,4.

⁶¹ Berlin 7089, Winter, *TK*, II, p. 462,1; Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 105; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 19.

⁶² New York 13.225.20.

⁶³ Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, I, no. 2939.

⁶⁴ Corinth 7398, *Corinth*, XII, p. 39, no. 197, pl. 14.

⁶⁵ *J.H.S.*, LXXVIII, 1958, p. 174, on *Corinth*, XV, ii, Class XVII, 20, p. 125, pl. 24, Class XIX, 11 and 12, p. 144, pl. 29. New York sets cf. above note 53; Aixone relief cf. above note 45.

be of Attic derivation, a standing woman who belongs to the same family as the young woman of the red New York set, a bearded head which has the same treatment of eyes and brows as the basket carrier and pitcher bearer of the yellow New York set and a beard like that of the slave on the Aixone relief, and a man in *pilos*, short chiton, and himation, who has exactly the same padded stomach making a horizontal ledge to which the phallos is attached at both ends as, for instance, the similarly dressed man who wipes his eye in the yellow New York set. I should like to add one other: the mould of a man bearing an animal on his shoulders is extremely like a very fine Attic terracotta in the National Museum.⁶⁶ The text for such figures is now given by Menander's *Dyskolos* (394) when the cook enters saying: "This is a wonderful sheep. To hell with it! If I carry it on my shoulders, it gets the tip of a branch in its mouth and eats the leaves and pulls with all its might. If you put it down on the ground, it refuses to move at all." The little scene is beautifully alive, but Menander is evidently following a Middle Comedy tradition for which the statuettes provide evidence and which goes back to the Megarian and his pigs in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* (729).

OTHER MID-CENTURY STATUETTES: B 14-B 18

The Megarian with his pigs is followed by the Boeotian with his pipers (*Acharnians*, 820). A rustic piper in the Louvre⁶⁷ wears a pointed hat and a garment made of fur. A fragment from the Agora (**B 14**; Pl. 67) gives the lower part of the body and the top of the legs of such a figure; the stylization of the fur is different but this means only that the Louvre statuette is a local adaptation⁶⁸ of a type proved Attic by the Agora fragment; the fur garment of the Agora fragment is like the fur cloak of the seated man wearing a *pilos* in the red New York group and is quite different from the stippled chiton worn by other New York figures which looks much like pigskin.

A mould from the Pnyx (**B 15**) and a mould from the Agora give examples of the very popular cross-legged Herakles; the early fourth century date is confirmed by the example in Delphi.⁶⁹ A running woman from the Pnyx (**B 16**) confirms the Attic origin of a statuette in Heidelberg.⁷⁰ A mould for a pair of legs with wrinkled

⁶⁶ Corinth KH 48, *Corinth*, XV, i, p. 104, no. 50, pl. 36. Athens, N.M. 5848 (P 589), Winter, *TK*, II, p. 414,2. Apart from these statuettes which derive from Attic types, there are purely Corinthian comic actors, cf. *G.T.P.*, pp. 135 f.

⁶⁷ Louvre CA 376, Winter *TK*, II, p. 416,3; *Enc. Phot.*, p. 207 G.

⁶⁸ B. Neutsch, *Röm. Mitt.*, LX-LXI, 1953-1954, p. 63, note 4 notes this representation of fur on plaques from Lokri.

⁶⁹ *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, p. 163, no. 294, dated towards middle of fourth century by A. N. Stillwell, *Corinth*, XV, i, p. 102, note 117. The same date is demanded by the painted and relief vases, cf. Schefold, *Untersuchungen*, p. 140, who dates them 365-350 B.C.

⁷⁰ Heidelberg, *TK* 46, Bieber, *Denkmäler*, no. 94.

tights from the Agora (**B 17**) may belong to the man with a cloak over his head.⁷¹ Another mould (**B 18**; Pl. 67) gives the top part of an old man in a cloak, which seems from its elaborate folds to be long rather than short, carrying a large wreath on his shoulder; it is as far as I know unique.

STATUETTES WHICH LOOK FORWARD TO NEW COMEDY: B 19–B 21

Was the transition from the obscene, fantastic comedy of Aristophanes to the respectable comedy of manners written by Menander gradual or sudden? It is clear both from the fragments and from the monuments that many of the situations and characters of New Comedy had already been introduced in the Middle Comedy period—love affairs, slave intrigues, parasites, hetairai, procurers and procuresses. The statuettes which we have been discussing, compared with the fifth century comic vases, show that the costume was unchanged from Old Comedy but at the same time give evidence of the Middle Comedy situations and characters, which look forward to New Comedy and were unknown in Old Comedy. The fragments give us little evidence of how the new situations were treated, and it is at least possible that the poets outstripped their producers. The old man with the wreath on his shoulder (**B 18**; Pl. 67) may wear a long cloak which covers his phallos, but this was always a possibility for the old as the Zeus of the Leningrad oinochoe shows.⁷² It is much more unexpected to find a young man wearing long clothes. Yet a statuette from Olynthos⁷³ shows a young man, clean-shaven, with a cloak that comes down below his knees; this statuette cannot be later than 348 and about the same time an Apulian vase⁷⁴ shows a clean-shaven man in a chiton which comes nearly down to his knees. There are two points here: 1) the respectability of the clothing and 2) that a respectable young man may now be clean-shaven, as were all the youths of Menander. These instances are moreover not quite isolated, because there is a mould for a clean-shaven mask at Olynthos⁷⁵ and the young man of the Aixone relief,⁷⁶ who is presumably the hero and the lover, is also clean-shaven.

It might be expected that obscenity of costume would survive longest with slaves and there is a clear allusion to the phallos in Plautus' *Rudens*,⁷⁷ the Greek original of which probably dates from 310–300; it must however be noted that the knockabout

⁷¹ Athens, N.M. 5738 (P 555), Winter, *TK*, II, p. 414,1.

⁷² Leningrad oinochoe, above note 35. Cf. also Vienna 928, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 394; Webster, *J.H.S.*, LXXI, 1951, p. 230, no. 42.

⁷³ *Olynthus*, XIV, no. 388; *G.T.P.*, B 81.

⁷⁴ Naples 118333, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 385; *G.T.P.*, B 43.

⁷⁵ *Olynthus*, IV, no. 421; *G.T.P.*, B 80.

⁷⁶ Cf. above, note 45. Perhaps also **B 26** (see note 86).

⁷⁷ Plautus, *Rudens*, 429. On the date of the original, Webster, *Studies in Latin Greek Comedy*, p. 154.

scenes of the *Dyskolos*, which was produced in 316, have no trace of obscenity. From the Coroplast's Dump in the Agora come four legless seated slaves from the same mould (**B 19**; Pl. 67) and several pairs of legs belonging to similar figures (**B 20**, **B 21**; Pl. 67). Mrs. Thompson dates these about 330 B.C. on the ground that they are stylistically later than the New York group. A comparison with the seated slaves on the New York group shows the difference. The earlier slaves sit so as to display their large phallos; in the later slaves it is smaller and more discreetly displayed. This can be seen clearly from the legs (**B 20**, **B 21**) and from the statuette in the British Museum⁷⁸ which Mrs. Thompson compares. The two pairs of legs differ from each other; in one (**B 20**) the knees are wide apart; in the other (**B 21**) they are closer together as in the British Museum statuette; I should like to suggest that the wider pair belongs to the type of which bodies are preserved in the Coroplast's Dump and that the closer pair shows that statuettes of the British Museum type were already being made before 325. There is evidence here for a gradual change in the decency of slaves, and it is only a step forward to equip slaves with chitons reaching down to the middle of the thigh. The mask of these slaves is an anticipation of the leading slave's mask in New Comedy, but it had already been introduced in the first quarter of the fourth century if the Lyme Park relief⁷⁹ is rightly dated then. The stylization of the mask on the seated figures (**B 19**) from the Coroplast's Dump is repeated on a standing figure (**B 34**) with one hand to his ear found in a 2nd century deposit. He must in fact be from a mould of the same date as the figures from the Coroplast's Dump. The phallos is shown as on the seated figures and is much less obtrusive than on earlier standing figures such as **B 8** and **B 9**. Here again we have evidence for a gradual decrease of obscenity.

HEADS AND MASKS: B 22-B 32

A mid-fourth century terracotta mask from an Agora cistern (**B 22**; Pl. 67) has very full hair with a parting on both sides, large bulbous eyes firmly outlined, and a spade beard. The brows are differentiated into smooth and raised as in some of the New York group, and it is clear that this capacity of turning different expressions towards the audience was by no means confined to New Comedy but originated in the fifth century.⁸⁰ The same type of mask is found earlier on the statuette in Amsterdam already mentioned and it persists into the New Comedy period.⁸¹ The mask does

⁷⁸ British Museum 79.3.6.5, Higgins, *Catalogue*, no. 743; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 132; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 27; cf. also the terracotta from Larisa which probably can be dated late fourth century, K. Schefold, *Larisa am Hermos*, III, p. 47, no. 111, pl. 9,20.

⁷⁹ Cf. above, note 48.

⁸⁰ Cf. A. Rumpf, *A.J.A.*, LV, 1951, p. 12.

⁸¹ Amsterdam, above note 51. A rather later example in Athens, N.M. 4453. Cf. also below on **C 3**. A mask on an Apulian pelike of the mid-fourth century in Warsaw (Museum Narodowe, Inv. 147105, *C.V.A.*, Poland, pl. 2, fig. 3a) is at least very close.

not fit any of the descriptions of Pollux; the second old man is ruled out because he is "well bearded," and the "wedge beard" because he has receding hair. Perhaps we should regard it as a variant of the "Lykomedeian," who is "curly-haired, long-bearded, raises one brow, and displays meddlesomeness."

Four comic masks come from the Pnyx. The first (**B 23**) has receding hair, wrinkled forehead, smallish eyes with pricked pupils,⁸² furrowed cheeks, small nose, moustache rendered by striations round the top of the mouth. I think that it is the same mask as is worn by the old man carrying a wreath (**B 18**). The second (**B 24**) is bald, wrinkled and has a large ear; I know no bald old man who is beardless and this may be an old woman, the fat old woman who appears, as already mentioned, as a statuette and again without head covering but with a thin fringe of white hair on a Sicilian vase (Herakles and Auge).⁸³ The third (**B 25**) is of the same type as one of the red set in New York,⁸⁴ but has an elaborate blue fillet with bunches of leaves and ends which hang down on either side of the face. He has red hair and so is a young man like the similar reveller in Boston.⁸⁵ The fourth mask (**B 26**) is female and has hair rolled above the forehead. The only other female mask with unparted hair is the old woman whom we have already discussed, but this woman is young and has yellow on her hair; if however she is, as Mrs. Thompson suggests, a concubine, she may have dyed her hair, and an old woman's mask with dyed hair is in fact found on a Gnathia oinochoe.⁸⁶

A fragment of a red-figure vase from the Pnyx (**B 27**) may be mentioned now since the head in a furry cap is so like some of the heads of the New York set, but it is by no means certain that it too represents an actor. Two of the deep phialai from the Agora have interesting embossed comic masks. Both have good fourth century dates, and vases of this type were found at Olynthos and in a context of the second quarter of the century in South Russia.⁸⁷ **B 28** (Pl. 67) has a wreathed wedge-

⁸² Similar treatment of eyes and beard occur on a terracotta mask in the Nicosia Museum, which was found with coins of Ptolemy I (I owe my knowledge of this to Dr. V. Karageorghis).

⁸³ Terracotta, above note 61. Sicilian kalyx krater: Lentini Museum, E. Z. Fiorentini, *Memorie della Pontificia Accademia*, VI, 1942, pp. 38 f.; Trendall, *Paestan Pottery Supplement*, p. 29.

⁸⁴ New York 13.225.28, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 131. Cf. above note 53.

⁸⁵ Boston 01.7758, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 91. Munich 6932 is the same type.

⁸⁶ Cf. above, notes 58-60. Gnathia oinochoe, Lecce, from Rocavecchia, Tomb 6, 350-325 B.C., ribbed group with yellow sprays and red scarves, *Not. Sc.*, XI, 1957, p. 414, fig. 23 (I owe a photograph of this to Dr. M. Bernadini); cf. for general outline of mask the old woman on the Hirsch bell krater, above, note 36. On reexamining **B 26** I wondered whether it might not be male. The eyes are large and round which seems usually to denote a man. If so, this might be the young lover of comedy like the young man of the Aixone relief (cf. above note 45).

⁸⁷ *Olynthus*, XIII, no. 526; South Russia, *Compte Rendu*, 1859, p. 11, cf. above note 14, ii). Cf. also Chatby cemetery, Alexandria, E. Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, p. 70, nos. 189-194; there is no reason to date these later than the last quarter of the fourth century, as is done by

bearded old man. **B 29** (Pl. 67) has a wreathed slave of the same type as the seated slaves of the Coroplast's dump (**B 19**).

Several of the Thasian wine amphoras found in the Agora have masks on their stamps. With the help of Miss V. Grace I have been able to include here other masks from Thasian amphora handles which are of dramatic interest.⁸⁸ The earliest (No. 595), probably before 340, has a full-bearded mask which is like the mask on the left of the Aixone relief (mask M). The rest belong to the period between 340 and 300. No. 1588 has a bald frontal young satyr mask, perhaps from the prologue figure of a comedy. No. 235 has the familiar wedge-bearded mask A. No. 406 has a girl's mask with parted hair but without long locks, like the mask on the right-hand side of the Aixone relief; four examples of this stamp have been found in the Agora (**B 30**; Pl. 67). No. 1023 has a bald head with connected brows and a longish beard; it is very like the procurer's mask of New Comedy but according to Miss Grace comes early in the series; the procurer was already known in Middle Comedy (Euboulos wrote a *Pornoboskos*) and he may have already had his later traditional mask. Two masks (Nos. 679, 1050), of which examples have been found in the Agora (**B 31**, **B 32**), may be either satyrs or slaves with pointed beards; the ears are not sufficiently clear to distinguish them certainly. No. 1071 is the most interesting of these amphora masks; it shows a girl with her hair dressed so as to have two projections above the center of the forehead; the strings for attaching the mask appear below her chin. In New Comedy this mask has been identified as the First False Maiden, but it is already known from Gnathia vases of the third quarter of the fourth century and from Attic terracotta statuettes which can be dated 350-325.⁸⁹ Finally No. 1204 is an example of the long-haired Kore mask, and No. 533 of the fat old woman. These masks are evidence of theater practice in Thasos not Athens, but the clear likeness between them and contemporary Athenian masks show that practice in Thasos was closely modelled on Athens.

Q. van Ufford, *Bull. ant. Beschaving*, XXXII, 1957, p. 62. The Agora masks are later in appearance than the masks on the handles of a kantharos in Reading (47.VI.3, *C.V.A.*, pl. 40,2), which are very like the traveller (**B 9**); the kantharos may be an early Alexandrian imitation of Attic and date not later than the last quarter of the fourth century.

⁸⁸ I have followed here the numeration of A. M. Bon, A. Bon, and V. Grace, *Les timbres amphoriques de Thasos*, École Française d'Athènes, Études Thasiennes IV, 1957.

⁸⁹ Gnathia: British Museum F 586, *C.V.A.*, pl. 38,4; *J.H.S.*, LXXI, 1951, pl. 45 f.; *G.T.P.*, B 51 (48). Another example on a skyphos of the same group in the Otago Museum, Dunedin, and on oinochoai of the same group in the Taranto Museum from Oria and in Bari. Attic terracottas: Athens N.M. 6068 (P 926) etc., Winter, *T.K.*, II, p. 421, 3; Higgins, *Catalogue*, no. 745; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 22. Date is given by context of local imitation in Medma, P. Orsi, *Not. Sc.*, 1917, p. 48, fig. 19.

NEW COMEDY

When we think of the costume of New Comedy, we think of a set of masks known from Pollux, with which the monuments can be more or less satisfactorily equated, and of men and women, free and slaves, looking, except for the minor distortions of the slave masks, much as we suppose them to have looked in everyday life. This picture rests largely on mosaics and paintings of the first centuries B.C.-A.D. found in Herculaneum and Pompeii and on terracotta statuettes from Myrina, which cannot be dated before the second century B.C.;⁹⁰ two other good sources also date from the second century B.C., the mosaics and terracottas from Delos and the terracottas from Priene.⁹¹

It has been argued that the mosaics and paintings from Herculaneum and Pompeii go back to originals of the early third century B.C.⁹² Both the Comic Muse in the Vatican and the Comic Muse in Corinth⁹³ hold the canonical masks of the leading old man of New Comedy, and their originals have been dated by some authorities in the early third or latest fourth centuries B.C. This back-dating is in all probability true, but it is desirable to confirm our general picture by material, particularly Athenian material, certainly dated between 325 B.C. and the middle of the second century B.C. when the rich series from Delos, Myrina, and Priene begin.

A brief survey of early dated material from other places may be useful. A terracotta statuette from Corinth⁹⁴ is dated to the middle of the third century. The actor dressed in long chiton and himation with no sign of padding holds a long-haired girl's mask, which cannot be tragic because it has no *onkos* and has parallels on other comic monuments.⁹⁵ A terracotta group from grave 29 at Halai comprises a drunken youth supported by a small slave. Again there is no sign of padding and the youth (and probably also the slave) wears a chiton which stretches down to his knees. A bald, wreathed comic mask with a deepish smooth trumpet beard and inscribed pupils of the eyes comes from the same group of graves, which is dated 335-280 B.C.⁹⁶ A mask from Elatea which from its context seems not to be later than the early third century

⁹⁰ D. Burr, *Terracottas from Myrina*, pp. 25, 76.

⁹¹ Delos: mosaics, Chamonard, *Délos*, XIV, Maison des Masques; terracottas, Laumonier, *Délos*, XXIII, p. 26, nos. 1217 ff. Priene: particularly T. Wiegand and H. Schrader, *Priene*, pp. 360 ff.; on the dating cf. D. Burr, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁹² Cf., e.g., A. K. H. Simon, *Comicae Tabellae*, 1938, p. 172.

⁹³ Vatican, Sala delle Musi, no. 503, Bieber, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, p. 23, fig. 44. Corinth 842, *Corinth*, IX, pp. 23-24, no. 13.

⁹⁴ Corinth 1904, *Corinth*, XII, no. 336, from Deposit VI, p. 51, pl. 30.

⁹⁵ Cf. gold necklace, probably Attic, from Thessaly, 3rd to 2nd century B.C., Hamburg 1917.195, H. Küthmann-Kusel, *Ath. Mitt.*, L, 1925, p. 174, pls. 8-9; mosaic borders from Pompeii, *G.T.P.*, C 21; and below notes 101 and 102.

⁹⁶ H. Goldman and F. Jones, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 407, 410, pl. 23, no. V-i-7 and p. 409, pl. 20, no. IV-c-1.

gives the Kolax or flatterer.⁹⁷ A head of the leading old man with a very square beard comes from the Chatby cemetery at Alexandria and must be third century, if not very late fourth.⁹⁸ A grave group of the late fourth or early third century in Alexandria⁹⁹ contains two good comic masks, a maiden and a wavy-haired slave with the canonical roll of hair round the forehead. Glazed pottery from Tarsus dated 250-220 B.C. carries plastic masks of a young man and a slave.¹⁰⁰

Italy and Sicily produce important evidence and there is no reason to suppose that their actors looked any different from Athenian actors. A silver cup¹⁰¹ from Tarentum with masks of the tragic Herakles (already mentioned), old man with copious hair and pointed beard, procurer with pointed beard, youth, slave with wide, twisted, striated trumpet, bald slave with wreath, maiden, and young Pan need not be dated later than the coins of 315-272 B.C. found with it. The Gnathia vases¹⁰² of the last quarter of the fourth and the first quarter of the third century give evidence for various types of masks and in one case for costume.¹⁰³ Two statuettes from a grave

⁹⁷ P. Paris, *B.C.H.*, XI, 1887, p. 406, no. 443, pl. 3, fig. 10; Webster, *G.T.P.*, no. C 55.

⁹⁸ Alexandria 15915, E. Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, p. 154, no. 498, pl. LXXIV, 234.

⁹⁹ Alexandria 24129, 24130, Adriani, *Ann. Mus. Gr.-Rom.*, III, 1935-1939, pp. 97 f., pl. 34, 4 and 5.

¹⁰⁰ H. Goldman, *Tarsus*, I, p. 219, fig. 125 a, c.

¹⁰¹ Cf. above, note 31. I should have noted on *G.T.P.*, p. 120 that the mask of the old man has copious hair and pointed beard; he is *not* the leading old man but the by-form of the Lykomedeian noted above on **B 22**.

¹⁰² In general the masks continue the earlier types; among these may be noted: a) the long-haired maiden on a ribbed oinochoe in the Museo Leone, Vercelli, (I owe my knowledge of this to A. Seeberg), cf. the terracotta from Corinth above note 94. b) the girl with melon hair: i) on a fragmentary oinochoe from Chatby, Breccia, *Necropoli di Sciatbi*, p. 189, no. 618, pl. 81, 279; ii) on a ribbed amphora in Vienna, Inv. 502, iii) on a ribbed oinochoe in Princeton, 33.50, cf. Webster, *G.T.P.*, p. 91. c) a woman with a wreath of hair on a later ribbed oinochoe in the University of Michigan, *C.V.A.*, pl. 29, 7, Webster, *G.T.P.*, C 7 (29). This seems to be a later variant of the Middle Comedy mask discussed above, note 86, and may be identified with the New Comedy concubine. d) a mask with long side locks and a knot of hair on the forehead (as distinct from the bow of hair of the First False Maiden) is seen on three vases: i) a cup in Munich, Inv. 3336, *J.H.S.*, LXXI, 1951, p. 223, no. 10 a, pl. 45 e, wrongly identified as the maiden; the significance of the central knot is clear from the following examples; ii) an oinochoe of the ribbed group from Rocavecchia in Lecce, Museo Sigismondo Castromediano 4092, *Not. Sc.*, X, 1934, p. 194 (I owe a photograph to Dr. Mario Bernadini); iii) an oinochoe of the ribbed group in Cleveland Museum of Art 52.16, the John L. Severance Coll.; this mask is a later example of the mask worn by the young women of the New York group, above note 53, and may be identified with the New Comedy mask of the Second False Maiden, cf. Webster, *G.T.P.*, p. 87 (I owe my knowledge of the vase to Dr. D. von Bothmer).

¹⁰³ The late kalyx krater in Naples, Inv. 82602 (1782), *J.H.S.*, LXXI, 1951, p. 224, no. 43, has an elderly man walking with a stick who is not unlike the old man with a wreath from the Agora (**B 18**); he still wears the short chiton and his himation is draped in very much the same way as **B 18**; it hangs just low enough to conceal the phallos, if he is wearing one. The shape of the vase precludes a date before the last quarter of the fourth century.

in Tarentum¹⁰⁴ were found with early Hellenistic pottery and represent a decently clad slave and a decently clad cook. The pensive slave perched on a third century Canosa vase¹⁰⁵ has a chiton which comes down his thighs. Masks of a youth and a girl with melon hair from Ponticelli (near Naples)¹⁰⁶ are dated by their context to the first half of the third century. A terracotta marionette from Gela¹⁰⁷ of a slave with a chiton coming down his thighs cannot be later and may be considerably earlier than 280-250 B.C., the date of the latest pottery in the grave.

We have then a considerable amount of evidence from sites¹⁰⁸ other than Athens for the costume and masks of New Comedy before the second century. The complete figures from Corinth, Halai, Canosa, and Gela show that padding and obscenity were abandoned probably by the end of the fourth century even for slaves. On our evidence I think it is perfectly reasonable to suppose that in the Middle Comedy period not only were new masks introduced for new kinds of character but also particularly from 350 onwards the phallos was much less obtrusive, and that then with the New Comedy of Menander long clothes became the mode for all actors and padding was abandoned. The Agora adds one very fine statuette and a good deal of evidence on masks, both from terracottas and from pottery (West Slope and Megarian bowls).

TERRACOTTA STATUETTE: C 1

Professor Thompson recognized this figure striding forward in a fringed cloak as an actor (Pl. 68). He recalls the angry father on the Naples relief,¹⁰⁹ who rushes forward to beat his drunken son (the group of son and slave is interestingly anticipated by the Halai group). But he cannot be an old man because he wears a short chiton under his fringed cloak. He must be either a young man or a slave. A young man in a short chiton should be either a soldier or a parasite; a soldier should wear a chlamys, and a parasite, who carries a lekythos and a strigil, is perhaps unlikely to be burdened also with a stick, which our man evidently holds in his left hand, which was pierced. I think therefore that he is a slave arriving with news and that his raised right arm was bent back towards his mouth like the running slave in Vienna.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁴ Arsenal, Grave 13, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 97; Webster, *G.T.P.*, C 9 (96), 10 (99).

¹⁰⁵ Amsterdam 4712, *Algemeene Gids*, no. 1676.

¹⁰⁶ *Not. Sc.*, XIX, 1922, p. 274, fig. 15.

¹⁰⁷ Gela, from Butera, D. Adamasteanu, *Mon. Ant.*, XLIV, 1958, p. 254, fig. 30.

¹⁰⁸ I have omitted Larisa because the two relevant terracottas, *Larisa am Hermos*, III, p. 45, nos. 115 and 117, pl. 9, 21 and 22, cannot be dated before the destruction date of 280 B.C. and therefore must be excluded from this survey as undated.

¹⁰⁹ Naples 6687, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 225; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 94; Webster, *G.T.P.*, C 48. The group of youth and slave also recalls the Halai group, above, note 96.

¹¹⁰ Vienna, Inv. 1567, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 215; Winter, *T.K.*, II, p. 427, 8. Cf. for gesture terracotta in Syracuse from Centuripe, G. Libertini, *Not. Sc.*, I, 1947, p. 269, fig. 6 a. For fringed garment worn by a slave, Campanian oinochoe, British Museum F 233, *C.V.A.*, pl. 91, 17; Bieber,

In Menander's *Dyskolos* (81) the huntsman-slave Pyrrhias enters out of breath to tell his story, believing that the angry Knemon is still chasing him.

TERRACOTTA HEADS AND MASKS: C 2-C 9.

It is convenient to separate the terracotta heads and masks from the masks on pottery and to deal with them in chronological order. The earliest (C 2; Pl. 68) is a slave mask of the very late fourth century with a roll of hair, small eyes, and deep rather pointed trumpet; it marks a stage between the seated slaves of the Coroplast's dump and the canonical masks of New Comedy.

I have already discussed the Papposilenos head from the Altar Well (A 10) and noted that the artist apparently adapted a slave head to Papposilenos. Stylistically, the head is not unlike the philosopher's head from the group of cisterns of the very end of the fourth century, which produced Group B of Hellenistic pottery.¹¹¹ This in its turn is connected with a Papposilenos and a comic mask, both from Olbia, in the Loeb collection at Munich, and a number of other comic masks which seem to show the same realistic style.¹¹² The Olbia mask is a wreathed parasite; the others in the same style are the youth with wavy hair and raised brows (the braggart soldier), the cook (*tettix*), the wolfish old woman, and the graying garrulous old woman.

A slightly later head from the Altar Well (C 3) proves that the mask which we have suggested as a by-form of the Lykomedeian survives into the New Comedy period; it is however rare now and this may be the latest or one of the latest examples.¹¹³ I should like to associate it with the hero of Menander's *Dyskolos* on the assumption that energy and anger, rather than meddlesomeness, are indicated by this form with the pointed beard. The canonical form of the Lykomedeian is given by a very fine head (C 4; Pl. 68) which recalls the seated man with a purse of the New York group and suggests that this form too had a Middle Comedy ancestry;¹¹⁴ it is the obvious mask for Smikrines in Menander's *Epitrepontes*. A pretty little mask

H.T., fig. 402, quoted by Blinkenberg, *Knidia*, p. 225 (cf. also D. B. Thompson, *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, pp. 380 f.). Agora T 2523 from the Komos cistern is a fragmentary mould with a hand raising a fringed cloak.

¹¹¹ D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 115 ff.; H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 330 f.

¹¹² Munich, Sammlung Loeb 335 Papposilenos, 334 comic parasite, J. Sieveking, *Sammlung Loeb, Bronzen, Terrakotten, u. Vasen*, pl. 24, 4-5. With which may be associated mask of cook (*tettix*) in Leningrad from South Russia, *Compte Rendu*, 1882-3, p. 83, no. 1, pl. 8, 1; old woman in Bonn, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 276; Webster, *G.T.P.*, C 2; old woman in Copenhagen, N.M. Inv. Chr. VIII, 1922, Breitenstein, no. 599, Webster, *G.T.P.*, C 3; youth in Heidelberg, TK 98, Webster, *G.T.P.*, C 1 (Krien, *Jahreshefte*, XLII, 1956, p. 110, fig. 51 takes Munich 991 as a replica).

¹¹³ Cf. above B 22 and note 101. Perhaps also Copenhagen, N.M. 7658, Breitenstein, no. 324 (head only).

¹¹⁴ New York 13.225.18, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 133; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 12 e.

(C 5; Pl. 68) of a girl with the hair tied in a knot over her forehead is the mask identified with the First False Maiden, which was noticed above on a fourth century amphora stamp and occurs on the relief with Menander choosing masks.¹¹⁵ A fragmentary mask (C 6; Pl. 68) gives the upper part of a bald man with a wreath round his head and bushy eyebrows; he is the *pornoboskos* or procurer, whose mask has already been noted on a Thasian amphora stamp.¹¹⁶ A very fine mask (C 7; Pl. 68) with short curly hair, wrinkled forehead, raised brows, swollen ears and hooked nose corresponds very well with Pollux' description of the Flatterer, "Flatterers or parasites are dark in color (not darker than one gets in the palaistra), hook-nosed, well nurtured; the parasite's ears are more damaged and he is more cheerful, but the flatterer's brows are raised more maliciously."¹¹⁷ A pretty fragment (C 8; Pl. 68) of a girl with an earring and a fillet in her hair is probably the little hetaira of Pollux' list¹¹⁸ and the rest of the same mask may be recognized in a surface find (C 9; Pl. 68).

MASKS ON POTTERY.

West Slope: C 10-C 15.

The masks on Hellenistic pottery have not, as far as I know, been used before for dramatic history, but they are dated both in general and sometimes by particular excavation and they add a little to our information. On West Slope ware a mask which may be identified with the wedge-bearded variant of the Lykomedeian is found through the third century (C 10; Pl. 68); the leading slave mask has a marked roll of hair, small eyes, and a fairly deep trumpet (C 11; Pl. 68), but late third century wreathed slave masks show the shallower twisted trumpet that becomes very common in the second century and later (C 12). The wavy-haired slave and the bald Maison (the mask which according to Pollux is normally worn by the cook) are also represented (C 13, C 14; Pl. 68). An old head with full wavy beard may perhaps be a Papposilenos rather than an old man of Comedy (C 15).

Megarian Bowls: C 16-C 28.

On the series of Megarian bowls which run from the mid-third to the mid-second century B.C. masks may appear either alone or being crowned by either Nikai or Eroles. The masks can be distinguished as follows: leading old man (C 16-C 19), leading

¹¹⁵ Cf. above, note 89. Menander relief, Rome, Lateran 487, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 223; Webster, *G.T.P.*, C 49. The same mask is held by a "Tanagra" statuette of the early third century B.C. in the British Museum, C 309.

¹¹⁶ Cf. above, p. 272. The whole figure is given by a statuette from Myrina, Louvre 199, Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 106; Webster, *G.T.P.*, C 65.

¹¹⁷ Pollux, IV, 148, cf. Webster, *G.T.P.*, p. 82.

¹¹⁸ Pollux, IV, 153, cf. Webster, *G.T.P.*, p. 90.

slave with widish flattened trumpet mouth (C 20-C 22), Maison (C 23; Pl. 68), leading old man and slave (C 24), leading old man and maiden (C 25), leading slave and First False Maiden (C 26; Pl. 68), Maison and maiden (C 27). One fragmentary bowl (C 28; Pl. 68) has four masks very carefully done—old man, slave, maiden, and delicate youth; the emphasis on the old man's shock of hair and the hair over the slave's ears is so obvious here that I am inclined to claim them for the wavy-haired old man and the wavy-haired slave.

Thus these little masks on pottery provide additional evidence that the standard masks of New Comedy were known in Athens in the third century. If we look back for a moment at the whole of the evidence from the Agora for the period from 325 to 150 B.C. we find that the Agora provides one fine statuette of a running slave and thirteen of the forty masks in Pollux' list that are normally reckoned as New Comedy; if one the analogy of the Agora philosopher head we accept the five very good and realistically modelled masks as Athenian products of the very late fourth century, then the total comes to eighteen. The Agora also shows clearly that the mask which we have called a by-form of the Lykomedeian lasts on into New Comedy. Thus this Athenian evidence makes it possible to accept more confidently the monuments from Myrina, Delos, Herculaneum, and Pompeii as a source of reliable information for the external appearance of comedy in Menander's lifetime.

CATALOGUE

All objects listed in this catalogue are from the Agora except those from the Pnyx which carry a Pnyx inventory number or those stated to be from elsewhere. The precise context is indicated only when of significance for the dating of the object. Reference to Agora deposits is by means of the 20 m. grid, *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pl. 12. All objects are Attic except when it is stated otherwise; the conventional term "Megarian" bowl has been retained, even though the discovery of numerous moulds, both in the Agora and on the Pnyx, attests a very active local industry.

A. TRAGEDY AND SATYR PLAY

A 1. Red-figure oinochoe fragments. Chorusmen and actor of a tragedy. Pl. 65.

P 11810. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 268 ff., figs. 1, 2; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 25; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 4(1); *Wiener Studien*, LXIX, 1956, p. 108.

470 B.C.

A 1a. Fragment of red-figure bell krater. Actor holding mask of maiden. Pl. 65.

P 24828. Modern context, "Fauvel Collections" N 10:1.

For style cf. perhaps Pnyx P 240 (*Hesperia*, Suppl. X, 1943, p. 67, no. 327, pl. 33).

4th century B.C., probably second quarter.

A 2. Terracotta statuette. Satyr Chorusman. Pnyx T 139. From Long Stoa.

H. 0.091 m. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, pp. 123, 147, no. 63, fig. 61; Brommer, *Satyrspiele*, p. 72.

Early 4th century B.C. (Mrs. D. B. Thompson now dates thus on technical grounds).

A 3. Terracotta statuette. Papposilenos.

Pnyx T 77. From Assembly Place, Period III.

H. 0.056 m. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 148, no. 66, fig. 61.

Before 325 B.C.

A 4. Terracotta statuette. Papposilenos with the child Dionysos.

Pnyx T 75. From north of retaining wall.

H. 0.061 m. *Ibid.*, p. 148, no. 67, fig. 61.

Before 350 B.C.

A 5. Terracotta mask. Male mask.

Pnyx T 83. From Assembly Place, Period III.

H. 0.042 m. Yellow paint in hair. *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 149, no. 74, fig. 62.

Before 325 B.C.

A 6. Terracotta mask. Bearded man with sloping brows.

T 88. From cistern filling H 6:9.

H. 0.067 m. *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 141-142, pl. 29.

325-300 B.C.

A 7. Terracotta mask. Bearded man with sloping brows.

T 2292. From Altar Well B 20:7.

H. 0.048 m. *Ibid.*, pp. 141-142, 151, no. 30, pl. 29.

300-275 B.C.

A 8. Terracotta statuette. Tragic actor as Herakles.

T 862. From cistern filling E 14:1.

H. 0.08 m. *Ibid.*, p. 142, pl. 29.

300-250 B.C.

A 9. Terracotta mask. Wrinkled nose of tragic mask. Pl. 65.

T 3516.

H. 0.053 m.

Undated.

A 10. Terracotta head. Wreathed Papposilenos with trumpet mouth.

T 2278. From Altar Well B 20:7.

H. 0.052 m. *Ibid.*, pp. 140-141, 151, no. 28, pl. 29.

About 300 B.C.

A 11. Megarian bowl. Bearded mask, possibly Papposilenos.

Pnyx P 390. From deposit over East Stoa. *Hesperia*, Suppl. X, 1956, p. 94, no. 17, pl. 37.

Late 3rd century B.C.

A 12. Megarian bowl. Satyr mask.

Pnyx P 438. From deposit over East Stoa.

Ibid., p. 98, no. 46, pl. 41.

Late 3rd century B.C.

A 13. Terracotta statuette. Seated Papposilenos.

T 3296. From South Stoa I, Hellenistic filling over floor, N 16.

H. 0.11 m.

4th to 3rd century B.C.

B. OLD AND MIDDLE COMEDY

B 1. Red-figure cup fragment (interior). Man in comic costume. Pl. 67.

P 10798. From Tholos dump H 12:6.

Hesperia, Suppl. IV, 1940, p. 130; Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 619, 40.

Before 430 B.C.

B 2. Unglazed oinochoe fragment. Pelias, Tyro, Neleus. Pl. 65.

P 23856. From well Q 15:2.

Polychrome decoration. *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 78, no. 1, pl. 34, a; Webster, *Wiener Studien*, LXIX, 1956, p. 112.

About 400 B.C.

B 3. Unglazed oinochoe. Reveller. Pl. 65.

P 23900. From well Q 15:2.

H. 0.245 m. Polychrome decoration. *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 79, no. 2, pls. 35, a, 37, b; Webster, *loc. cit.*

About 400 B.C.

B 4. Unglazed oinochoe. Two men carrying cake on spit. Pl. 65.

P 23907. From well Q 15:2.

H. 0.245 m. Polychrome decoration. *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 80, no. 3, pls. 35, b, 36, a; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 6(402), *Wiener Studien*, *loc. cit.*

About 400 B.C.

B 5. Unglazed oinochoe fragment. Dionysos and Phor. Pl. 65.

P 23985. From well Q 15:2.

Polychrome decoration. *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 81, no. 4, pl. 34, c; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 7 (403); *Wiener Studien*, loc. cit.

About 400 B.C.

B 6. Red-figure oinochoe fragment. Child approaching rake's mask on inverted amphora.

P 13094. From well O 19:4.

Hesperia, VIII, 1939, p. 215; Van Hoorn, *Choes*, no. 213, fig. 41; Webster, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1953-1954, II, p. 196, fig. 1.

About 400 B.C.

B 7. Marble relief fragments. Chorusmen, actor and flute player of comedy. Pl. 66.

S 1025, 1586.

H. of largest fragment 0.21 m. Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 31 a; *Wiener Studien*, LXIX, 1956, p. 111; Bieber, *A.J.A.*, LX, 1956, p. 172.

4th century B.C.

B 8. Terracotta statuette. Old man with hand to brow.

a) Pnyx T 73. From Assembly Place, Period III.

H. 0.066 m. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, pp. 123, 147, no. 68, fig. 61.

b) T 1683. From Coroplast's Dump S 19:3.

H. 0.075 m. *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 141, 161, no. 44, pl. 38.

c) T 2860. From pit C 19:2.

H. 0.089 m.

Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 15 (256); to references for the type add Winter, *TK*, II, p. 418, 2; Amsterdam Inv. 881 (H. 0.096 m. complete).

About 375 B.C.

B 9. Terracotta statuette. Traveller.

a) T 1685. From Coroplast's Dump S 19:3.

H. 0.073 m. *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 141, 161, no. 43, pl. 38.

b) T 1786. From Coroplast's Dump S 19:3.

H. 0.025 m. Fragment of blanket roll. *Ibid.*, pp. 151, 163, no. 71, pl. 41.

Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 23 (259); to references

for the type add Winter, *TK*, II, p. 414, 4; Art Museum, Princeton University no. 979; Canakkale, Calvert Collection 1278 (I owe this reference to Mrs. D. B. Thompson).

About 375 B.C.

B 10. Terracotta mask. Elderly man with wedge beard. Pl. 67.

T 1098. From pit D 6:5, filling of 5th century with later disturbances.

H. 0.042 m.

Early 4th century B.C.

B 11. Terracotta statuette. Seated comic slave with chin pillared on hand.

Pnyx T 76. From Assembly Place, Period III.

H. 0.077 m. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, pp. 123, 147, no. 64, fig. 61.

Before 350 B.C.

B 12. Fragmentary terracotta statuette. Woman.

Pnyx T 98. From Assembly Place, Period III.

H. 0.064 m. Blue chiton, yellow himation. *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 148, no. 69, fig. 61.

Before 350 B.C.

B 13. Terracotta mould. Seated comic slave with legs crossed. Pl. 67.

T 2059. From filling probably associated with Terracotta Factory C 20:2.

H. 0.067 m.

Before 350 B.C.

B 14. Fragmentary terracotta statuette. Lower part of body of comic actor in fur garment. Pl. 67.

T 3507. From packing below house floor of 4th century B.C., M 18.

H. 0.04 m.

Before 325 B.C.

B 15. Fragmentary terracotta mould. Comic actor as Herakles, standing with legs crossed.

a) Pnyx T 153. From Assembly Place, surface.

H. 0.071 m. *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 148, no. 65, fig. 61.

- b) T 3110. From the 4th century deposit J 11:1.
H. 0.088 m.
Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 13 (20).
Before 325 B.C.
- B 16.** Fragmentary terracotta. Running woman.
Pnyx T 100. From disturbed area north of great retaining wall.
H. 0.046 m. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, pp. 123, 148, no. 70, fig. 61.
Before 325 B.C.
- B 17.** Fragmentary terracotta mould. Chiton and legs of comic actor.
T 2866. From filling probably associated with Terracotta Factory C 20:2.
H. 0.055 m.
Before 325 B.C.
- B 18.** Terracotta mould. Old man in chiton and himation with wreath on shoulder. Pl. 67.
T 2485. From 4th century deposit C 19:5.
H. 0.055 m.
Before 325 B.C.
- B 19.** Fragmentary terracotta statuettes. Slave seated on altar. Pl. 67.
T 1651, 1672, 1684, 1742. From Coroplast's Dump S 19:3.
H. 0.047, 0.056, 0.06, 0.061 m. *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 142, 161, no. 45, pl. 38; Webster, *G.T.P.*, no. B 27 (254).
About 330 B.C.
- B 20.** Fragmentary terracotta statuette. Legs of seated slave (as **B 19**). Pl. 67.
T 1771. From Coroplast's Dump S 19:3.
H. 0.043 m. *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 142, 161, no. 47, pl. 38.
About 330 B.C.
- B 21.** Fragmentary terracotta statuette. Legs of seated slave (type related to **B 19**). Pl. 67.
T 1770. From Coroplast's Dump S 19:3.
H. 0.05 m. *Ibid.*, pp. 142, 161, no. 46, pl. 38.
- B 22.** Terracotta mask. Head with elaborate hair and spade beard. Pl. 67.
T 2065. From cistern F 19:2.
H. 0.051 m.
About 350 B.C.
- B 23.** Terracotta mask. Bearded man with receding hair, wrinkled forehead and cheeks, eyes with pricked pupils.
Pnyx T 79. From Assembly Place, Period III.
H. 0.082 m. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, pp. 123, 148, no. 71, fig. 62.
Before 325 B.C.
- B 24.** Terracotta mask. Wrinkled, bald old woman.
Pnyx T 80. From Assembly Place, Period III.
H. 0.046 m. *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 148, no. 72, fig. 62.
Before 325 B.C.
- B 25.** Terracotta mask. Man with wrinkled brow and elaborate fillet with bunches of leaves and ends on either side of the face.
Pnyx T 82. From Assembly Place, Period III.
H. 0.036 m. Blue on fillet, red on hair, yellow on flesh. *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 149, no. 73, fig. 62.
Before 350 B.C.
- B 26.** Terracotta mask. Woman (?) with yellow hair rolled above forehead.
Pnyx T 81. From Assembly Place, Period III.
H. 0.041 m. *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 149, no. 75, fig. 62.
Before 325 B.C.
- B 27.** Red-figure bell krater fragment. Head of man wearing conical fur hat.
Pnyx P 224. From Assembly Place, Period III.
Hesperia, Suppl. X, 1956, p. 65, no. 314, pl. 32.
About 350 B.C.
- B 28.** Embossed mask of deep phiale. Wreathed head with wedge beard (Mask A). Pl. 67.
P 20303. From construction filling of Square Peristyle beneath Stoa of Attalos.
Before 330 B.C.

B 29. Embossed mask of deep phiale. Wreathed slave with trumpet mouth (Mask B). Pl. 67.

P 19463. From context of 4th into early 3rd century B.C., B 19.

4th century B.C.

B 30. Stamps of Thasian wine amphoras. Frontal female head with short parted hair. Pl. 67.

SS 1790, 5226, 5570, 7872.

A. M. Bon, A. Bon and V. Grace, *Timbres amphoriques de Thasos*, no. 406.

340-300 B.C.

B 31. Stamp of Thasian wine amphora. Profile head of slave (or satyr).

SS 7812. From outside Agora area.

Ibid., no. 679.

340-300 B.C.

B 32. Stamp of Thasian wine amphora. Profile head of slave (or satyr).

SS 772. From construction filling of Middle Stoa.

Ibid., no. 1050.

340-300 B.C.

B 33. Marble relief. Dancing Chorusmen. Pl. 66.

S 2098. From Eleusinion.

H. 0.50 m.

Figures in two rows, five preserved from front row, two heads from back row. All wear polos, tights which are visible on wrists and on ankles, chiton visible at right shoulder and neck, *exomis* which passes over left shoulder and falls low over buttocks.

4th century B.C.

B 34. Terracotta statuette. Bearded man.

T 2087. From well Q 19:2.

H. 0.088 m.

Short himation wrapped round waist and over left shoulder. Left hand at hip; right hand to ear. Left leg slightly advanced.

Deposit is dated to 2nd century B.C., but this actor must belong to Middle Comedy, 350-330 B.C.

C. NEW COMEDY

C 1. Terracotta statuette. Man striding forward in short chiton and fringed cloak, left hand pierced, right arm raised. Pl. 68.

T 2509. From Komos Cistern M 21:1.

H. 0.095 m. *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 160, pl. 42, 2.

225-200 B.C.

C 2. Terracotta mask. Slave with roll of hair and smooth, pointed trumpet mouth. Pl. 68.

T 942. From well to west of Tholos G 11:4.

Hesperia, Suppl. IV, 1940, p. 100 (Shaft E).

H. 0.061 m.

Before 300 B.C.

C 3. Terracotta head. Wreathed head with elaborate hair and wedge beard.

T 2273. From Altar Well B 20:7.

H. 0.032 m. *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 140, 151, no. 27, pl. 29.

Early 3rd century B.C.

C 4. Terracotta mask. Old man with curly hair and flowing beard. Pl. 68.

T 213. From well G 14:2.

H. 0.049 m.

300-250 B.C.

C 5. Terracotta mask. Girl with hair tied over forehead. Pl. 68.

T 1019. From Hellenistic context, B 10.

H. 0.062 m.

2nd to 1st century B.C. context.

C 6. Fragmentary terracotta mask. Bald man with wreath and knotted brows. Pl. 68.

T 2537. From debris of Terracotta Factory C 20:2.

H. 0.026 m. *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 249, 268.

250-150 B.C.

C 7. Terracotta mask. Flatterer. Pl. 68.

T 211. From well filling G 14:2.

H. 0.037 m.

About 200 B.C.

C 8. Fragmentary terracotta mask. Girl with earrings and fillet in hair. Pl. 68.

- T 584. From Hellenistic context, F 14.
H. 0.054 m.
3rd to 2nd century B.C.
- C 9.** Fragmentary terracotta mask. Lower half of a girl's mask. Pl. 68.
T 3498.
H. 0.035 m.
3rd to 2nd century B.C.
- C 10.** Handle masks. Man with wedge beard. Pl. 68.
a) P 50. West Slope ware.
b) P 1086. Black kantharos.
c) P 11238. West Slope ware. From well B 13:7.
Cf. P 16149.
3rd century B.C.
- C 11.** Handle masks. Slave with trumpet mouth. Pl. 68.
a) P 6303. West Slope skyphos. From cistern E 14:1.
b) P 11234. West Slope ware. From well B 13:7.
Cf. P 26053.
3rd century B.C.
- C 12.** Handle masks. Wreathed slave.
a) P 16243. West Slope ware. From cistern N 21:4.
b) P 23080. West Slope ware. From Hellenistic context, I 14.
Cf. P 599, 600 (*Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 374, nos. D 25, D 26).
Late 3rd to early 2nd century B.C.
- C 13.** Handle mask of West Slope ware. Slave with wavy hair. Pl. 68.
P 25991. From well F 17:3.
Late 3rd century B.C.
- C 14.** Handle mask of West Slope ware. Bald slave. Pl. 68.
P 16245. From cistern filling N 21:4.
About 275 B.C.
- C 15.** Handle mask of West Slope ware. Old man or Papposilenos.
P 1443.
3rd century B.C.
- C 16.** Fragments of Megarian bowl. Masks of leading old man.
P 404, 405.
From cistern G 6:2, Hellenistic Group C.
Hesperia, III, 1934, p. 356, nos. C 22, C 23.
250-190 B.C.
- C 17.** Fragment of Megarian bowl. Mask of leading old man.
P 18666. From Komos Cistern M 21:1.
Cf. Pnyx P 367, 365, 400, 396, 423 (*Hesperia*, Suppl. X, 1956, p. 95, no. 22, pl. 38; pp. 95-96, nos. 23, 25, pl. 39; p. 98, nos. 45, 49, pl. 41).
225-200 B.C.
- C 18.** Fragment of Megarian bowl. Mask of leading old man.
P 19780. From filling beneath Stoa of Attalos, antedating the building of the Stoa.
Early 2nd century B.C.
- C 19.** Fragment of Megarian bowl. Mask of leading old man.
P 4084. From pithos M 16:4, Hellenistic Group D.
Hesperia, III, 1934, p. 386, no. D 49.
About 160 B.C.
- C 20.** Fragment of Megarian bowl. Masks of of leading slaves.
P 18663. From Komos Cistern M 21:1.
225-200 B.C.
- C 21.** Fragments of moulds for Megarian kraters (?). Masks of leading slaves.
Pnyx P 345, 346.
Hesperia, Suppl. X, 1956, p. 106, nos. 117-118, pl. 49.
Early 2nd century B.C.
- C 22.** Fragment of Megarian bowl. Masks of leading slaves.
P 590. From pithos M 16:4, Hellenistic Group D.
Hesperia, III, 1934, p. 379, no. D 35. Cf. also P 20986, 24812.
Early 2nd century B.C.

C 23. Fragment of Megarian bowl. Mask of bald slave (Maison). Pl. 68.

P 17085. From cistern channel L-M 19:1.

Early 2nd century B.C.

C 24. Fragment of Megarian bowl. Masks of old man and leading slave.

P 21045. From construction filling of Middle Stoa.

Early 2nd century B.C.

C 25. Mould for Megarian bowl. Masks of old man and girl with parted hair.

Pnyx P 280.

Hesperia, Suppl. X, 1956, p. 96, no. 24, pl. 39.

Late 3rd century B.C.

C 26. Fragment of Megarian bowl. Masks of slave and girl with hair tied over forehead. Pl. 68.

P 20946. From filling over floor of Square Peristyle, beneath Stoa of Attalos.

Late 3rd or early 2nd century B.C.

C 27. Fragment of Megarian bowl. Masks of bald slave (Maison) and girl with parted hair. Pnyx P 406.

Hesperia, Suppl. X, 1956, p. 98, no. 47, pl. 41.

Late 3rd century B.C.

C 28. Fragment of Megarian bowl. Masks of wavy-haired slave, delicate youth, wavy-haired old man, and maiden. Pl. 68.

P 22191. From packing beneath floor of brick building beneath Stoa of Attalos.

Early 2nd century B.C.

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THE EARLY HELLADIC PERIOD IN THE ARGOLID

(PLATES 69-70)

THE principal divisions of the Bronze Age in northeastern Peloponnesos were first clearly recognized at Korakou. Early, Middle, and Late Helladic periods were distinguished on the basis of stratigraphy, and the account of the excavations, which was published in 1921, provided a documented framework of relative chronology. During the succeeding generation this was applied and expanded as further investigations were carried on in Corinthia and the Argolid, as well as in districts of closely related culture, Arcadia, Attica, Boeotia, and Phocis, within a radius of a hundred kilometers.¹ More recently, in the years 1952 to 1958, another excavation was undertaken at the early site beside the Lernaean spring, with the purpose of furnishing, if possible, a more precise definition of the main periods and their subdivisions, the general sequence of which was already known.² Lerna proved to be

¹ Comprehensive reports of the principal excavations that have bearing on the subject of this paper are referred to with the following abbreviations:

Aghios Kosmas: G. E. Mylonas, *Aghios Kosmas, An Early Bronze Age Settlement and Cemetery in Attica*, Princeton, 1959 (excavations of 1930-1931 and 1951).

Asea: E. J. Holmberg, *The Swedish Excavations at Asea in Arcadia*, Lund, 1944 (excavations of 1936-1938).

Asine: O. Frödin and A. Persson, *Asine, Results of the Swedish Excavations, 1922-1930*, Stockholm, 1938.

Eutresis: Hetty Goldman, *Excavations at Eutresis in Boeotia*, Cambridge, Mass., 1931 (excavations of 1924-1927).

Korakou: C. W. Blegen, *Korakou, a Prehistoric Settlement near Corinth*, Boston and New York, 1921 (excavations of 1915-1916).

Orchomenos, I: H. Bulle, *Orchomenos, I, Die älteren Ansiedlungsschichten*, in *Abhandlungen der K. Bayer. Akad. der Wiss.*, I Kl., XXIV Bd., II Abt., Munich, 1907 (early excavations of Schliemann and de Ridder; excavations of 1903, 1905).

Orchomenos, II: E. Kunze, *Orchomenos, II, Die neolithische Keramik*, in *Abhandlungen der Bayer. Akad. der Wiss.*, Phil.-hist. Abt., Neue Folge, 5, Munich, 1931 (materials from earlier excavations and supplementary soundings of 1929).

Orchomenos, III: E. Kunze, *Orchomenos, III, Die Keramik der frühen Bronzezeit*, in *Abhandlungen der Bayer. Akad. der Wiss.*, Phil.-hist. Abt., Neue Folge, 8, Munich, 1934.

Tiryns, III: K. Müller, *Tiryns, Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen des Instituts, III, Die Architektur der Burg und des Palastes*, Augsburg, 1930.

Tiryns, IV: K. Müller, *Tiryns, Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen des Instituts, IV, Die Urfirniskeramik*, Munich, 1938.

Zygouries: C. W. Blegen, *Zygouries, A Prehistoric Settlement in the Valley of Cleonae*, Cambridge, Mass., 1928 (excavations of 1921-1922).

² Preliminary reports of the campaigns are here abbreviated:

1952-53: J. L. Caskey, "Excavations at Lerna, 1952-1953," *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 3-30.

remarkably rich in its yield of objects and information, particularly in the successive phases of the Early Bronze Age. By no means all the questions are answered, but certain features of this period now stand out more clearly than before. In the following pages I propose to review only a few of these features, noting where and in what relationships they may be observed but limiting the inquiry to a small area and to facts which I believe to be ascertainable.

For convenience the entire sequence of layers at Lerna has been divided chronologically into seven groups: I, the most ancient Neolithic settlement; II, a more advanced stage of Neolithic culture, which was followed probably by a late Neolithic stage and then, almost certainly, by a period when the site was uninhabited; III, an Early Helladic settlement and citadel; IV, a late stage of the Early Helladic period; V, a characteristic Middle Helladic town; VI, the period of the royal shaft graves at Mycenae; VII, the later Mycenaean settlement (1957, pp. 143-144). Here we are concerned principally with Periods III and IV.

PERIOD III AT LERNA

The first houses of Lerna III were built on a mound of debris that had grown up over a long period of occupation in Neolithic times. This was a new settlement, and its remains give no evidence whatsoever of an overlapping or gradual merging with survivals of the preceding age. In parts of the hill there are indeed masses of earth that contain great quantities of Neolithic potsherds with varying admixtures of Early Helladic glazed wares, a fact which puzzled the excavators until the mixed deposits could be isolated. From the start we were warned, however, by the fact that no traces of walls or floors could be found in these deposits and that joins could not be made between the sherds in spite of long and patient effort in the mending rooms. Ultimately it became evident that none of this debris was in its original place. The Early Helladic inhabitants, some time after their first arrival, had levelled the upper surface of the hill, filling hollows and dumping much of the debris over the crest along the south side, and perhaps elsewhere, in order to make a larger and better ordered space for their houses.

1954: *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 25-49.

1955: *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pp. 147-173.

1956: *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 142-162.

1957: *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, pp. 125-144.

1958: *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 202-207.

Other illustrated reports and notices are listed in 1952-53, notes 6 and 9; 1954, note 2; 1955, note 2; 1957, note 1. Also: M. C. Heath, "Early Helladic Clay Sealings from the House of the Tiles at Lerna," *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, pp. 81-121; and further notices, some illustrated, in *A.J.A.*, LXII, 1958, pp. 221, 222; LXIII, 1959, p. 187; LXIV, 1960, p. 183; *Archaeological Reports for 1958*, Hellenic Society and Brit. School Athens, 1959, p. 7; *B.C.H.*, LXXXII, 1958, pp. 708-713; LXXXIII, 1959, pp. 617-618.

Of other Neolithic settlements in the Argolid very little is known as yet. Sherds of glazed ware like that of Lerna II (e.g. 1957, pl. 37, d-f) have been found at Mycenae, Tiryns, Prosymna, and Berbati, but without a succession of house floors.³ A cave at Nemea yielded pottery of the earlier Neolithic type called Rainbow ware but not any evidence of later occupation. Zygyouries and Korakou were apparently not inhabited before the Bronze Age. At Gonia,⁴ however, trial trenches did touch certain areas where sherds of Neolithic and Early Helladic wares were present at the same levels, and a mixture appears also at Corinth. Asea in Arcadia has a similar mixed layer.

Further north, the round buildings near the Mycenaean tholos tomb at Orchomenos were for many years thought to be of Neolithic date, until E. Kunze corrected the error by showing that they belonged rather to the Early Helladic period and that the associated stratum with a preponderance of Neolithic sherds had been brought in as a filling. Recent supplementary investigations at Eutresis⁵ have shown that there too a true Neolithic settlement preceded the arrival of the Helladic people, and that the slight mixture which had been observed at the level of transition is in fact to be accounted for by the activities of the new settlers who dug and filled to make the surface even.

Lerna, Eutresis, and Orchomenos suggest, then, that these Early Helladic folk had an orderly turn of mind, preferring horizontal plots for their houses, and that the labor required seemed to them worth expending. If grading was indeed a frequent practice of theirs, the mixed deposits that have sometimes been cited as evidence for a chronological overlapping may perhaps be explained more simply as signs of tidiness. The trial pits at Gonia were small and, as the excavator stated, could not give a whole picture of the strata. At Corinth water-borne debris is common, and constant reoccupation has caused repeated disturbance of early remains; and upon the rocky hilltop of Asea the thin accumulations were also subject to confusion by erosion and human activity. Levelling in Early Helladic times may have been responsible in part for the mixture observed at all these places.

A second argument sometimes adduced to prove continuity between Neolithic and Early Helladic is the use of glaze (*urfirnis*) on pottery of both periods. There is indeed a similarity in the techniques, although anyone who handles the sherds at an excavation learns quickly to distinguish the two varieties. But a growing body of evidence suggests that these varieties are in fact quite unrelated as they appear in Greece.

The former class of glazed ware is characteristic of Lerna II and of contempo-

³ *Tiryns*, IV, pp. 5-6; C. W. Blegen, *Prosymna*, p. 371 (Class B, I, a). Sherds from Mycenae were shown me by Mr. Papadimitriou; those from Berbati by Mr. Åkerström.

⁴ C. W. Blegen, *Metr. Mus. Studies*, III, 1930-1931, pp. 64-66.

⁵ Above, pp. 126-167.

rary settlements at other sites. The next occupants, we believe, were a people whose houses have been swept away⁶ but who certainly used pottery of different fabrics, some of which bore patterns in dull paint (1958, pp. 204-205). These wares, which would appear to mark a late Neolithic stage, occur at Prosymna and Tiryns and plentifully in Corinthia, as well as in central Greece. They are still without firm stratigraphical context, but would seem for a time to have supplanted the Neolithic glazed wares. Then in the initial phases of the Early Helladic period, as attested at many sites (though not at Lerna), there follows a time when red slipped and polished pottery holds sway, and only after that is the process of glazing rediscovered or reintroduced (Pl. 69, a; *Zygouries*, pl. VIII). The possibility of some telescoping in this succession must be admitted at the present stage of our knowledge, but it appears exceedingly unlikely that the Early Helladic users of glaze can have had any contact whatever with their Neolithic precursors.

Lerna fails us momentarily in this interval. None of the typical red burnished ware (Blegen's class A II) that appears in Early Helladic I at Korakou, Zygouries, and Asine, and in great abundance at Eutresis, has been recognized with certainty at this site. The chance that every trace of a stratum containing such pottery might have been obliterated is too remote to be seriously considered. We conclude therefore that Lerna remained uninhabited for a time at the beginning of the Early Bronze Age.

Lerna III, on the other hand, was a very flourishing settlement indeed. There are, we believe, a few traces of its first phase of occupation, which was followed by levelling operations and the dumping of the debris mentioned above. Next in succession came at least six architectural phases that are represented by remains of superposed buildings. These "phases" mark not merely repairs or remodellings; wholly new structures were laid out in each case on new lines. From this sequence it is not to be inferred, of course, that the whole settlement was demolished and reconstructed six times. Some of the buildings lasted more years than others; older and newer stood at times side by side. But in at least one observable series there were six in succession, and this must imply that the period was of long duration.

The buildings were solidly constructed and many of them were large. One belonging to the middle phases of the period, Building BG (1958, pp. 202-204), was nearly 12 m. wide and its walls were over a meter thick. About 17 m. of its length could be measured; the north end has not been excavated. The House of the Tiles (1955, pp. 162-166), which was the latest building of Lerna III, is also about 12 m. wide and is 25 m. long, having walls slightly less than a meter thick. Only one other structure yet known in the Argolid or elsewhere in Early Helladic Greece, namely the great tholos at Tiryns, is comparable to these in scale; it is even bigger, having a diameter of nearly 28 m. Across the Aegean there is another parallel, the central

⁶ Evidence is cited in connection with reports of late Neolithic graves, 1957, p. 137, and 1958, p. 205.

megaron of Troy II, which is about 13 m. in width, the walls being 1.40 m. to 1.45 m. thick. Dörpfeld restored the length of Megaron IIA as 36 m. on grounds of probability, pointing out that the minimum possible was around 27.50 m., while the maximum was almost unlimited.

Rectangular terracotta plaques, moderately rough in texture, and a certain number of slabs of schist were used to cover the roof of the House of the Tiles (1952-53, pl. 5). Schist was used also on the earlier building, BG. Tiles of fine texture have been found in association with some of the smaller houses of the middle phases of Lerna III. All these coverings were laid, we suppose, in beddings of clay on roofs with an appreciable, but not a steep, pitch. The tholos at Tiryns was tiled with terracotta plaques and presumably had a low-pitched conical roof. Tiles of the same kind were found at Asine in the debris of an Early Helladic building the plan of which was not ascertained. The House of the Tiles at Lerna and the tiled buildings at Tiryns and Asine were destroyed by fire.

Another major feature of the Third Settlement at Lerna, surprising at its discovery, is the system of fortifications (1957, pls. 33-34). This consists of a double ring of walls, with gates and towers: a very powerful protection to the inhabitants, whose possessions must have been valuable enough to attract covetous eyes and therefore to warrant defense on a monumental and costly scale. We know not what sort of material objects these possessions were; something valuable was kept in sealed containers,⁷ but no gold or other intrinsically precious commodities have been found in the course of the excavations. On the other hand, the rich land of Argos was itself always worth defending.

Pottery in great quantities has been recovered from the various strata of Lerna III. It is generally of types already well known and provides a reliable index of relationships with other settlements in the district. In some respects the Lerna collection is of exceptional value, since it comprises many whole pots and several large groups of pots from single "closed" deposits. Complete vessels, whether broken or not, are rarely displaced from their proper stratigraphical context, whereas sherds may move upward in surprising numbers, and a few percolate downward, as one building operation follows another.

Wares coated thickly with glaze, red, brown, or black, which usually has an iridescent sheen and often tends to flake (Pl. 69, a), occur principally in the earlier phases of the Third Settlement at Lerna; thinner glaze, less carefully applied, is characteristic of the later phases, when plain uncoated vessels are also found in proportionately greater numbers (e.g. 1955, pl. 46). Fine yellow-slipped and mottled ware seems similarly to decrease at the very end of the period. This sequence corresponds with that observed at other well-stratified sites.

⁷ M. C. Heath, *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, pp. 81 ff.

The repertory of common shapes is also familiar. Bowls of medium size with incurving rims, sometimes with flat bottoms but more frequently with ring bases, and generally coated with glaze of good quality, occur in the earlier strata. Smaller saucers, of both shallow and deep varieties, tend gradually to replace the bowls and are found in astonishing profusion (Fig. 1, A-E).⁸ Undoubtedly the deeper type served often as a drinking cup; its form fits the grasp very handily. Rims of saucers are frequently coated with glaze to offer a smooth surface to the lips of the drinker. Occasionally a broad cross is painted on the interior of the shallow ones (Pl. 69, d; *Zygouries*, fig. 69); this device has been cited as a parallel to the red crosses of Troy V, but for chronological reasons the similarity must, I think, be considered fortuitous.⁹

Lerna III is the time of the sauceboat, which does not appear in any other period at this site. It is a remarkable vessel: impractical in shape, one might say if the people had not in practice used it so extensively, imaginative, perky, bringing a smile to us in our ignorance. Whatever the mode of its use may have been, the sauceboat is a sort of hallmark of this stage of the Early Helladic period. At Lerna four variations of the shape occur (Fig. 1): (I) low broad bowl with low spout, (II) hemispherical bowl with rising spout, (III) deep semicylindrical bowl with high spout, (IV) dumpy bowl with stubby spout. Type I is the earliest, and finds parallels in the Cyclades.¹⁰ Types II and III are coeval and well-nigh universal. Type IV occurs in the last phase, that of the House of the Tiles, and is exactly paralleled at Tiryns.¹¹ This chronological development is worth attention but it may prove not to be widely applicable, for local variations were probably the normal rule.

Askoid shapes are common in Lerna III: the so-called askos itself, with a wide mouth (1955, pl. 46, e), the askoid jug with a restricted neck (like *Tiryns*, IV, fig. 11), and the lentoid or askoid flask with a small neck, spout, and short handle (1952-53, pl. 11, a). Contemporary examples are plentiful at other sites. The earliest here is a rather coarse scoop-like vessel with incised linear decoration (1958, pl. 41, e). The askos is one of the few shapes for which there are also earlier and later parallels: in the Early Neolithic period (specifically at Nemea), with which there can be no real contact whatever, and in Period IV at Lerna, which will be mentioned below.

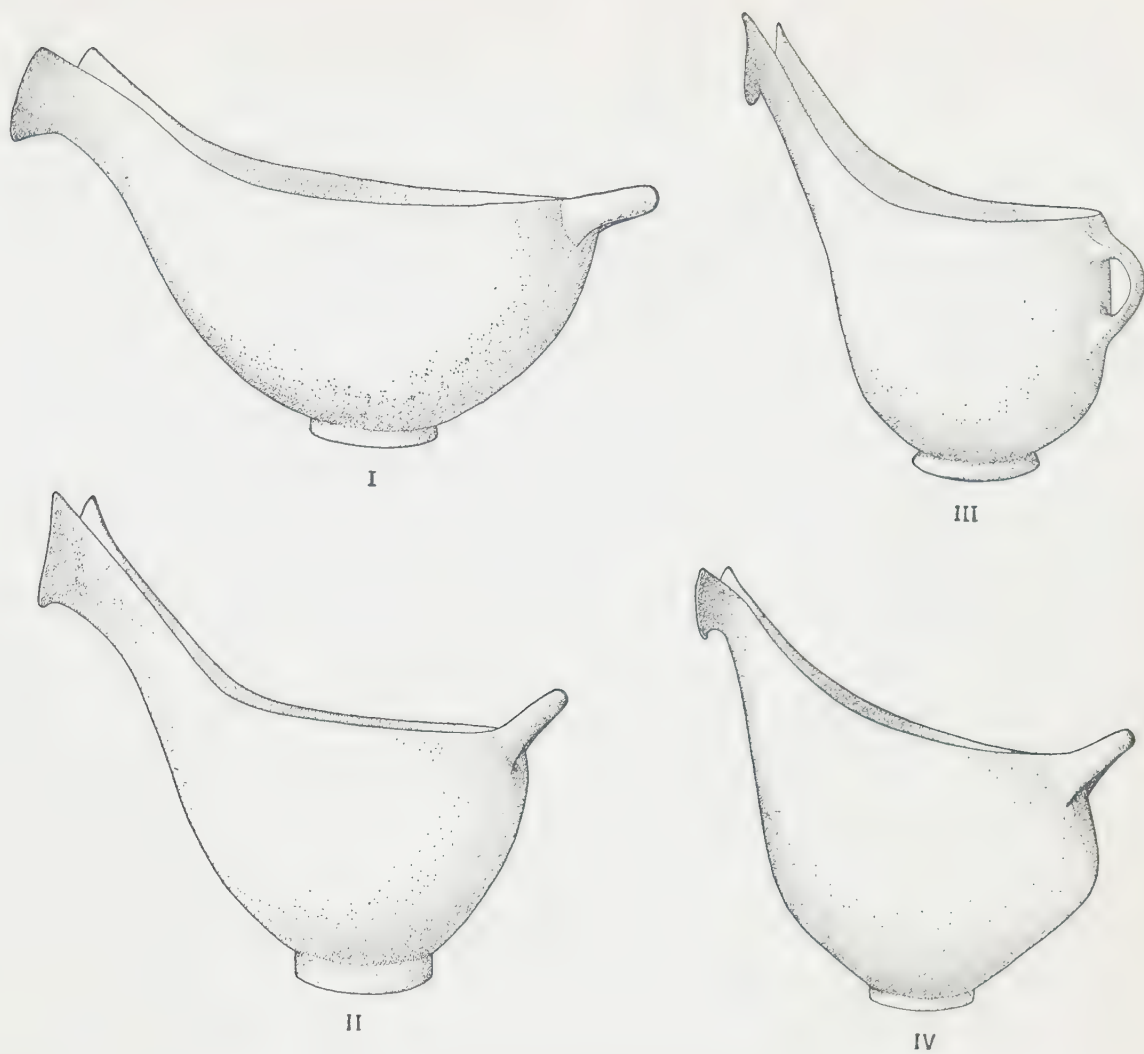
Other obviously characteristic shapes that occur in Lerna III and are exemplified at many sites in the region under consideration include jugs with high or low spouts, the lip cut square (1954, pl. 21, d; 1955, pl. 46, d); broad open basins of supremely

⁸ A parallel change occurred at Eutresis; above, p. 165.

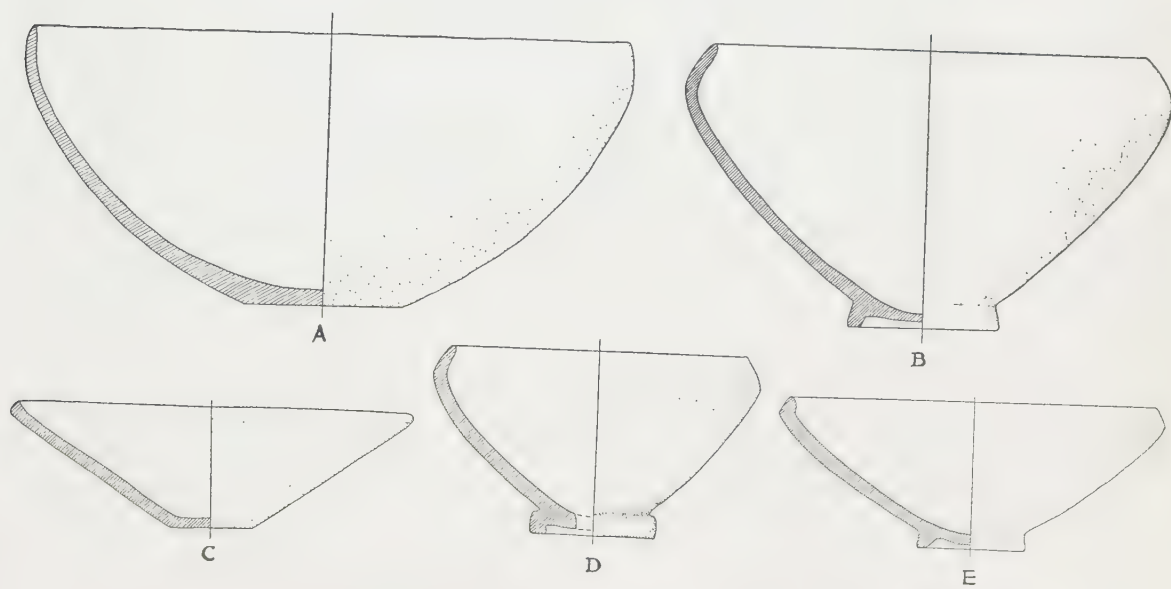
⁹ Blegen, Caskey, Rawson, *Troy*, II, pp. 227, 250-251. The crosses do not occur in E.H. III at Eutresis. Lerna III is appreciably earlier than Troy V; see below.

¹⁰ Tsountas, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1899, pl. 9, 8; Zervos, *L'Art des Cyclades*, fig. 190. A fragment probably from a sauceboat of this type was found in Lesbos, W. Lamb, *Thermi*, p. 91, fig. 32, 521.

¹¹ *Tiryns*, IV, pls. III, 4, IV, 1-4. Cf. *Asine*, fig. 162, 4.



Sauceboats. Lerna III (E. H. II)



Bowls and Saucers. Lerna III (E. H. II)

FIG. 1.

Drawings by Davina Huxley.

practical form (1955, pl. 46, g); big rounded jars with handles at the sides, and hydrias of the same shape with a vertical handle added from rim to shoulder (1955, pl. 46, i, j); small squat pyxides, nearly lentoid in form (1958, pl. 41, f); and very big pithoi. The curves of the swelling bodies of jars and hydrias have an elastic quality that can scarcely be defined in words but is exceedingly typical and, if I am not deceived, is a manifestation of the potter's taste and technique at this period only (*Tiryns*, IV, pl. XI).

Decoration is scarce on this pottery. There are a few instances of incised and impressed patterns in Lerna III, and of these a handful, found in the early strata, seem certainly to have been imported from the Cyclades or copied from Cycladic models (Pl. 69, e; 1957, pl. 35, d-f). Strikingly similar pieces, again few in number, have been found at Asea, Asine, Aghios Kosmas, and Eutresis.¹² Painted patterns occur also. Two lentoid flasks of fine quality bear designs in dull red-brown paint (1952-53, pl. 11, a). Other vessels, saucers, an askos, unmistakable fragments of sauceboats, and perhaps a score of sherds besides these, have patterns in glossy dark paint on a light ground (Pl. 69, b, c). Light-on-dark is very rare indeed.

None of these painted wares are closely akin to the corresponding class in Period IV. Thanks to the very large collection of pots of the latter group that could be assembled at Lerna we are now able to recognize pieces of the two different types with considerable confidence, provided the fragments are of reasonable size. K. Müller correctly made the same basic distinction at Tiryns, although working with a much smaller body of material. The origin of the early painted class that appears in Lerna III is not yet known, but in my opinion a connection is to be found in the Aegean islands. Glaze-painted wares from Early Cycladic tombs in Syros, for example, are decidedly similar in technique, and fragments of patterned sauceboats at Lerna and Aghios Kosmas find an immediate parallel in a well-known whole example from Naxos.¹³

A jar bearing multiple imprints of a seal¹⁴ was found by Tsountas on the Acropolis of Chalandriani in Syros, where a remarkable decorated gold band and a fragmentary Trojan *depas amphikypellon* also came to light. The stratigraphical relationship of these objects was not recorded in the publication and probably could not be determined at the time of the excavation. They now take on an added interest, particularly in view of the resemblance, in plan at least, between the systems of fortifications at Chalandriani and at Lerna (1957, pp. 132-136). Jars with similar seal-impressions have been found in Lerna III and at Asine and Zygouries. Much more numerous are

¹² *Asea*, fig. 87; *Asine*, fig. 171 (the context is E.H. II, not E.H. III; see below); *Aghios Kosmas*, figs. 145, 146, 159, 160; *Eutresis*, fig. 145.

¹³ Zervos, *L'Art des Cyclades*, fig. 152.

¹⁴ 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1899, pl. 9, 15; Zervos, *L'Art des Cyclades*, fig. 101.

the clay sealings that come from the House of the Tiles¹⁵ and from two somewhat earlier closed groups at Lerna, which now supplement the small group previously known at Asine. All these together display a great variety of linear designs within a rigidly limited range. It seems to me not impossible that the round stamp seals here exemplified may share a common origin with those that decorated the jars and "frying pans" of the Cyclades. There are indeed also resemblances, frequently noted, to seal-patterns found in Crete and generally assigned to Early Minoan III or Middle Minoan I. Some degree of relationship is probable. It does not follow, however, that the examples on the mainland necessarily were derived from Cretan prototypes; and, as will become apparent, D. Levi's recent proposal to associate the Lerna sealings with those of the First Palace at Phaistos meets a solid chronological obstacle.

A form of decoration related both technically and esthetically to that of the stamp seals is seen on the raised bands which surrounded many of the pithoi and on the rims of some large flat pans in the time of Lerna III. Continuous patterns were impressed upon the bands with cylinder seals of comparatively rough type, quite probably made of wood. The technique was used extensively in the Argolid, as shown by fragments at Asine, Tiryns, and Zygouries. By a rather remarkable chance, lengths of bands bearing the imprint of the same seal—and therefore proved to have been made within a very short space of years, possibly even of months or weeks—have been found at Zygouries, Tiryns, and Lerna.¹⁶

The burning of the House of the Tiles marked the end of Period III, and marked it very clearly indeed, both historically and archaeologically. This was the end of an era at Lerna. The debris of the destruction can be distinguished with certainty from the remains of the succeeding settlements that grew up thereafter over the site of the palace. In the fairly extensive area which was excavated there were, strangely, no other buildings of any kind that could be assigned to the time of the House of the Tiles. At that stage even the fortification walls had been demolished and covered with earth. This fact, taken with the unfinished condition of certain elements within the building, makes it seem probable that the House of the Tiles was under construction or reconstruction and that the whole citadel was perhaps being reorganized architecturally at the very moment when it came to a violent end.

The place of the great building was then set aside through the forming of a low round tumulus over its ruins (1955, p. 165; 1956, pl. 45, b). For some time thereafter nobody encroached upon this mysteriously sacred area.

PERIOD IV AT LERNA

Lerna IV began as a quite new settlement. It was an establishment of another

¹⁵ M. C. Heath, *op. cit.* (note 2).

¹⁶ Zygouries, fig. 114, 6; Tiryns, IV, pl. XIX; Lerna, 1958, pl. 42, c-e.

kind, and the differences from its predecessor are more obvious than the similarities. This was not a fortress and not a seat of central authority but a quite ordinary town, perhaps at first not more than a small village. It had nonetheless certain definable characteristics, which may be reviewed here in outline.

The first building erected—among those revealed by excavation—was an apsidal structure, lightly put together of perishable materials. Its curved end was toward the west, so placed that it overlay the eastern end of the House of the Tiles and just touched the circle of the tumulus. It was not small as houses of the time go, its length being fully 12 m. and its width possibly as much as 7 m. A light partition divided the apse from the principal room.

Houses similar in plan were built throughout Period IV, in at least five successive architectural phases. Normally they were moderately substantial buildings with stone socles and walls of crude brick, intended for permanent use. The largest, assignable to the fourth phase, was nearly 15 m. long and had a circular hearth in the center of the main room, as had several others (1955, pl. 41, d). By no means all the houses were apsidal. Quite as many were oblong, insofar as could be ascertained from the remains and the walls; when found they often had long gaps where stones had been taken out for reuse and the original plans of some were impossible to determine. The houses usually had two or three rooms, and regularly were free-standing although the lanes between them were often very narrow. Walls ran in crooked lines and, though again we allow for dilapidation, the masonry seems not very carefully wrought. Seen beside the well-preserved remains of the House of the Tiles they looked decidedly inferior.

A characteristic feature of Settlement IV is the ubiquitous bothroi. Small pits appear at Lerna in all periods from the early Neolithic onward. Some, lined with clay, must have served first as cool places for storage; almost all, lined or unlined, were used ultimately for the disposal of rubbish. But of a total around 425 nearly 280 belonged to Lerna IV. They were discovered everywhere, and required extreme vigilance and patience on the part of the excavators; many eluded us for a time; some few may have been overlooked altogether. Scarcely any of these bothroi were lined. Most were roughly cylindrical, usually between 0.60 m. and 1 m. in diameter and the same in depth, though extremes and irregularities occurred. They contained waste material, animal bones, sometimes burnt matter, potsherds and often large parts of whole pots.

Bothroi have been found at almost all early sites. The existence of a few of them in any period is to be expected anywhere. At Lerna the great profusion of them in Period IV is noteworthy and perhaps significant; certainly it is a distinguishing feature in this one place. The possibility of their being especially common throughout the Argolid at this particular stage of the Early Helladic period is worth observing,

but to cite bothroi as evidence for close synchronisms with other regions would not be warranted.¹⁷

The pottery of Lerna IV exhibits a strikingly new range of wares, shapes, and patterns. Almost all the vessels are still made by hand, as they were without exception in Period III, but a very few show spiral whorls at the bottom, inside, and parallel grooves on the rim and shoulder, that are too regular to be accounted for by any device other than a potter's wheel (Pl. 70, a-i). It may have been a crude version of the mechanism, so clumsy that at first it seemed to most people a worthless innovation. But its use increases toward the end of the period.

This is obviously an important development in the economic history of Lerna, from the archaeological point of view, for if the potter's wheel was known at this site one must assume that it was known equally at other places in the Argolid. Where the knowledge came from, and just what relations existed with other wheel-users, cannot yet be determined. Fairly rapid rotation is evident in the flaring bowls of Troy from Phase II b onward, long before the time of Lerna IV. Use of the "fast wheel" is established in Crete in Middle Minoan I b, a period which appears to be later than Lerna IV. The subject seems to me to be full of uncertainties, and in recording the introduction of the wheel at this site I would emphasize that the marks are rare in Period IV and that they appear almost exclusively in a class of gray pots, exceedingly seldom in the other wares that are described below.

Most conspicuous among the wares is a light-colored fabric with linear patterns in dark paint, Blegen's Early Helladic Class C I (A and B), now very well known at many sites.¹⁸ It was found in large quantities at Lerna and about 80 of the pots were made up with little restoration. None of it was found in the preceding layer. It belongs exclusively to Lerna IV, except insofar as it may have influenced the potters of the succeeding period. Shapes represented in this ware are the characteristic two-handled tankards, small cups, small bowls or wide cups with outturned rim, large bowls or basins, jugs, and a multitude of jars, principally those with rounded body and narrow flaring neck. Very often the underbody is wholly coated and the shoulder is reserved as a ground for the pattern, an apportionment of space which recurs from time to time throughout the history of pottery making. Also notable is the tendency to decorate the inner side of the rims. The paint must be classed as a glaze; it may be glossy but ordinarily it is fairly dull. (Examples from Lerna are figured in 1952-53, pl. 10, b; 1954, pl. 21, h, i; 1955, pl. 45, a-e.)

The corresponding style with colors reversed, light patterns painted on a dark glaze-coated ground (the "Aghia Marina style"), is well attested but relatively scarce in Lerna IV.

¹⁷ The proliferation of bothroi in Phase II d at Troy is a parallel but unrelated phenomenon.

¹⁸ E.g. *Tiryns*, IV, pls. XXVI-XXXIII. This class of pottery is the subject of a study that is being prepared by W. P. Donovan of The Florida State University.

A coating made probably of the same dark substance was applied to the whole surface of numerous other pots, chiefly jars, in a very casual manner (Pl. 69, f, g). The biscuit of these vessels is usually rough and porous, and the coating was added, one supposes, to seal them. It was smeared on in a characteristic fashion, and we propose to use Sir John Myres' expressive term "Smear Ware" for this class alone, although with him it denoted also some of the glazed ware of the earlier period (our Lerna III).

A third and different class is coated with a true slip, often quite thick, and well burnished. The pots, the great majority of which are two-handled bowls with out-turned rim, are fired black or gray-brown or red-brown in varying degrees.

The uncoated wares include some fine and moderately fine buff varieties and classes of coarse fabrics that may be divided into moderately fine burnished ware (cups, tankards, two-handled bowls) and rough very uneven ware with slight burnishing (cups and open jars, almost always with knobs on the shoulder). Vessels shaped like goblets, but sometimes pierced like strainers, occur in coarse and semicoarse ware (1952-53, pl. 10, a; 1955, pl. 43, d; cf. *Zygouries*, figs. 116, 117).

In general the shapes, like the wares, of all these vessels show a marked difference from those characteristic in Lerna III. There are no sauceboats, no small saucers, no jugs or hydrias of the earlier kind, no lentoid pyxides. A few askoid jugs probably look back to the earlier tradition, and it is possible to see a connection between the jar shapes, though in Lerna IV these are certainly altered, now lacking the springy contours that distinguished their predecessors. The prevalence of totally new shapes is still more striking: the tankard, the one-handled cup, and what we have chosen to call the "Ouzo Cup" (after the shape of the glass in which the popular aperitif is normally served at Greek kaffeneia), a small handleless cylindrical vessel with splaying rim. Perhaps an Argive form, it has been found also at Tiryns and Berbati. At Lerna it was used extensively in the early phases of Period IV (1954, pl. 21, e-g; *Tiryns*, IV, fig. 9).

The two-handled bowls deserve special attention. They are very common indeed throughout the period and the variations in shape are only minor (Pl. 70, i; 1952-53, pl. 9, a, c; 1955, pl. 43, e; 1956, pl. 42, f). Hundreds, if not thousands, of examples are represented by fragments found on the floors and in the bothroi; dozens have been restored and inventoried. Many are coated with slip, reddish brown or gray-black. A few, on the other hand, are light gray, and of these some are wheelmade. Since the name Minyan is attached so generally to the class of pottery that marks the fully recognized Middle Helladic period, and since these gray bowls are found at Lerna in unmistakable association with the patterned ware of Period IV that is equally recognized as a mark of the Early Helladic period, I have some hesitation in calling the gray ware Minyan. But after examining all the pieces of this pottery and comparing it with the gray fabric of, for example, ring-stemmed goblets (which reflect the

very essence of Middle Helladic technique), I am unable to make any distinction. The necessary conclusion, it seems to me, is that this *ware* was introduced at Lerna, in a very limited range of *shapes*, soon after the reestablishment of the settlement around the ruins of the House of the Tiles and many generations before the appearance of Matt-painted ware.

Bowls of this shape continued to be made in early phases of Lerna V, when the gray ware may be called Minyan without raising a question. An example was found at Korakou. Fragments are reported from Asine, where they are assigned to "Middle Helladic I."

Imported pottery is not common in Lerna IV. The most notable piece is the Trojan jar with winglike attachments that was found in the first preliminary campaign in a deposit which we assign to a late stage of the fourth period (1952-53, pl. 11, b). It has a plain cylindrical neck of the kind that held a face-lid, but no lids of that sort were discovered at Lerna. The fabric could well be that of Troy IV, but assignment by style has been shown to be uncertain for many of the vessels of Trojan Settlements II-IV. The discovery of an Early Helladic patterned fragment in a context probably of Troy IV (*Troy*, II, fig. 170, 10; fig. 185, EH 704) supports our opinion that that settlement was contemporary, in part at least, with Lerna IV.

It is perhaps not too fanciful to guess that the bizarre shape of the Trojan pot might appeal to the taste of a seafaring traveller from Lerna. There were jars of strange shape at home, including a remarkable three-spouted vessel (1955, pl. 43, f) and other high-necked, gaudily decorated jars which characterize the later phases of Lerna IV (Pl. 70, j). These often have as one element of their adornment plastic ridges slashed obliquely to imitate twisted ropes, a common feature in this period (Pl. 69, h; cf. 1955, pl. 44, c).

The miscellaneous objects of Lerna IV, other than pottery, also show differences from those of the preceding period.¹⁹ Among the pieces of distinctly new type are small anchor-shaped objects of terracotta (1955, pl. 47, l-p; 1956, pl. 42, e) which find parallels not only in the Argolid but much farther afield. A bone object with hemispherical bosses found at Lerna in association with a few sherds of gray Minyan ware and therefore assigned by us in 1953 to the first Middle Helladic stratum, is now seen to belong more probably to a late phase of Period IV.²⁰

¹⁹ A detailed study of the miscellaneous objects of Lerna IV and Lerna V is being made by Miss E. L. Courtney.

²⁰ 1952-53, p. 22, pl. 9, g. The Trojan, Sicilian, and Maltese parallels are surveyed by J. D. Evans in *Antiquity*, XXX, 1956, pp. 80-93. Another example has been found near Altamura in southern Italy, F. Biancofiore, *Bull. di Paletnologia Italiana*, LXVI, 1957, pp. 19-40.

THE TRANSITION TO PERIOD V

There is no break in the sequence between the settlements called Lerna IV and Lerna V, no general layer of burnt debris, no sign of other catastrophe. The architectural succession continues with apsidal and oblong buildings, and from the appearance of their plans and masonry alone the excavator could not distinguish one period from another. A change undoubtedly occurred, however. It appears most obviously in certain classes of pottery.

As an example of the gradual transition one may note the evidence observed in one of the medium-sized apsidal houses, D in Area A (1954, pp. 30-32). This was rebuilt at least once and had a number of floor levels. On the first was found pottery of types assignable exclusively to Period IV. On the second and subsequent floors, following the reconstruction, there were sherds and one restorable pot of Matt-painted ware (1952-53, pl. 9, b), a sign that "Lerna V" had begun. Here the new style appeared one day in the lifetime of a single household, unaccompanied by havoc. In familiar terms, one might even picture a housewife going to a local shop and acquiring some pieces of newfangled crockery to embellish her newly remodelled house. One would like to know the comments of her kinsfolk; the words may have been humorous, sarcastic, or chiding, but certainly not revolutionary.

Matt-painted ware begins then suddenly, in the form well-known to students of archaeology since the days of Furtwängler and Loeschke, and, with the lustrous class mentioned below, replaces the patterned ware of the preceding period. Gray Minyan ware occurs in much greater quantities than in its embryonic stage in Lerna IV. The thickly slipped version, Argive Minyan ware, makes its first appearance, occurring almost exclusively in characteristic broad bowls with horizontally fluted shoulders and swinging festoons of incised lines (1952-53, pl. 7, c). This ware is normally black or near-black but sometimes gray, brown, or reddish.

Still another new class of pottery is a hard, gritty, handmade ware of light color that is decorated usually with patterns in genuinely lustrous dark paint. This fabric deserves close attention. Fragments were found at Asine and recorded in the publication (*Asine*, pp. 274-275), but seem to have been rare or missing altogether at other sites. At Lerna they are abundant. Owing to the extremely brittle quality of the hard biscuit, pots were shattered and the pieces widely dispersed. Relatively few could be wholly restored, but there is now a representative collection. The commonest shape is that of a two-handled jar, an example of which, decorated in the rarer light-on-dark technique, is illustrated in 1954, pl. 17, e. A large vessel with a short collar-neck is figured herewith (Pl. 70, k).

With these standard local, or localized, wares, are also relatively many examples of imported pottery. In the first stratum of Settlement V one finds a conical "duck vase" of Cycladic origin (1956, pl. 42, d), a series of small handmade flasks with

incised decoration from some region not yet surely determined (1956, pl. 40, d, f), and a dozen or more fragments of pots from Crete, the greater number of which are assignable with considerable certainty to Middle Minoan Ia (e.g. 1955, pl. 43, c).²¹ Most of the latter are small sherds, some of which might possibly have percolated down from higher strata (where Minoan wares continue to occur); there is no reason, however, to suppose that any of them came up from below, since not a single fragment of this type of pottery was found in any secure stratum of Lerna IV. In addition to the pieces surely imported from Crete, several large whole pots from the first stratum of Period V show Minoan characteristics and were made either at an unidentified Minoan center or at Lerna in close imitation of Minoan prototypes.

The ceramic evidence of change is strongly supplemented by the sudden appearance of intramural graves in Lerna V. Very few infants' skeletons were found in contexts that might be assigned to Period IV; in V the custom of burying the dead under the floors and between the houses was nearly universal. The graves are of the usual Middle Helladic types: plain inhumations, stone cist graves with or without cover slabs, and urn burials for a few of the small children.²² Funeral gifts were not plentiful.

RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY

Three successive but distinct phases of the Early Helladic period are best known at Eutresis in Boeotia. There, to name only the most obviously characteristic features of the pottery, E.H. I is marked by red and brown burnished vessels, chiefly rounded bowls; E.H. II produces glazed ware, sauceboats, askoi, and little saucers; E.H. III is the time of patterned ware, tankards, and bowls with outturned rims. Transitions and survivals can be recognized, but in general the types are sharply set off from each other.

In the Peloponnesos corresponding stages may be seen. Lerna was apparently not inhabited in the first of the three phases. Remains of the second, on the other hand, are very extensively represented. They make up the whole series of architectural levels in what we call Period III, ending with the destruction of the House of the Tiles. Lerna IV belongs entirely to the third principal phase of the Early Helladic age.

The tripartite scheme has been employed frequently in the past; properly, to identify three successive strata at any single site, but leading sometimes to confusion when, for example, the "Early Helladic III" of one place was assumed to be con-

²¹ I would record thanks particularly to M. S. F. Hood, D. Levi, and N. Platon, for examining the Minoan pottery from Lerna and giving me the benefit of their experienced judgment about its provenience and date.

²² Cf. Wace and Blegen, "Middle Helladic Tombs," *Symbolae Osloenses*, IX, 1930, pp. 28-37. The skeletal material from Lerna is being studied by J. L. Angel of the Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia.

temporary with a settlement so designated at another.²³ The stratification of Lerna, unencumbered by big constructions of later ages and clarified by an abundant yield of objects, permits us now to define two of the stages with much greater confidence, having shown in what ways the sequences in northeastern Peloponnesos correspond with the full series at Eutresis. I would propose that the terms Early Helladic I, II, and III be used henceforth in this sense only.

The characteristics of Early Helladic II are remarkably homogeneous and can be recognized at many sites. Tiryns, insofar as the stratification could be observed below mighty structures of the Mycenaean period, produced E.H. II pottery in the time of the tholos—a building which, as we have noted, was roofed with tiles and was burned, like its counterpart across the bay in Lerna. Architectural remains of this period have not been found extensively at Corinth but it is probably significant that whereas sauceboats occur there plentifully, patterned ware of Early Helladic III is lacking (see above, p. 250). The latest houses of the early settlement at Aghios Kosmas in Attica had pottery of Early Helladic II and were destroyed by fire.

This burnt stratum at Aghios Kosmas has been assigned to Early Helladic III, the “very end of the Early Helladic period,” by Mylonas. His conclusion was quite reasonable in the light of information previously known from fully published sites, but in accordance with the present analysis it should be modified. The destruction occurred at the close of Early Helladic II.

The representative group of houses at Zygouries, excavated in 1921 and 1922, yielded very large quantities of pottery and other objects like those which are now paralleled in Lerna III. Burnt debris indicated clearly how the houses had been destroyed. All this stratum lay immediately below the modern surface; walls had been disturbed by ploughing in recent times. Later construction existed elsewhere at the site but had been lost in the area of these houses. Earlier E.H. strata were tested only in soundings. The burnt level was third in chronological succession and in consequence has long been taken as typical of the general phase Early Helladic III. In the scheme here proposed it must be assigned to Early Helladic II. The few sherds of patterned ware that were found below the floors of the burnt houses belong presumably to the relatively rare early class that has been recognized at Tiryns and Lerna. A small number of patterned vessels and fragments, representing types that occur at Lerna only in Period IV (E.H. III), must, I suppose, have reached the level of the burnt rooms through the intrusion of bothroi or through one of the operations of cutting or levelling that Blegen perceived and recorded (*Zygouries*, pp. 3, 4).

At Asine, similarly, the successive strata were graded and cut down repeatedly in antiquity, and in many places the remaining deposits were thin at the time of

²³ The danger inherent in such assumptions has been pointed out by C. W. Blegen, *B.S.A.*, XLVI, 1951, p. 21; E. Kunze, *Orchomenos*, III, p. 11; A. J. B. Wace, *Historia*, II, 1953/4, p. 81.

excavation. A few deep accumulations were found and tested, however, in trial trenches. Burnished wares of Early Helladic I were recovered at the bottom. The next levels contained sauceboats and other vessels typical of Early Helladic II. At the top of the latter series were remains of a house that had been burned, and its debris held tiles like those of Tiryns and Lerna. The excavators called this level Early Helladic III, noting the features similar to those of Zygouries. It should now be recognized, I think, as a characteristic settlement of Early Helladic II. All the pottery from the "bothros on the pre-Mycenaean terrace" and with a few exceptions all that from "House R on Terrace III" is of types that occur exclusively in Period III at Lerna. Seal impressions on a jar from this group and various other clay sealings at Asine correspond closely with those of Lerna III. They belong to the repertory of Early Helladic II. One fragmentary jug with painted decoration, recorded in the group from House R (*Asine*, fig. 160, 5), is certainly later than E.H. II, and three undecorated pots (*ibid.*, 6-8) are very probably later. Their presence is to be accounted for presumably by another one of those intrusions that cannot be detected in the course of the digging.

Violent destruction appears then to have occurred about the same time at Lerna, Tiryns, Asine, Zygouries, Aghios Kosmas, and perhaps at Corinth. Stratigraphical evidence for this period is inadequate at Asea, Prosymna, and Mycenae. At Korakou burnt debris was seen at the top of the Early Helladic layer but is not reported as overlying the E.H. II stratum in particular; the lower deposits of this settlement were tested in relatively small soundings which gave little information about architectural remains. In central Greece, Eutresis provides clear evidence of a sequence of events different from that at Lerna: burning at the end of E.H. III but not at the end of E.H. II. General destruction by fire is not recorded in this period at Orchomenos.

Fires occurred locally, consuming one or more houses, in most of the periods at almost all sites, and caution is required in drawing conclusions of wide application from a layer of ashes, especially at places where archaeological excavation was restricted to small areas. Returning again to Lerna, however, one is struck by the burning of the House of the Tiles, by the quite extraordinary respect paid to its ruins, and by the wholly different character of the settlement that succeeded. Taken together these factors surely imply deliberate warlike action, and a reoccupation of the site by people of a different material culture, if not of a wholly different ethnical stock. And events of such moment at one site in the Argolid justify a very careful scrutiny of the evidence at others.

The data cited in the foregoing account suggest strongly, I think, that a foreign invasion created widespread havoc in this region and brought to an end the bright flowering of human society which has left its traces in the material remains of the second Early Helladic period.

Who the destroyers were, whence they came, and how far they spread at this time are questions to be answered after facts now available have been studied further and much more information has been gathered from systematic excavation. It is not to be supposed in any case that all communities in the district were wiped out. Korakou, for example, may have escaped violence altogether, although its prominent position at the head of the Gulf of Corinth must have left it exposed to rapid subjection by any new dominant element of population. Beyond the mountain barrier to the north one must assume, in the light of present knowledge, that the change occurred more gradually.

The new people established themselves firmly at Lerna, where Settlement IV appears to have maintained itself continuously during the space of at least five or six generations, or quite possibly longer. At other places in the district groups of the same people lived similar lives. Their presence is attested by large quantities of characteristic pottery at Tiryns and elsewhere; but detailed stratigraphical evidence of the continuity of occupation has been revealed up to now at Lerna only.

Then came another impulse, presumably again from abroad, this time fully establishing the well-known features of Middle Helladic culture. Until recently we have believed that these features appeared in the Argolid after a period of violence; that they came in the van of a destroying force. Now, however, the picture is altered. Lerna was not sacked at the end of Period IV; and as one looks again at the other sites it is clear that various assumptions about them need modification. Elements that have been taken exclusively as marks of the Middle Bronze Age, gray ware of Minyan character and the potter's wheel for example, are now seen to have origins in the chronological period of Early Helladic III. K. Müller was unable to find a clear break between Early Helladic and Middle Helladic at Tiryns. Destruction of Asine, Zygyouries, and Aghios Kosmas at the end of Early Helladic III is no longer attested if the relative dating outlined above is valid. There was indeed a layer of ashes over debris of E.H. III at Korakou and, correspondingly, at Eutresis; elsewhere the evidence of disaster at this time is exceedingly meager.

It would be premature, and not within the scope of this paper, to discuss the questions of race and migration that are implicit in the proposals here advanced. Belief that the Middle Helladic people were ancestors of the "Mycenaeans," and hence of the later Greeks, is not affected. The question is, rather, whether the people of Early Helladic III may not have been closely akin to the Middle Helladics and thus also of direct or indirect parentage to the Mycenaean Greeks. Pre-Greek place names, the significance of which has been carefully considered by Blegen and others,²⁴ would seem in any case to belong with the cultural stage which we here call Early Helladic II.

Although the transition from Early Helladic III to Middle Helladic appears

²⁴ Haley and Blegen, "The Coming of the Greeks," *A.J.A.*, XXXII, 1928, pp. 141-154.

now to have been accomplished at many places without extreme violence, the changes that did occur must not be underestimated. The new burial customs undoubtedly reflect a change in outlook. Commercial activity, attested by the very marked influx of imported objects at the beginning of Lerna V, seems certainly to have expanded with sudden vigor. Pottery of the earliest Middle Minoan styles, contemporary with the first great surge of palace-building in Crete, now makes its appearance on the mainland. Small handmade flasks containing some precious substance find their way to Lerna from a distant region, perhaps far in the north. There is a revival of trade with the Cyclades. In the area of the islands much more information is needed, but it seems reasonable to suppose that the transition from the first to the second architectural period at Phylakopi is parallel to, and roughly contemporary with, the change from Period IV to Period V at Lerna. Phylakopi I (excluding the few remnants of the much earlier "Pelos culture") may well prove to have been coeval with Lerna IV; the sauceboat and other features of the preceding stage are missing from both. The second main period at the Melian site, with its importation of Middle Minoan and Middle Helladic wares and the exportation of its own distinctive products, then follows in chronological sequence as a counterpart of Lerna V.

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A GREEK SCULPTURED METOPE IN ROME

(PLATE 71)

AMONG the sculptured architectural marbles of Greek origin found in Rome, some of them brought from Greek temples in the western colonial cities or from Greece itself for the embellishment of ancient Rome,¹ others by early modern travelers,² and others again by more recent travelers to Greek lands, may be noted an unidentified sculptured metope stored in the Antiquario Comunale on the Monte Celio (*E.A.*, 2051). At my request, in the hope of ascertaining the origin of this

¹ Examples: The south pediment sculptures (in Copenhagen and Rome) and akroteria (in the Louvre), all apparently brought from the temple at Bassai to Rome (for the pediment statues, Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, pp. 27-47; for the akroteria, Picard, *Mon. Piot*, XXXIX, 1943, pp. 49-80; cf. also Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, pp. 19-21 and LX, 1956, p. 401 note 3). A Nike akroterion from the Palatine (in the Museo Nazionale, Rome), a fleeing girl from a pediment (in Copenhagen, no. 304), the Alba youth from a pediment (in Copenhagen, no. 400), a standing Apollo apparently from a pediment (in Copenhagen, no. 63); for these four see Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, pp. 33, 38, with references; for later references see, for the Nike or Aura from the Palatine, *BrBr.* pls. 766-767, and for the fleeing girl in Copenhagen, said to have been found near Frascati, see V. H. Poulsen, *Aarsskrift*, XXV, 1938, pp. 128-143, figs. 5-9, where it is combined with a headless seated youth and perhaps an Athena head in Copenhagen and a seated woman in Berlin (*BrBr.* pl. 771). Also a headless seated youth from Tivoli in Copenhagen (no. 325; *E.A.* 4454-4456), the Barberini Suppliant now in the Louvre (*BrBr.* pl. 415; *Mon. Piot*, XXXV, 1935/6, pl. 6), Nike akroteria from the gardens of Sallust in the Conservatori at Rome (Jones, *Conservatori*, p. 222, no. 16; *BrBr.* pl. 263 and figs. 4-6 in text to pls. 761-762), and a late archaic female figure (Amazon) from the Ludovisi gardens also in the Conservatori (Jones, *Conservatori*, p. 219, no. 12; Poulsen, *op. cit.*, fig. 2). A metope from an unidentified Attic building (according to style and material), wrongly assigned by Langlotz to the temple at Rhamnous (in the Villa Albani, no. 178; Langlotz, *Scritti in onore di Bartolomeo Nogara*, pp. 225-230, pl. XXI; Dinsmoor, "Rhamnountine Fantasies," to be published in *Hesperia*). If this metope had actually come from Rhamnous it would have been a definite example of looting in antiquity; but in the absence of identification it might have been brought to Rome in later times. The actual sculptured metopes from Rhamnous, however, were undoubtedly brought to Rome in A.D. 45/6 (Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*), but have never been discovered. Similarly unknown, but probably to be included in this list, are the pediment sculptures of the temple of Ares at Athens (Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 48). Note also the groups described by Pliny, the Niobid group in the temple of Apollo built by C. Sosius (XIII, 53; XXXVI, 28, 34) and the group by Boupalos and Athenis in the temple of Apollo built by Octavius on the Palatine (XXXVI, 13).

² Examples: A head from a metope of the Parthenon (in the Vatican, no. 1013; Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Sculture del Magazzino del Museo Vaticano*, no. 398, pl. LXXIII). The upper right corner of north frieze slab V of the Parthenon, still in Athens in 1754 (in the Vatican, no. 1014; Technau, *Röm. Mitt.*, XLVI, 1931, pp. 87-89, pl. 11; Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *op. cit.*, no. 399, pl. LXXIV). Head of a horse from the west pediment of the Parthenon (in the Vatican, no. 1016; *A.J.A.*, LII, 1948, p. 501, pl. XLVIII; Lullies, *Griechische Bildwerke in Rom*, 2nd ed., 1955, fig. 18).

piece, it was sought out and examined, lying in the grass and among the poppies of the garden (Orto Botanico) of the Antiquario, by Gisela M. A. Richter and Carlo Pietrangeli, through whose careful and discriminating analysis I am enabled to present the following report.⁴

The metope (Pl. 71) had been found on July 16, 1890, beneath the former Piazza delle Carrette, southeast of the Torre dei Conti and so just outside (northeast of) the boundary wall of the Forum Pacis of Vespasian, during the clearing of this area for the new Via Cavour, and while digging a sewer at a depth of 4 meters.⁵ It was then tentatively but superficially identified as a piece of the frieze of the Forum Transitorium of Nerva, to which it certainly does not belong.⁶ Many years later, while accumulating the records of earlier excavations in the area of the Forum Pacis, Colini included this piece, though adding that it is not certain that it came from the Forum Pacis, having been found outside, and suggesting that it was part of a pediment.⁷ Meanwhile it had been identified by Amelung as a Greek metope and assigned to a very different period, the fourth century B.C.⁸

The metope is of fine-grained Greek marble, Pentelic in Miss Richter's opinion, broken all around except at the top and back; the height is 0.87 m., the width 0.49 m. in its present state, and the thickness of the background (below the fascia) 0.10 m.⁹ This thickness is suitable for a sculptured marble metope slab, analogies (excluding the irregular thicknesses in the Parthenon) being 0.12 m. in the Heraion at Selinous (poros), 0.085/0.10 m. at Olympia, 0.07/0.08 m. in the Argive Heraion, etc. The back is roughly worked with the punch. On the top surface is a rectangular hole

⁴ The piece has now been cleaned and transferred to the Palazzo dei Conservatori (no. 1827, or no. 14 in room VI). For the new photographs I am indebted to Dr. Gisela Richter and Dr. Carlo Pietrangeli.

⁵ *Not. Sc.*, 1890, p. 239 (without illustration): "Presso la piazza delle Carrette, sistemandosi il piano stradale della Via Cavour, si è ritrovato un frammento di grande fregio marmoreo, che per le proporzioni e lo stilo ha analogia con quello del foro di Nerva. Vi rimane soltanto il torso, in alto rilievo, di una figura virile, la quale era seduta e teneva il braccio destro proteso. Essa è ignuda, ma doveva avere dietro la spalle una clamide, de cui vedesi un lembo sul lato sinistro." Cf. *Bull. Com.*, XXVII, 1899, p. 203. Further details from the inventory are added by Colini, *Bull. Com.*, LXV, 1937, p. 19 (with illustration fig. 8): "eseguendosi cavo per fognolo, alla profondità di m. 4, e tra le terre di scarico" (reference kindly furnished by Enrico Paribeni).

⁶ The fact that it cannot belong to the Forum Transitorium is shown not only by the fourth century style but also by the height, estimated as at least 1.34 m., and by the smooth fascia of 0.143 m. at the top. The frieze of the Forum Transitorium is only 0.775 m. high without any mouldings cut on the same piece (Töbelmann, *Römische Gebälke*, 1923, pp. 52-61, pl. VIII).

⁷ Colini, *op. cit.*, p. 19. The attribution to a pediment was made on the assumption that the forward-leaning torso should be set vertically, thus tipping the horizontal top fascia obliquely. But, even then, the slope would be insufficient for a pediment, and the broad fascia crowning a sloping tympanum would be unprecedented.

⁸ Amelung, in Arndt-Amelung, *Einzel aufgenommen*, VII, 1913, p. 70, no. 2051.

⁹ Amelung gives 0.86, 0.51, and 0.11 m., respectively.

0.05 m. long, 0.04 m. wide, and 0.07 m. deep, also very roughly worked with the punch, which Amelung interpreted as a "Dübelloch," and in fact Miss Richter admits that it might be ancient Roman. But it was certainly utilized in recent times, since it contains traces not only of iron rust but also of mortar, so that it undoubtedly served for fastening the piece to a wall during an earlier installation in the Antiquario and, being approximately at the center of the broken piece as it now exists, was probably made after 1890 for this purpose.¹⁰

The single exactly known architectural feature is the fascia along the top, 0.143 m. high and projecting 0.02 m. from the background, this clearly designating it as a metope. The fascia has no crowning moulding such as appears in the Parthenon (beaded astragal), the central building and west wings of the Propylaia at Athens (ovolo and plain astragal, respectively), and the Argive Heraion (ovolo); it differs also from the more complicated group of mouldings in the porches at Bassai.

The sculpture, with a maximum projection of 0.213 m. from the background, represents a youthful warrior, leaning slightly forward as he strides toward the right (the legs hardly fitting the seated posture first suggested in 1890), with a shield on his left arm and held behind the body which is enframed by its concave interior, the left edge of the shield appearing to the left of his right side. The upper edge of the shield rises slightly above the shoulders and is in high relief, filling most of the distance of 0.125 m. between the background and the back of the warrior's neck. The chlamys, wrapped around his left forearm, flows out toward the left in harmony with the movement of the body. On his left side is a neat circular hole only 0.003 m. in diameter, evidently for the attachment of a bronze baldric, and another bored hole appears on the top fold of the drapery swinging from the left elbow. The head is missing, but apparently reached almost as high as the bottom of the fascia. The safest measurement on the figure itself is 0.35 m. from the bottom of the suprasternal notch to the crotch, implying that the figure was *ca.* 1.08 m. high, barely more than five-eighths life size. In detail, we measure 0.143 m. (fascia) + 0.27 m. (from fascia to bottom of suprasternal notch) + 0.35 m. (from suprasternal notch to crotch) + *ca.* 0.54 m. (from crotch to sole, restored) = *ca.* 1.30 m., to which we add *ca.* 0.05/0.07 m. for the plinth or ground line at the bottom, giving a total metope height of *ca.* 1.35/1.37 m. In other words, the metope was as high as those of the Parthenon (1.350 m.). A similar or slightly smaller dimension might be assumed for the width.

A circular bored hole running from front to back through the fascia (Pl. 71, b),

¹⁰ In response to my inquiry whether it might be a late lewis hole, Miss Richter replies in the negative: "the marble is broken at the top round the hole, but enough is preserved to show that pencils (applied within the ends) would not converge"; in other words, it is not longer at the bottom. It is located above the neck of the warrior and so approximately at the middle of the piece as it now exists.

appearing in the stepped fracture at the right edge (its bottom 0.09 m. below the top of the fascia),¹¹ would seem to have been a lifting hole for a rope, analogous to those found in pairs on the frieze slabs from Bassai and as single holes in the metopes from the Argive Heraion. The diameter of the hole is 0.026 m., comparable to those of 0.016/0.024 m. from Bassai and of 0.025 m. from the Heraion. On the latter analogy and with this interpretation, the hole should have been at the center of gravity of the original metope; and the fact that it actually appears at the right of the extant figure suggests that we are concerned with a two-figured composition, our warrior and his missing opponent. The absence of the original left edge, however, prevents any exact calculation of the total width.

The date of the sculpture, as previously noted, was thought by Amelung to be "very good decorative work of the fourth century"; Miss Richter also gives as her opinion "early fourth century, but it might be *ca.* 400 B.C." In order to attempt its identification, therefore, it is necessary to search for a large building of approximately this date. The clues being primarily the total metope height and that of the fascia, we may tabulate the dimensions of these features in a series of fairly large Greek buildings of the fifth and fourth centuries, arranged in a sequence according to the heights of peristyle metopes:¹²

¹¹ After mentioning the "Dübelloch," Amelung says: "Rechts davon ein treppenförmiger Bruch; in dem zweiten Absatz eine runde Bahn von vorne nach hinten (kaum ursprünglich; zu welchem Zwecke sollte sie gediente haben?)."

¹² For these dimensions and those given in the following tables I have adopted my own measurements whenever possible; those from Nemea are due to the kindness of the late B. H. Hill. The publications, moreover, are in certain respects confusing. Olympia porches 1.62 m. (Katterfeld, *Gr. Metopenbilder*, p. 89) omitting the fascia, but 1.60 m. (Kähler, *Gr. Metopenbild*, p. 105) with the statement that the fascia cut on the poros backing block was 0.24 m. high; the latter is excessive, the higher fascia on the porch triglyph being only 0.195 m. according to Dörpfeld, the lower metope fascia only 0.165 m. as shown by the metope slots cut on the sides of the triglyphs. Selinous (Hera) peristyle and porch metope heights interchanged by Katterfeld (*op. cit.*, p. 89). Paestum peristyle, Koldewey's metope fascia height 0.22 m. (?) seems excessive. At Aigina the unknown height of the metope fascia of the porches must have been less than the measured triglyph fascia of 0.095 m.; and if we adopt the ratio of $0.11 : 0.086 = 1 : 0.80$ m. appearing in the peristyle, the heights in the porches would have been $0.095 : 0.075$ m. Omitted from the table because of absence of recorded fascia heights are Syracuse (Athena) 1.397 m.; Paestum ("Poseidon") porches 0.863 m.; Akragas ("Lacinia") 1.098 m.; Tegea (Athena) porches 0.993 m.; Stratos (Zeus) porches 0.844 m. In the porches at Tegea, to be sure, the fascia height is published as 0.112 m.; while the ratio to the metope height would not be unreasonable ($8.87 : 1$), the condition of the pieces seems to offer no justification for such a height (which is suspiciously like 0.114 m. measure in the peristyle), and it is greatly excessive with respect to the epistyle taenia of 0.083 m. ($1 : 1.349$ m., see note 28), so that it was probably considerably less than 0.112 m. On the other hand, in the Argive Heraion two or three sculptured metopes had fascia heights of only 0.085 m. (Eichler, *Jahresh.*, XIX/XX, 1916/19, pp. 55-56 note 85); but these may have belonged to the inner porches, of which the metope heights are unknown. Completely unknown in both respects, and therefore likewise omitted from the table, are the dimensions at Himera and in the "largest temple in the Peloponnesos" at Corinth.

	Height of		
	metope	fascia	ratio
Olympia (Zeus) peristyle	1.740 m.	0.180 m.	9.67:1
“ porches	1.750 m.	0.165 m.	10.61:1
Eleusis, portico of Philon	1.62 m.	0.182 m.	8.90:1
Selinous (Hera) porches	1.61 m.	0.205 m.	7.85:1
Isthmia (Poseidon) peristyle	1.50+ m.	0.163 m.	9.20+:1
Segesta peristyle	1.447 m.	0.174 m.	8.31:1
Paestum (“ Poseidon ”) peristyle	1.433 m.	0.22? m.	6.51:1?
Delphi (Apollo) peristyle	1.405 m.	0.240 m.	5.85:1
Athens (Parthenon) peristyle	1.350 m.	0.141 m.	9.57:1
Athens (Propylaia) central	1.165 m.	0.109 m.	10.69:1
Nemea (Zeus) peristyle	1.152 m.	0.115 m.	10.02:1
“ porches	0.88 m.	0.085 m.	10.35:1
Akragas (“ Concord ”) porches	1.115 m.	0.158 m.	7.06:1
Tegea (Athena) peristyle	1.088 m.	0.114 m.	9.54:1
Argive Heraion peristyle	1.06 m.	0.105 m.	10.10:1
Selinous (“ A ”) peristyle	1.051 m.	0.115 m.	9.14:1
Stratos (Zeus) peristyle	0.946 m.	0.110 m.	8.60:1
Bassai (Apollo) peristyle	0.840 m.	0.100 m.	8.40:1
“ porches	0.800 m.	0.073 m.	10.96:1
Athens (Ares) peristyle	0.838 m.	0.082 m.	10.22:1
Sounion (Poseidon) peristyle	0.829 m.	0.085 m.	9.75:1
Athens (Hephaistos) peristyle	0.828 m.	0.0895 m.	9.25:1
Athens (Propylaia) wings	0.821 m.	0.082 m.	10.01:1
Aigina (Aphaia) peristyle	0.817 m.	0.086 m.	9.50:1
“ porches	0.82 m.	ca. 0.075 m.	10.93:1

The ratios in these twenty-five examples vary from 5.85:1 to 10.96:1, averaging 9.239:1. Or if we eliminate the disproportionately heavy fascia at Delphi, as well as the uncertain heights at Isthmia and Paestum, the ratios would vary from 7.06:1 to 10.96:1, averaging 9.519:1. Possibly also we should disregard the inner porches at Bassai, since here it is a question of a group of mouldings rather than a fascia; if so, the ratios would vary from 7.06:1 to 10.93:1, averaging 9.355:1. Applying these three average ratios to the known height of the fascia of our metope, 0.143 m., the total height of the restored metope would be about 1.32 m. (9.239), 1.34 m. (9.355), or 1.36 m. (9.519), in close agreement with the estimate of *ca.* 1.35/1.37 m. as obtained from the sculpture. Thus the total metope height and the fascia height would be proportioned to each other in accordance with normal practice.

From this accumulation of evidence, approximate as it is, we may conclude that we are concerned with a sculptured metope as large as those of the Parthenon, and a few decades later in date. It is clear, however, that no known temple among the western colonies enters the question, whether because of date, dimensions, or absence of metope sculpture. The “largest temple in the Peloponnesos” at Corinth, which I have assigned to the second half of the fifth century, restoring the metopes as 1.628 m.

wide but of unknown height (the epistyle being 1.751 m. high), is probably too early and in any case too large.¹³ All the others on the Greek mainland noted above, like those in the west, would disagree as to date, dimensions, or absence of metope sculpture, with one exception.

The latest addition to our list of large Greek temples, that of Poseidon at Isthmia,¹⁴ offers at present the most favorable possibility of identification. This temple, as Broneer has shown, was erected at about the time of that at Olympia, in the second quarter of the fifth century, but was destroyed by fire in 394 B.C. (Xenophon, *Hellenika*, IV, v, 4) and thereupon almost completely reconstructed. The lower parts of the original walls and columns seem to have been utilizable; but the upper parts were largely replaced, as well as the eaves and raking simas,¹⁵ and possibly also the marble pedimental sculptures.¹⁶ The original poros members were finished with the smooth chisel,¹⁷ their replacements usually with the toothed chisel.¹⁸ A corner triglyph found near and apparently belonging to the southwest corner, cut out of a column capital of the earlier smooth finish,¹⁹ shows that the height from the preserved bottom to the broken top was at least 1.50 m.; and the width of the peristyle triglyphs, apparently uniform in both periods, may be estimated as 0.904 m.²⁰ As at Tegea and Nemea, where the flank simas of 1.343/1.346 and 1.441/1.442 m., respectively, are only indirectly related to the flank column spacings of 3.585 and 3.746 m.,²¹ so also at Isthmia the flank simas of 1.41/1.43 m. were apparently indirectly related to axial spacings of *ca.* 4.447 m., twenty-two lion-head spacings to seven column spacings.²²

¹³ Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, pp. 104-115.

¹⁴ Broneer, *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 185-189; XXIV, 1955, pp. 111-117; the pagination of these two reports being different, references to them are made solely by page numbers. I am indebted to Oscar Broneer for permission to examine the pertinent pieces at Isthmia and thus to amplify some of the details in his preliminary report.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 187-188, pls. 57, e-f, 58, a-b; pp. 115-116, pl. 45, a-e.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 114, pl. 44, b-c.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 114, pl. 44, a, d.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 114, pl. 44, b, d. One is tempted to conclude that the triglyph belongs to the renovation, cut from an earlier capital; but there is also the possibility, since the triglyph shows no traces of the toothed chisel, that it is of the earlier period and was cut from a superfluous capital.

²⁰ The surviving southwest corner triglyph yields 0.303 m. for the corner third, 0.600 m. for two thirds, both on the west and south faces; another piece, now lying at the west end, gives 0.303 m. for one third, 0.603 m. for two. Thus the average width of one third is uniformly $1/9$ (2.712) = 0.3013 m., the total 0.904 m. Broneer gives $3 \times 0.293 = 0.879$ m. for the corner triglyph and $3 \times 0.305 = 0.915$ m. for the other (*op. cit.*, p. 114); but these seem to require the slight above-mentioned corrections, particularly as the south face of the corner triglyph actually measures 0.89 m. (exceeding 0.879 m.) from the west face to the recessed joint surface for the endmost metope on the south flank.

²¹ At Tegea, $3 \times 3.585 = 8 \times 1.3445 = 10.755$ m.; at Nemea, $5 \times 3.746 = 13 \times 1.441 = 18.730$ m. In the former, eight lion-headed spacings equal three column spacings, and in the latter thirteen lion-head spacings equal five column spacings.

²² At Isthmia, $22 \times 1.415 = 7 \times 4.447 = 31.130$ m. Broneer gives the length of the flank simas

Thus the flank metopes would have been *ca.* $1/2 (4.447) - 0.904 = 1.32$ m. in width, or *ca.* 1.46 times the triglyph width. The crowning fascia of the triglyphs, as preserved on a mended patch from the top of a triglyph, is 0.189 m. high; and a cutting at one side of this fragment, for the reception of a metope, shows that the metope fascia was 0.163 m. high, projecting 0.035 m. (Fig. 1, a).²³ The edges of the triglyphs overlapped the metopes, to the extent of 0.014 m. (corner triglyph) to 0.11 m. (smaller

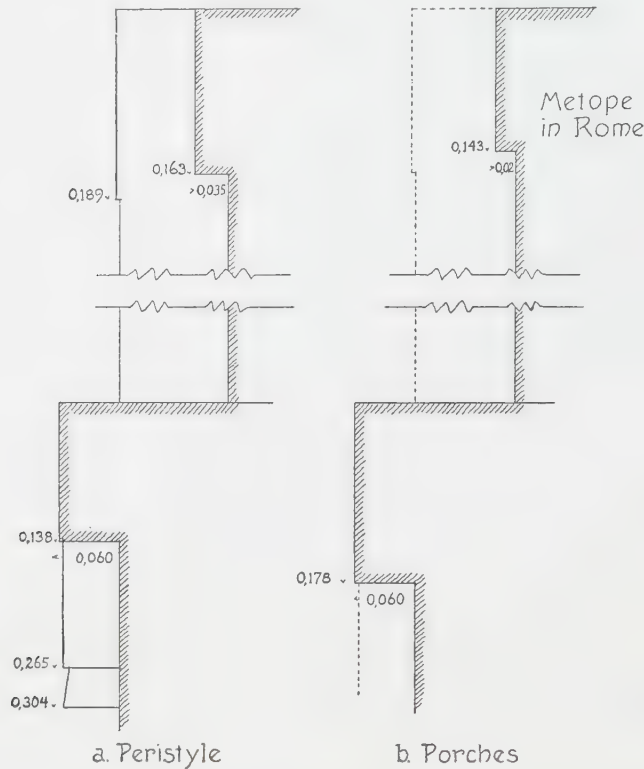


FIG. 1. Details of Epistyle and Frieze Mouldings at Isthmia.

piece); despite the very considerable overlap in the latter, the difference of only 0.014 m. between the measured width of 0.904 m. on the face of the corner triglyph and that of 0.89 m. farther back (so far behind the face that it cannot be explained as a metope slot) implies that in the peristyle, at least, we are concerned only with

as 1.41 m. (*op. cit.*, p. 115) and of single pan tiles as 0.715 m. (*op. cit.*, p. 187), and estimates the flank column spacing as *ca.* 4.44 m. to fit the total plan (*op. cit.*, p. 187 note 11). It may be observed that this Peloponnesian method of spacing the lion heads, as exemplified at Isthmia, Tegea, and Nemea (but not at Olympia, the Argive Heraion, or the antefix spacing at Bassai, which show Attic regularity), recurs in Sicily (at Syracuse and Himera) where it may be regarded as another instance of Peloponnesian influence.

²³ Broneer (*op. cit.*, p. 114) mentions this fragment, which is now in the Corinth Museum.

blank metopes overlapped by the edges of the triglyphs, not with sculptured metopes. The latter fact, and also the greater height of the metopes (more than 1.50 m. as opposed to *ca.* 1.35/1.37 m.) and of their fascias (0.163 m. as opposed to 0.143 m.), demonstrate that the metope in Rome could not have come from the peristyle at Isthmia.

Two types of epistyle taenia fragments are preserved at Isthmia. One is represented by a piece with a taenia 0.178 m. high and 0.060 m. in projection (Fig. 1, b), without traces of regulae or guttae so that it must have fitted between them.²⁴ The other type has a taenia only 0.138 m. high and likewise 0.06 m. in projection (Fig. 1, a), with a regula 0.127 m. high and guttae 0.039 m. high and 0.058 m. in diameter, spaced about 0.17 m. on centers.²⁵ It might seem natural to infer that the larger taenia comes from the peristyle, the smaller from the inner porches; but such a generalization would not be a safe one, as shown by the following comparisons of outer and inner epistyle taenias (sequence according to ratios):

	Peristyle	Porches	Ratio
Bassai	0.066 m.	0.085 m.	1:1.288
Rhamnous	0.044 m.	0.056 m.	1:1.273
Aigina	0.081 m.	0.099 m.	1:1.222
Olympia, Zeus	0.150 m.	0.170 m.	1:1.133
Nemea	0.097 m.	<i>ca.</i> 0.09 m.	1:0.928
Tegea	0.097 m.	0.083 m.	1:0.856
Athens, Parthenon	0.114 m.	0.076 m.	1:0.667

It is evident that in the three earlier Peloponnesian examples and also at Rhamnous the inner porches had greater taenia heights than in the peristyle; conversely, in the two later Peloponnesian examples and in the Parthenon the porch taenias are lower.²⁶ On these analogies, the ratio of 1:0.775 resulting from attribution of the taenia of 0.178 m. to the peristyle and that of 0.138 m. to the porches at Isthmia would seem very improbable, approaching the Ionic feeling of the Parthenon. Conversely, the ratio of 1:1.290 resulting from the interchanged attributions would be completely

²⁴ For this piece, now lying near the west end of the temple, Broneer gives 0.181 and 0.058 m., interpreting it as a metope fascia (*op. cit.*, p. 114); but the projection is far too great for this purpose, and the height of the peristyle metope fascia was actually only 0.163 m.

²⁵ This fragment (now in the Corinth Museum) is mentioned by Broneer (*op. cit.*, p. 114) with the implication that it belongs to the peristyle, and with heights of 0.132 and 0.129 m. for the taenia and regula (the revised dimensions were kindly furnished by Broneer in a letter) and 0.04 and 0.06 m. for the gutta height and diameter (the more detailed measurements in *op. cit.*, p. 187). There are also other fragments of this taenia and regula. On two of them, the clear intervals between guttae seem to be 0.107/0.12 m., permitting an estimate of $(5 \times 0.113) + (6 \times 0.058) = 0.913$ m., preferably $(5 \times 0.169) + 0.058 = 0.904$ m. to fit the triglyph width.

²⁶ Possibly the higher moulding in the porches at Rhamnous was due, not to Peloponnesian influence, but to a desire to make the porch epistyle (necessarily of the same height as in the peristyle) seem smaller.

harmonious with the earlier Peloponnesian tradition. Corroborating this distinction, the thickness of the block with the higher taenia (0.178 m.) is 0.885 m. from the face of the taenia to the rear joint, 0.825 m. from the epistyle face; assuming that this was half of the epistyle soffit, the resulting dimension 1.65 m. would be too small for the peristyle column diameter of 1.86 m. but would be quite satisfactory for the soffits above the smaller porch columns. On the other hand, the spacing of the guttae about 0.17 m. on centers under the lower taenia (that of 0.138 m.) could fit the peristyle triglyphs 0.904 m. wide, but would be excessive for the presumably narrower triglyphs of the porches. Therefore we may conclude that the epistyle taenia 0.138 m. high belonged to the peristyle, that of 0.178 m. to the porches.

Having acquired this distinction between the two epistyle taenia heights, we may now apply the additional observation that, in peristyles, the metope fascia height was always greater than the epistyle taenia height.²⁷ The ratio is exceptional in the temple of Apollo at Delphi (1.846:1), where the metope fascia is abnormally high; apart from this, it varied from 1.515:1 down to 1.062:1. Here we have further corroboration of the attribution of the lower epistyle taenia (0.138 m.) to the peristyle at Isthmia; for if the higher taenia (0.178 m.) had been assigned to the peristyle the resulting ratio (0.163:0.178) would have been only 0.911:1, the lower metope fascia contradicting normal practice.

On the other hand, inner porches with heavier epistyle taenias always show the metope fascia as less than the epistyle taenia, the opposite relation to that obtaining

²⁷ These external or peristyle ratios may be tabulated as follows:

	Epistyle taenia	Metope fascia	Ratio
Delphi, Apollo	0.130 m.	0.240 m.	1:1.846
Bassai	0.066 m.	0.100 m.	1:1.515
Eleusis, portico of Philon	0.13 m.	0.182 m.	1:1.400
Paestum, "Poseidon"	0.163 m.	0.22 m.?	1:1.35?
Sounion	0.068 m.	0.085 m.	1:1.250
Athens, Parthenon	0.114 m.	0.141 m.	1:1.237
Athens, Propylaia central	0.0895 m.	0.109 m.	1:1.218
Olympia, Zeus	0.150 m.	0.180 m.	1:1.200
Nemea	0.097 m.	0.115 m.	1:1.186
Isthmia	0.138 m.	0.163 m.	1:1.181
Athens, Hephaisteion	0.076 m.	0.0895 m.	1:1.178
Tegea	0.097 m.	0.114 m.	1:1.175
Argive Heraion	0.09 m.	0.105 m.	1:1.167
Athens, Ares	0.072 m.	0.082 m.	1:1.139
Athens, Propylaia wings	0.077 m.	0.082 m.	1:1.065
Aigina	0.081 m.	0.086 m.	1:1.062

in the peristyle, the ratios ranging from 0.971:1 down to 0.758:1.²⁸ In accordance with these limits, the porch metope fascia height at Isthmia should have been between $0.971 \times 0.178 = 0.173$ m. and $0.758 \times 0.178 = 0.134$ m., a bracket within which would fit the actually measured height of 0.143 m. on the marble metope in Rome. The resulting comparison between these heights at Isthmia would be as follows:

	peristyle	porches	ratios
epistle taenia height	0.138 m.	0.178 m.	1:1.290
metope fascia height	0.163 m.	0.143 m. (Rome)	1:0.877
ratio epistle taenia: metope fascia	1:1.181	1:0.803	

Thus it is evident that, while our sculptured metope in Rome could not be assigned to the peristyle at Isthmia, where the metopes were blank and more than 1.50 m. high, its size would not have been inappropriate for the inner porches. For here, although in the early fifth-century examples at Aigina and Olympia the porch metopes were approximately (probably intended to be identically) of the same height as those of the peristyle, in later temples they were generally lower (sculptured metopes marked by asterisks):

	Metope heights		
	Peristyle	Porches	Ratio
Olympia, Zeus	1.740 m.	*1.750 m.	1:1.006
Aigina	*0.817 m.	*0.82 m.	1:1.004
Bassai	0.840 m.	*0.800 m.	1:0.952
Selinous, Hera	1.72 m.	*1.61 m.	1:0.936
Tegea	1.088 m.	*0.993 m.	1:0.913
Stratos	0.946 m.	0.844 m.	1:0.892
Nemea	1.152 m.	0.88 m.	1:0.764
Paestum, "Poseidon"	1.433 m.	0.863 m.	1:0.602

The average ratio for the six later examples is 1:0.843 or, omitting the exceptional reduction at Paestum, 1:0.891. At Isthmia, in view of the estimated metope width of 1.32 m. in the peristyle, the height could not have greatly exceeded the minimum of 1.50 m. surviving on the corner triglyph; and it so happens that the average ratio of 1:0.89 would agree with heights of 1.52/1.54 and 1.35/1.37 m., respectively, in the peristyle and porches at Isthmia.

The presence of sculptured marble metopes over the pronaos and opisthodomos at

²⁸ The known inner porch ratios may be tabulated as follows:

	Epistyle taenia	Metope fascia	Ratio
Olympia, Zeus	0.170 m.	0.165 m.	1:0.971
Nemea	ca. 0.09 m.	0.085 m.	1:0.944
Bassai	0.085 m.	0.073 m.	1:0.859
Aigina	0.099 m.	ca. 0.075 m.	1:0.758

A seeming contradiction occurs at Tegea, where the height of the metope fascia is published as 0.112 m., so that the ratio would be $0.083:0.112 = 1:1.349$. But, as we have observed (note 12), this fascia height at Tegea seems to be purely conjectural and was probably much less.

Isthmia, in contrast to the blank external metopes, would be in accord with the Peloponnesian custom as exemplified at Olympia, Bassai, and Tegea, and also at distant Selinous—even though the temple at Aigina and the Argive Heraion, compromising with Athenian influence, apparently had sculptured metopes both externally and above the porches. Furthermore, the use of lifting holes for ropes may be regarded as a characteristically Peloponnesian trait of the period toward 400 B.C., as at Bassai and in the Argive Heraion.

Having applied all the tests for which the metope in Rome provides evidence, it remains to explain how a piece of a sculptured metope from Isthmia could have been found at a depth of 4 meters below the Via Cavour in Rome. With this provenance, it could hardly be included among the two categories of sculptures carried from Greece by early modern travelers or by more recent collectors. There remains the possibility that it was carried off in ancient times, as, for instance, during or after the spoliation of Corinth by Mummius in 146 B.C. As Broneer has pointed out, vital problems still remain to be solved in connection with the history of the temple at Isthmia, such as the discrepancy between the large size of the temple, of which the columns survived late enough to be employed by Justinian in the Isthmian fortress,²⁹ and the fact that Pausanias (II, 1, 7) describes the temple seen by him as “not very large.” But this discrepancy is probably not to be taken too seriously, inasmuch as the comparisons made by Pausanias are sometimes inaccurate. Thus he says (VIII, 45, 5) that “the present temple [at Tegea] far surpasses all other temples in the Peloponnesos both in size and style,” whereas we now know that Tegea, measuring only 19.19 x 47.55 m. on the stylobate, ranked fifth in size, being exceeded by the temple of Apollo at Corinth (21.48 x 53.825 m.), by the temple at Isthmia (*ca.* 23.70 x 54.20 m.)³⁰ where Pausanias employed the enigmatic phrase previously quoted, and even more so at Olympia where Pausanias (V, 10, 3) gives the dimensions as 95 by 230 feet (*ca.* 31.02 x 74.10 m., actually 27.68 x 64.12 m. on the stylobate, 30.20 x 66.64 m. for the width on the euthynteria and 78.48 m. for the length including the east ramp), and finally at Corinth again where he says nothing of the size of the “largest temple in the Peloponnesos” (*ca.* 29.51 x 73.70 m.)³¹ if indeed he alludes to the temple at all. We may, then, attribute his moderate estimate of the temple at Isthmia to an editorial lapse, admitting that the great temple was still standing in his time and much later. But the numerous traces of Roman rebuilding or at least embellishment (marble floor pavement and wall veneering, probably also interior columns)³² suggest that it may have fallen into disrepair before the days of the Roman colony, and that perhaps it was even a partially looted ruin after the depredations by Mummius or during the following century of desolation, while the Isthmian games were continued under the supervision of Sikyon.

²⁹ Broneer, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-188.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 187 note 11 (Broneer's tentative estimate).

³¹ Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, p. 114.

³² Broneer, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-117.

In connection with this suggestion of looting by Mummius, or possibly one of his successors, it is perhaps worth recalling the coincidence that a few weeks later than the discovery of the sculptured metope in Rome, and during work on the same sewer beneath the new Via Cavour, at the same depth of 4.50 m. and a little further southwest beneath the former Via del Sole (and so within the area of the Forum Pacis), on September 11, 1890, appeared a pedestal of a statue of Pythokles the pentathlete of Elis, with the signature of Polykleitos of Argos,⁸³ evidently the elder Polykleitos since Pythokles won a victory in 452 B.C. This discovery introduced further complications, inasmuch as the original pedestal of Eleusinian limestone at Olympia, seen by Pausanias (VI, 7, 10) and found in 1879, in itself contains foot cuttings for two successive but slightly differing bronze statues, though both with the right foot forward, and also two versions of the inscription, one a renewal apparently of the first century B.C. or A.D.⁸⁴ The base in Rome demands a bronze statue with the left foot forward and apparently larger in size; the lettering is Greek but of Roman date, sometimes regarded as late as Hadrianic or even Antonine. Thus we are concerned with three inscriptions and three different statues, the base of one statue having actually been found in Rome, while a second but different statue was evidently carried off to Rome since it was replaced by a third version at Olympia. Unless we infer that the statue which stood on the Roman base had previously been set up at Elis, the home town of Pythokles, it seems necessary to conclude that he was twice victorious and therefore had two statues at Olympia, both by Polykleitos, both of these being carried off to Rome and at least one of them replaced at Olympia by a free version of the original. The date of this operation can be judged only by means of the lettering; but if we accept the first century B.C. as suggested for the replacement at Olympia (the inscription at Rome, seemingly later, being itself perhaps a renewal or copy), the two statues of Pythokles might possibly have been brought from Olympia in the same shipment that included the dozen sculptured metopes from Isthmia, for some Roman collection such as that in the neighboring gardens of Maecenas. It may also be significant that the depredations by Mummius were most noteworthy at Corinth and Olympia.

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⁸³ Gatti, *Not. Sc.*, 1891, pp. 285-286, and *Bull. Com.*, XIX, 1891, pp. 280 f., pl. X; Petersen, *Röm. Mitt.*, VI, 1891, pp. 304-306; Colini, *Bull. Com.*, LXV, 1937, pp. 19-20.

⁸⁴ *Olympia, Ergebnisse* V, no. 162-163; Loewy, *Inschr. gr. Bildhauer*, no. 91. For additional discussion see especially Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, pp. 471-475 (= *Masterpieces*, pp. 262-265); Frazer, *Pausanias*, IV, pp. 29-31; Studniczka, *Jahresh.*, IX, 1906, pp. 131-138; Loewy, *Jahresh.*, X, 1907, pp. 326-329; Hyde, *Olympic Victor Monuments*, pp. 211-213; Moretti, "Olympionikai," *Atti Acad. Lincei, Memorie*, ser. 8, VIII, 1957, p. 100; Amandry, *Charites*, 1957, p. 77. Petersen's effort to explain the different foot cuttings on the base in Rome as earlier than the inscription, and so as having no relation to a statue of Pythokles, seems improbable.

BOUDORON, AN ATHENIAN FORT ON SALAMIS

(PLATE 72)

IN the autumn of 429 B.C., after suffering two defeats at the hands of Phormion, the Peloponnesian fleet retired to Lechaion. Before dispersing the crews for the winter, however, the commanders resolved to make a surprise attack upon Piraeus, then unguarded. Eight thousand men were marched overland to Nisaia, where forty triremes awaited them in drydocks. The men arrived by night and immediately embarked. But awed by Athenian naval prestige, thwarted by contrary winds, and disheartened by unseaworthy vessels, they abandoned the attempt on Piraeus. Instead they sailed to the promontory of Salamis which looks towards Megara. Here was an Athenian fort, Boudoron, where three ships were stationed in order to blockade the Megarian harbors. The Peloponnesians overpowered the fort and plundered the whole island. News of the attack was transmitted by beacon to Piraeus, and from there to Athens. At dawn, the Athenians, having recovered from their initial panic, launched a relief expedition. The Peloponnesians retreated to Nisaia before their coming, and withdrew to Corinth; the Athenian fleet sailed home.

Such is the account given by Thucydides.¹ It is our sole primary narrative of the affair of Boudoron.² The date of the building of the fort is unknown. But it is generally agreed (see, e. g., F. M. Cornford, *Thucydides Mythistoricus*, pp. 29-30) that this blockade was part of the concerted Athenian plan to reduce Megara to submission, a plan which began with the Megarian decrees and continued with the invasion and wasting of the Megarid annually from 431 to 424 (Thucydides, II, 31, IV, 66).³ This would imply that the fort was erected at least as early as the beginning

NOTE: Eugene Vanderpool suggested numerous improvements in both the form and the content of this paper. The author also profited from discussions with C. N. Edmonson.

¹ Thucydides, II, 93-94.

² The same event is narrated by Diodoros, XII, 49, 2-5, whose information is drawn through Ephoros from Thucydides (E. Schwartz, *R.E.*, s.v. Ephoros, col. 6, lines 50-51; F. Jacoby, *Frag. Gr. Hist.*, II, C, 1926, p. 95). Thucydides again mentions Boudoron in III, 51, 2. Other passing references to Boudoron are Ephoros, *Frag.* 198 Jacoby (in Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. Βούδωρον); Strabo, X, p. 446; Eustathius, *Commentarii*, Ed. Rom., p. 280, line 31, *ad Il.* II, 538; *Scholia in Thucydidem*, *ad Il.* 93, 4, III, 51, 1. All these probably depend on Thucydides, directly or indirectly. It follows that the multiplicity of forms of the name, Βούδορον, Βούδωρον, Βούδαρον, Βουδόριον, arises from corruptions.

³ The effect of this blockade is disputed. G. Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, III, 2, 1904, p. 923, says "Infolge davon trat in Megara Verarmung und Hungersnot ein." G. B. Grundy, *Thucydides and the History of his Age*, I, 1911, p. 340, says "Doubtless blockade-running was easy in an age in which it was difficult to keep ships at sea for any prolonged period." It seems likely that Boudoron

of the war; perhaps it was one of the *φρούρια* mentioned by Perikles in his appraisal of Athenian resources (Thucydides, II, 13, 6). Or perhaps it was one of the *φυλακαί* established by the Athenians after the first Peloponnesian invasion of Attica (Thucydides, II, 24, 1).

How long the fort continued in use is not known. Diodoros' assertion that the garrison was strengthened after the Peloponnesian attack (XII, 49, 5) is an assumption, either his own or that of Ephoros. Adcock's statement that Boudoron was destroyed by the Peloponnesians in 429 (*C.A.H.*, V, 1927, p. 210) is perhaps not justified by the sources. At any rate the Athenians held Minoa from 427 and Nisaia from 424 (Thucydides, IV, 69, 4). These would be (as Thucydides makes Nikias suggest, III, 51, 2) better posts than Boudoron for the surveillance of Megara. Perhaps the fort was abandoned at this time.⁴

On the basis of the text of Thucydides topographers have discussed the site of Boudoron. Sir William Gell placed the fort on "a rocky point, opposite Aegina," where he observed some traces of ancient habitation.⁵ Others, unsupported by ruins, prefer to locate it on the promontory of Kara, which terminates in Cape Petritis, south of the Bay of Salamis.⁶ Yet others, without pointing to specific remains, designate the peninsula between the Bays of Tourkolimano and Salamis, which runs out to Cape Dabias (*Ντάμπιας*) (Fig. 1).⁷

But the favored candidate for the site of the fort has long been the northwestern promontory of Salamis, the peninsula upon which the convent of Panayia Phanero-

also served the function of a lookout, to observe and to signal Athens if a fleet should begin to assemble in Megarian waters.

⁴ An inscription of about 250 B.C., which mentions the "building of the walls which had collapsed in the island" (*I.G.*, II², 1225, lines 11-12), surely refers only to formal walls (perhaps of the capital—so taken by C. Horner, *Quaestiones Salaminiae*, Diss. Bern, 1901, p. 3), not to rubble walls.

⁵ *The Itinerary of Greece*, 2nd ed., 1827, p. 303; according to S. H. Weber, *Voyages and Travels in the Near East made during the XIX. Century*, 1952, p. 33, this edition was a reprint of the first, 1819. The remains seen by Gell were subsequently identified as "Old Salamis" (Strabo, IX, p. 393); see W. M. Leake, *The Demi of Attica*, 2nd ed., 1841, p. 169; Edward Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece*, 1819, I, p. 576; and cf. A. Milchhoefer, Text to Curtius and Kaupert's *Karten von Attika*, vii-viii, 1895, p. 36.

⁶ F. Bölte and G. Weicker, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIX, 1904, pp. 79-80; H. Kiepert, *Formae orbis antiqui*, 1906, map XIV, and p. 5 of accompanying text; Bernard W. Henderson, *The Great War between Athens and Sparta*, 1927, map on page 135.

⁷ Rhigas Pherraios, *Χάρτα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν ᾗ περιέχονται αἱ νῆσοι αὐτῆς καὶ μέρος τῶν εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ Μικρὰν Ἀσίαν πολυαρίθμων ἀποικιῶν αὐτῆς* Vienna, 1797, inset map of Salamis; Leake, *Demi*², pp. 173-174; A. D. Godley, *Herodotus* (Loeb Classical Library), 1924, IV, map at end. A. W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, II, 1956, p. 240, on II, 94, 3, wrongly states that Bölte and Weicker place Boudoron here. There are on the highest summit of Restis (260.2 m.), at the foot of a modern surveyor's rubble beacon, the foundations (*ca.* 0.50 m. high) of a round tower, hitherto unnoticed, *ca.* 5 m. in diameter; from this vantage point there is a superb view of the whole Megarian and western Attic coasts.

meni stands. The promontory is called today (as in Bursian's time⁸) Perama, from the ferry which links it to the Megarid. The backbone of the peninsula is a ridge, locally called Rakhi Steno, running east and west; it rises from the sea at the west in a series of progressively higher rounded hills, culminating in a summit southeast of the

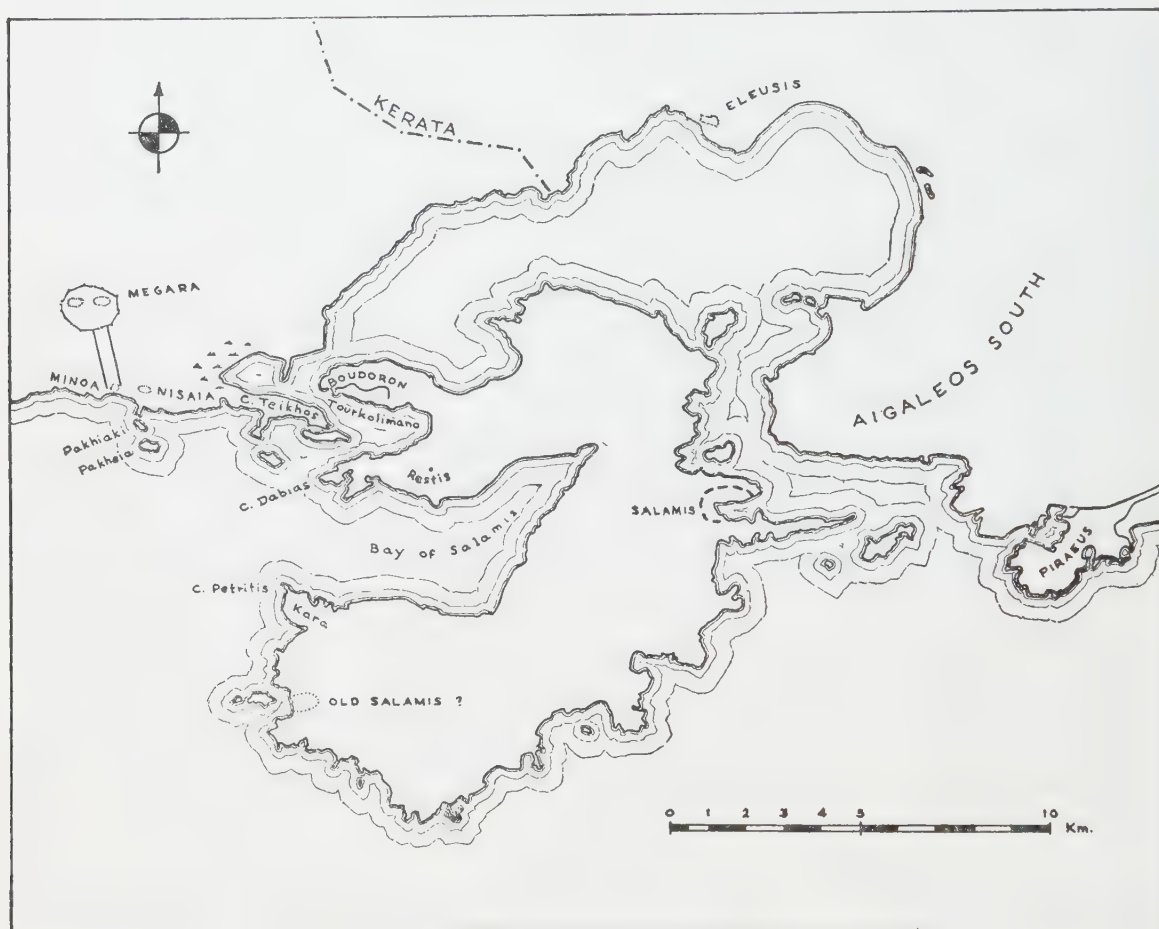


FIG. 1. The Island of Salamis

convent at a height of 146.1 meters, east of which the ridge gradually subsides. The arable land to the north is called Phaneromeni, that to the south Steno.

Three hundred and fifty paces south of the ferry, at the western end of this ridge, Velsen had come upon the remains, four feet high, of a round tower ten paces in diameter, constructed of polygonal worked stones.⁹ This he identified as Boudoron.

⁸ Conrad Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland*, 1862, I, p. 365.

⁹ *Arch. Anz.* in *Archäologische Zeitung*, XIII, 1855, pp. 115 f.; compare his letter quoted by Wilhelm Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke aus Griechenland*, 2nd ed., 1875, p. 221. J. Spratt's

In addition, Velsen had found remains nearer the ferry, including a square tower; Bursian combined these and spoke of "considerable remnants of an ancient fortification, walls with round and square towers."¹⁰

Further east, on the summit of the hill south of the convent, on Sept. 29, 1805, Dodwell discovered "traces and foundations of walls and towers of considerable strength and thickness, consisting of a mixture of small stones and large unhewn blocks."¹¹ In these he saw Boudoron. Here also Sir William Gell found "the remains of a very ancient fortress, or city";¹² these remains, though not claimed by Gell himself for Boudoron, were recognized as such by Cramer.¹³

Most subsequent scholars have treated Velsen's and Dodwell's forts as a single entity and identified it as Boudoron. Milchhoefer¹⁴ and Oberhummer¹⁵ place this united fort by the ferry; Frazer¹⁶ and Béquignon¹⁷ put it south of the convent.

Today nothing remains of Velsen's tower beyond its foundations at the top of the hill—the traces of a circle of stones, about eight meters in diameter. Some ten meters west-southwest are similar foundations of a second tower, slightly smaller; Velsen's silence concerning it indicates that it was not standing in 1855. The foundations of both towers stand no higher than 0.10 m. anywhere; in many places they barely break the surface of the ground. These two towers are almost certainly not connected with Boudoron. As Bölte and Weicker pointed out (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXIX, 1904, p. 80), they command no view whatever of the harbor of Megara. Furthermore, they are too small to serve as the land headquarters of 600 men;¹⁸ they provide no view to Piraeus as Boudoron must have done.¹⁹ They probably antedate Boudoron by more than a century.²⁰

plan (*Journal of the Geographical Society*, VIII, 2, 1838, pp. 205 ff.; reproduced by Thomas Arnold (1874) with his note on Thucydides III, 51, and less clearly by E. H. Bunbury, *s.v.* Megara in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, 1873, II, p. 315) shows "Ant. Ruins" of two rectilinear buildings on the site of Velsen's tower. H. G. Lolling, *Ath. Mitt.*, V, 1880, opp. p. 10 (map reproduced by J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, 1898, II, p. 540, on Pausanias I, 44) adapted Spratt's plan and affixed the name "Budoron" to "Ant. Ruins."

¹⁰ *Geographie*, I, p. 365.

¹¹ *Tour*, I, pp. 579 f.; almost *verbatim* in German, A. Prokesch von Osten, *Denkwürdigkeiten und Erinnerungen aus dem Orient*, 1836, II, p. 359.

¹² *Itinerary*, p. 304; cf. also *ibid.*, p. 15.

¹³ J. A. Cramer, *A Geographical and Historical Description of Ancient Greece*, 1828, II, p. 367.

¹⁴ *Text to Karten*, vii-viii, 1895, p. 35.

¹⁵ *R. E.*, *s.v.* Budoron, col. 992.

¹⁶ *Pausanias*, 1898, II, pp. 479 f., on Pausanias, I, 35.

¹⁷ *Les Guides Bleus, Grèce*, 1935, p. 148.

¹⁸ The crew of a trireme was regularly 200 both in the 5th century (Herodotos, VIII, 17, VII, 184; Xenophon, *Hellenica*, I, 5, 5-7) and in the 4th century (*I.G.*, II², 1615, b, lines 38-45, 56-63; c, lines 108-115; 1616, lines 10-17, 27-34, 59-66; 1618, a, lines 52-59).

¹⁹ Eleusis, however, is visible from this point.

²⁰ The sketch of Tower 1 given by Velsen shows that the masonry was what R. L. Scranton

About 200 meters east of this first hill, halfway up the slope towards the second summit of the ridge, is a large field which was planted with peas in the spring of 1958. In the northwest part of this field is the corner of a walled enclosure. The remains

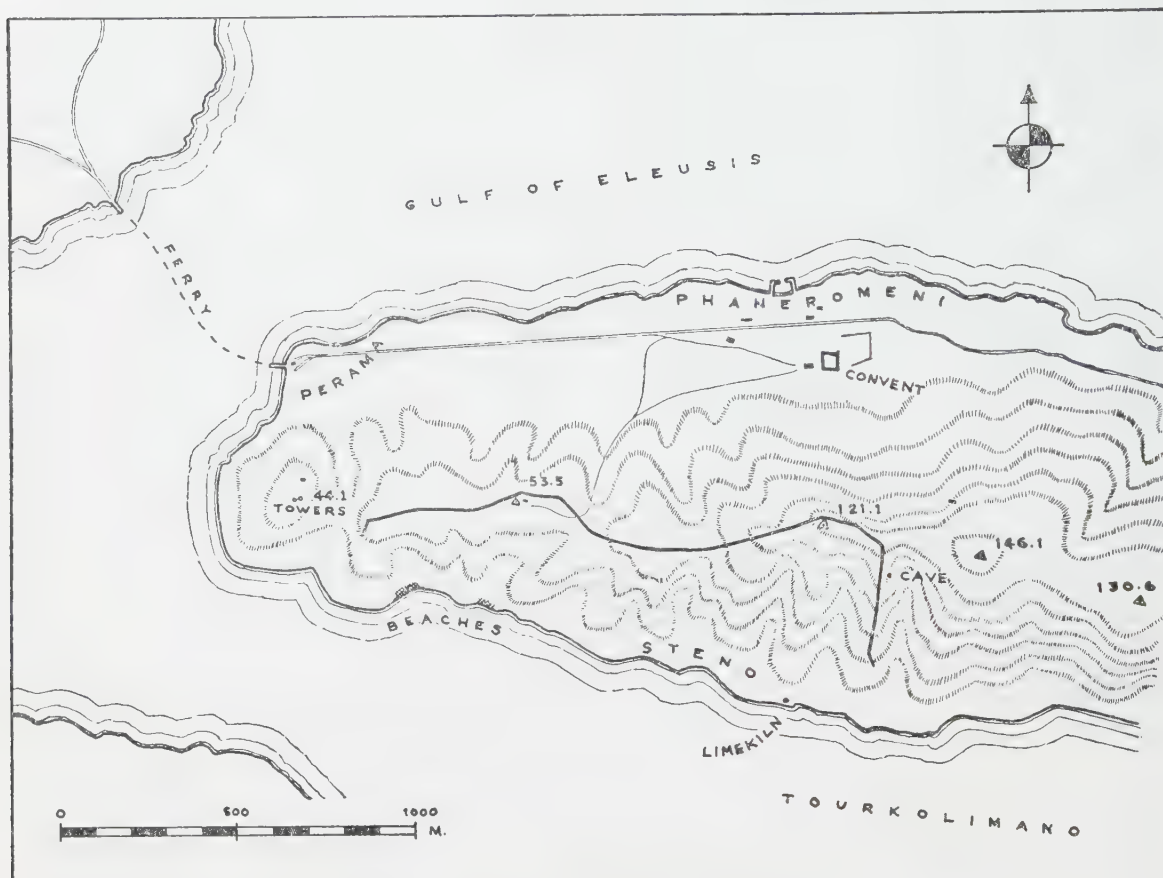


FIG. 2. Perama Peninsula of Salamis

of the wall can be traced southward for about 30 meters before they lose themselves on the steeper bare rocky slopes of the hill south and west of the field. From this same

calls Lesbian "with a tendency towards horizontal courses" (*Greek Walls*, 1941, p. 35). It is rather similar to the "Peisistratische Turmsockel" at Eleusis (illustrated by W. Wrede, *Attische Mauern*, 1933, pl. 13) which is dated in the 6th century. An early date for Tower 1 is proposed by Bölte and Weicker (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXIX, 1904, p. 80): "Jener Turm wird in dem Kämpfen des VII. und VI. Jahrhunderts erbaut sein." If so, it is barely possible that these towers date from Solon's conquest of Salamis; Leake tentatively suggested (*Demi²*, p. 174, note 2) that Boudoron was the center at which Solon anchored on this occasion (this involves an emendation of the text of Plutarch, *Solon*, 9, 2, reading *Νίσαιαν* instead of *Εὐβοίαν*, a conjecture in which Leake anticipated Sintenis, who is usually given credit for the emendation). Another possibility is that the towers are simply farm towers; see J. H. Young, *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pp. 122-146.

corner the wall runs east for some 1500 meters; its whole east-west line is regularly about 20 meters north of the crest of the ridge, curving here and there as the ridge curves. At its highest point the wall sweeps around the top of the hill and runs south down the crest of a spur towards Tourkolimano,²¹ passing just 15 meters west of a small cave called Spilaio Stenou. Traces of it fail some 120 meters north of the bay, where the cultivated land begins. Undeniably both end walls originally began at the sea, even though their lower reaches have been totally effaced (Fig. 2; Pl. 72, a, b).

The best preserved section is on the slopes of the hill at the northeast corner of the circuit. This must have been the part seen by Dodwell in 1805. Here the outer face is in many cases undisturbed; it stands, roughly perpendicular, as high as 1.20 m. (Pl. 72, c, d). The inner face is nowhere clear; rather, the wall appears built up, ramp-like, from the rear to form an inclined terrace about 2 meters broad.

In its lower stretches the wall is less well preserved; yet it is still sharply enough defined to serve for 550 meters as the boundary between cultivated pea-fields to the south and uncultivated pine-forests to the north. There is no trace of the towers mentioned by Dodwell, though there are in several places bare outcroppings of jagged rock beside the line of the wall, which to the casual observer might resemble a crumbled tower. The material of the wall is the hard gray limestone of which the ridge is composed.

The wall is constructed of moderate sized unworked stones laid without mortar, a style which has been characterized as "polygonal si l'on veut, mais négligé."²² This type of construction is of necessity the same in any age, and ancient walls built in this manner bear a marked resemblance to modern enclosure walls (*mandres*).²³ Nevertheless there is no need to question the antiquity of our wall, and indeed it is known from literary sources that such walls were constructed in antiquity; for example, the Athenians on Koryphasion

set their hands to this task and went to work; they had no iron tools for working stone, but picked up stones and put them together just as they happened to fit. And if mud were needed anywhere, having no hods, they carried it on their backs, which they bent so as to form a resting place for it, clasping their hands behind them that it might not fall off.²⁴

Moreover, a large number of existing walls of this type are accepted as ancient,²⁵

²¹ This is the current popular name for the bay which appears in the *Karten von Attika* as "Trupika Bucht" and in the British Staff Map (1943) as "Orm. Ay. Yeoryiou" (Fig. 1).

²² G. Roux, *B.C.H.*, LXXVIII, 1954, p. 45.

²³ G. B. Grundy, *J.H.S.*, XVIII, 1898, pp. 234-235; Scranton, *Greek Walls*, p. 16; Roux, *B.C.H.*, LXXVIII, 1954, p. 45.

²⁴ Thucydides, IV, 4, 2; the translation is composite, depending chiefly on B. Jowett and C. F. Smith. Thucydides notes other walls of unworked stone: an old fort on Sphacteria, IV, 31, 2; the Athenian wall at Syracuse, VI, 66, 2.

²⁵ Scranton, *Greek Walls*, pp. 184-185, gives a list of "Dry Rubble Walls," but in it he includes "walls of blocks which do seem to have been worked to some extent, but which are poorly set,

for example, a fort between Chalkis and Eretria,²⁶ the wall around the tower at Askra,²⁷ Kastro Korynou three kilometers south of Kavasala,²⁸ a fort on Parnes above Menidi identified by some as Leipsydriou,²⁹ a wall around the signal tower behind the "Dema" wall,³⁰ *μάνδρα τῆς γραίας* at Marathon,³¹ the acropolis above Kato Souli ("Triakorythos"),³² the wall across Marathonian Kynosoura.³³ It is clear that a rural fortification would naturally be constructed of the field stones conveniently at hand.

The site on Salamis fulfills all the conditions necessary to Boudoron. Most of the coast enclosed by the wall is forbidding and unusable for triremes, either being rocky or having a high bank just north of the shore. But there are two stretches, 200 meters apart, which combine a sandy beach with a gradual slope inland; both are at the western end of the enclosure. Thus there is a good stretch of beach on which to draw up the three triremes of the post.

From the summit (the highest point inside the wall), the view towards Megara is panoramic. The whole peninsula of Cape Teikhos and the islands of Makroniso (Troupika), Revitousa, Pakheia, and Pakhiaki are spread before one. The harbor itself is not visible; but it would be impossible for any vessel to enter or leave the harbor without being observed from here.

From the same summit one has a clear view of the ancient acropolis of Eleusis. Eleusis was probably always one of the military capitals of Attica.³⁴ Thucydides implies (II, 94, 1), however, that in 429 the fire signal was flashed *directly* to Piraeus; and Piraeus is not in the direct line of sight from within the fort. About 250 meters east of the corner of the wall is the highest point of the ridge; from this summit one looks east-southeast through the valley of northern Salamis towards Piraeus, which is visible just across Salamis strait. This summit is bleak and rocky with some bushes and a few trees; there are loose unworked stones scattered over it, but no evidence of a wall or signal tower. Still, a beacon erected here would clearly be visible from Piraeus.

with no good joints" (p. 16). For this reason many of his walls are too formal in appearance for comparison with ours.

²⁶ G. A. Papavasileiou, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1903, pp. 131-134.

²⁷ H. G. Lolling, *Ath. Mitt.*, I, 1876, p. 81; Roux, *B.C.H.*, LXXVIII, 1954, pp. 45 ff.

²⁸ I. Sarris, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1927/8, pp. 112-119.

²⁹ Milchhoefer, text to *Karten von Attika*, iii-vi, 1889, p. 49; vii-viii, 1895, p. 7.

³⁰ S. Dow, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 206; J. E. Jones, L. H. Sackett, C. W. J. Eliot, *B.S.A.*, LII, 1957, p. 173.

³¹ Lolling, *Ath. Mitt.*, I, 1876, p. 81.

³² *Ibid.*; Milchhoefer, text to *Karten*, iii-vi, 1889, p. 49.

³³ G. Sotiriadis, *Πρακτικά*, 1935, p. 153, fig. 20.

³⁴ Recognized as such in the fourth century, Demosthenes, *De Corona*, 38; but it had strong walls even from Peisistratid times.

These considerations account for the size of the fort; for, if the two towers at the west are too small, this wall is, if anything, too large. It was necessary to enclose both the trireme base at the west and the observation post 1000 meters east, as well as to control the ridge above the beach. Why the wall was not extended to enclose the summit which looks to Piraeus is not evident; perhaps it was thought that in the event of an attack upon the fort it would still be possible to light the beacon on the summit.

Boudoron was roughly one-half hour's rowing time for a trireme from the harbor of Megara.³⁵ Presumably there was always at least one trireme on patrol just off Megara.³⁶ It is a tribute to the effectiveness of the trireme and to the reputation of Athenian thalassocracy that three ships were able to intimidate the Megarians; but two triremes stationed on the island of Atalante were deemed adequate to suppress the piracy of the Opuntian Locrians (Thucydides, II, 32, III, 89, 3).

The existence of remains of more than one period has led to confusion in the identification of Boudoron. A careful study of Thucydides, however, leaves no doubt that the rubble fortification described above must, in fact, be Boudoron. It is within striking distance of Megara, encloses the only convenient beaches, secures the ridge itself, includes an excellent vantage point for observing the waters off Megara, and gives ready access to the summit from which signals could be sent directly to Piraeus.³⁷

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³⁵ The maximum speed of a trireme was seven or eight knots, as proved mathematically by W. L. Rodgers, *Greek and Roman Naval Warfare*, 1937, pp. 9, 45, and accepted by W. W. Tarn, *Cl. Rev.*, LII, 1938, p. 76 (palinode of his earlier assertion that such calculations were impossible, *Cl. Rev.*, XXIII, 1910, p. 184, note 1), and by Gomme, *Commentary on Thucydides*, I, 1945, p. 20; cf. Livy, XLV, 41.

From the east end of Pakheia Island, in front of Megara harbor, to the limekiln at the east end of Boudoron is ca. 6300 m.; from Pakheia to the westernmost good beach of Boudoron is ca. 6500 m. Allowing *exempli gratia* a maximum speed of 7 knots (12,973 meters per hour), the rowing time is 29.1 to 30.1 minutes.

³⁶ Cf. Thucydides, IV, 23, 2; in the Athenian blockade of Sphacteria, two triremes circled the island in opposite directions.

³⁷ It was not until this article was in the hands of the editor that my attention was directed to Franz Georg Maier, *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften*, I, Heidelberg, 1959. On pages 108-110 a third candidate for Boudoron is described, with photographs and a plan. Near the shore at the ferry Maier has found traces of a wall which he interprets as enclosing an area at least 30 meters square; he preëmpts Velsen's tower as observation post. But even so the location is not convenient either for spying on Megara or for communicating with Athens. In any event Maier's building cannot be the wall which Dodwell saw above the monastery.

ON EDICT III FROM CYRENE

IN the third edict of the famous Cyrenaic inscription most easily cited as Ehrenberg and Jones 311 or *S.E.G.*, IX, 8 Augustus says:

- εἴ τινες ἐκ τῆς Κυρηναϊκῆς ἐπαρχή-
- 57 ας πολειτῆται τετείμηνται, τούτους λειτουργεῖν οὐδὲν ἔλασ<σ>ον ἐμ μέρει τῷ τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων σώματι κελεύω, ἐκτὸς τῷι[.]ντων οἷς κατὰ νόμον ἢ δόγμα συνκλή<του>
 τῷ τοῦ πατρός μου ἐπικρίματι ἢ τῷ ἐμῷ ἀνεισφορία ὁμοῦ σὺν τῇ πολειτῆται
 60 δέδοται· καὶ τούτους αὐτούς, οἷς ἢ ἀνεισφορία δέδοται, τούτων τῶν πρα-
 γμάτων εἶναι ἀτελεῖς ὧν τότε εἶχον ἀρέσκει μοι, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἐπικτήτων
 πάντων τελεῖν τὰ γεινόμενα.

It is easiest to begin, not with the real crux, but with that word in line 58 which others read as τ[ο]ύτων and I read from the photograph as τῷι[.]ντων. One space was left vacant when the engraver failed to cut a letter he had drawn. The next letter seems to be a vertical hasta, and then another letter has been lost before one reaches ντων. Surely the word is τ<ο>ι[ο]ύτων, not τ[ο]ύτων.

The real crux lies in the words ἐμ μέρει τῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σώματι of lines 57-58. Whereas earlier students of the document tried to interpret the word σώματι in the sense of a "body of men and women," Fernand De Visscher in his splendid commentary, *Les édits d'Auguste découverts à Cyrène*, Louvain and Paris, 1940, Chapter IV, pointed out that this usage, even of the Latin word *corpus*, was late, and he suggested in its place a reference to *munera corporalia*. That is, he connected the word σώματι with the verb λειτουργεῖν. Basically the interpretation advanced by De Visscher prevailed at once and became the starting point for a new question. Is the text complete as we have it or does it suffer from a short omission?

De Visscher, who like his predecessors had assumed that the text was correct, first interpreted as one phrase the words τῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σώματι, but Adolf Wilhelm, "Zu dem dritten der Edikte des Augustus aus Kyrene," *Wiener Anzeiger*, LXXX, 1943, pp. 2-10, could not accept the solution that λειτουργεῖν . . . τῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σώματι meant λειτουργεῖν τὰς τῷ σώματι λειτουργίας τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Wilhelm proposed to separate the words τῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων from σώματι and take them with the preceding phrase, ἐμ μέρει. The phrase ἐμ μέρει τῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων would mean "als Hellenen." This interpretation was accepted by De Visscher¹ and has prevailed. But the word σώματι now stands all alone far from the verb it modifies, and it does not sound right all alone in its postponed position. Feeling it needed a qualification, Wilhelm emended <τῷ ἑαυτῶν> σώματι.

¹ "La dualité des droits de cité dans le monde romain, d'après une nouvelle interprétation de l'édit III d'Auguste, découvert à Cyrène," *Bull. de la Classe des Lettres et de Sciences Morales et Politiques de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, 5^e sér., XXIII, 1947, pp. 50-59.

One comment by Wilhelm calls for special mention. On pp. 8-9 he writes as follows:

Dass De Visscher mit der Deutung des Wortes *σώματι* im Rechte ist, zeigt auch die anschließende Bestimmung des dritten Ediktes: καὶ τοὺτους αὐτοὺς, οἷς ἡ ἀνεισφορία ὁμοῦ σὺν τῇ πολιτείᾳ δέδοται, τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων εἶναι ἀτελεῖς, ὧν τότε εἶχον, ἀρέσκει μοι, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἐπικτήτων πάντων τελεῖν τὰ γεινόμενα; sie ergänzt die erste Bestimmung über das *λειτουργεῖν τῷ σώματι* durch eine zweite, über die Heranziehung des nach der Verleihung der *ἀνεισφορία* erworbenen Vermögens der mit dem römischen Bürgerrechte beschenkten Kyrenaier, also durch eine Bestimmung über ihr *λειτουργεῖν τοῖς χρήμασι*.

The distinction between what Wilhelm calls the first *Bestimmung* and what Wilhelm calls the second *Bestimmung* does not seem to me to be that between the case of personal liturgies and the case of financial liturgies. The Greek cities were not short of men to shoulder the routine decisions of public office; they were short of men to shoulder the financial burdens of public office. The personal services of Greeks with Roman citizenship were particularly valuable only in connection with the financial contribution. In both cases Augustus rules that Greeks with Roman citizenship must meet their financial obligations to the polis, because the second *Bestimmung*, introduced by ἐκτὸς τοιούτων οἷς, is nothing more than a special exception to a general rule. The Greeks with Roman citizenship were trying to evade local financial obligations by the false precedent of a few cases where exemption from local financial obligations had been specifically granted by Rome. Augustus denies that these few cases constituted a general rule or could be extended to property acquired later.

Like Wilhelm I too feel that something has fallen out. I believe that the edict was not translated but actually drafted in Greek and that neither the emperor nor the imperial chancery would have worded it with *σώματι* alone immediately after the unconnected words τῷ Ἑλλήνων. This is not a question of elegance but of fundamental clarity. Yet the emendation τῷ ἑαυτῶν fails, in my opinion, to produce the right sense. Linguistic parallels from the sphere of military service do not have full value, because Augustus is not speaking of service in any local militia. He is talking about *ἀνεισφορία*. The emperor could not have risked a misunderstanding by mentioning the personal liturgy alone. Both the extant text and Wilhelm's emended text leave out the main thing.

Since the word *ἀνεισφορία* implies first of all exemption from financial obligations, I submit that the extant text must be emended in line 58 to read <χρήμασι καὶ> *σώματι* or some variation of this formula.

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a. 12th Century Road and Rooms 1-8, from South.



b. 12th Century Rooms from Northwest. Room with Stairway in Center Foreground.



c. Courtyard to West of Rooms 1-8, from South. Line Drawn against West Wall of Rooms 2, 4, 6, 8 Indicates 12th Century Ground Level.



d. Room 7, from North, Showing Hearth.



a. Stairway West of Room 6,
from East.



b. Rooms 10 and 12, from North.
In Background, South Wall
of Room 12.



c. Plate by the "Donkey Master."
Scale 1:2.



a. Glazed Wares from 13th Century Bothros. Scale 1:5.



b. Coarse Wares from 13th Century Bothros. Scale 1:7.



c. Cooking Vessels of the 12th Century. Scale 1:7.



d. Byzantine Vessels with "Protogeometric" Ornament. Scale 1:5.



e. Bronze Mortar and Pestle. Scale 1:3.



a. Marble Votive Relief.



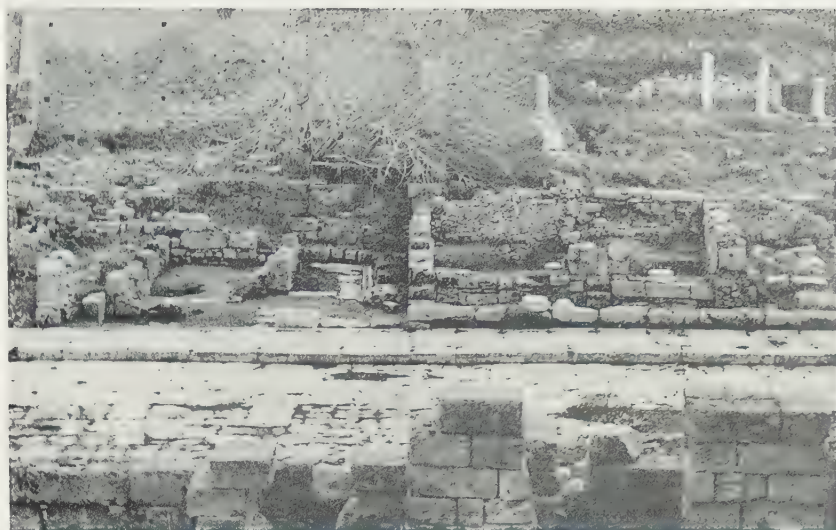
b. Bronze-Factory Debris from Room 4: Moulds and Unfinished Buckle. Scale 1:2.



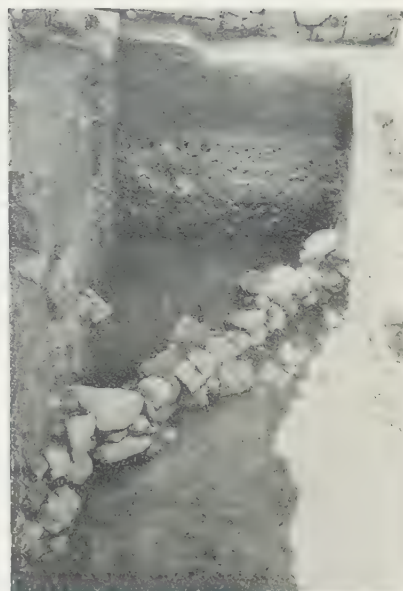
c. Bronze-Factory Debris from Room 4: Mould and Crucible Fragments. Scale 1:2.



d. Bronze-Factory Debris from Room 4: Bronze Plates, Pins and Tools. Scale 1:2.



a. Area East of the Lechaion Road. Trench 1 in Second Room to South of Latrine, Trench 2 just to North of Latrine.



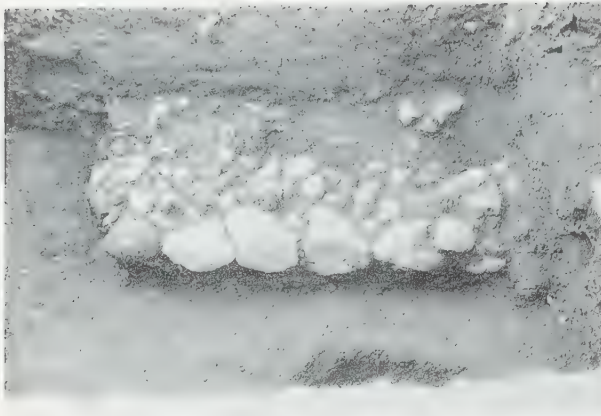
b. Trench 2. Diagonal Terrace Wall with Base at -3.30 m.



c. Trench 1, East End showing Full Depth.



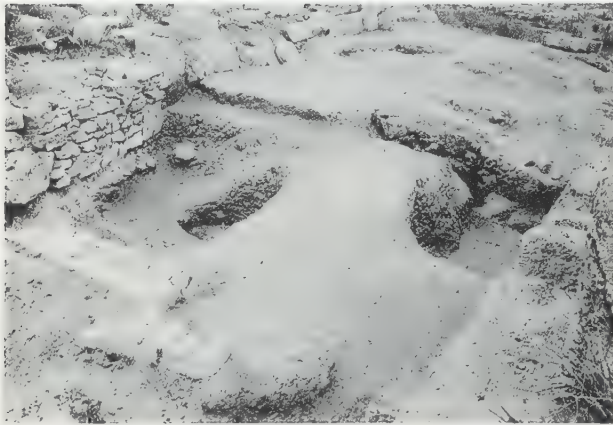
d. Trench 2, East End showing Full Depth; Stratified Floor Levels in Lower Part of East Face.



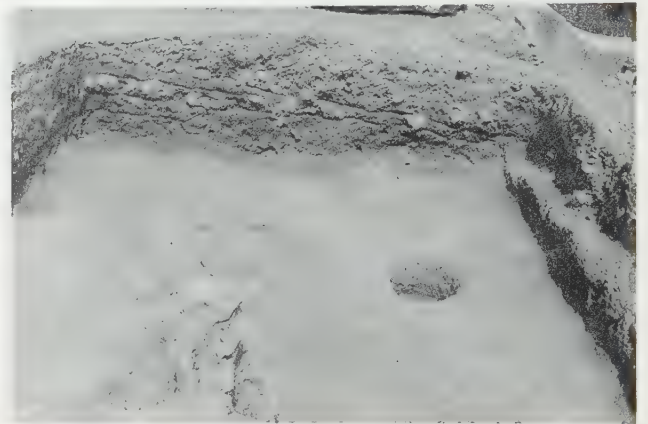
a. Trench 1. Terrace Wall in Southwest Corner.



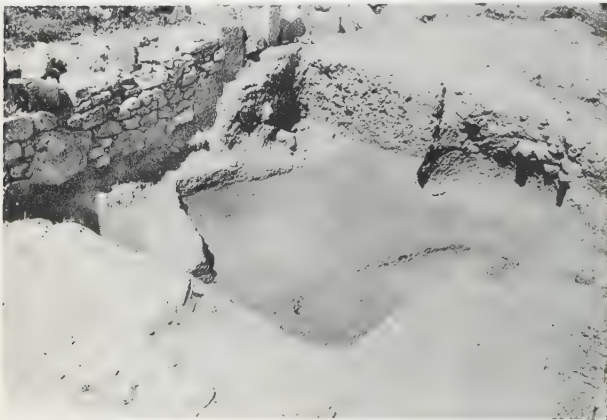
b. Trench 1. Cobblestone Pavement and White Clay Floor at -1.05 m.



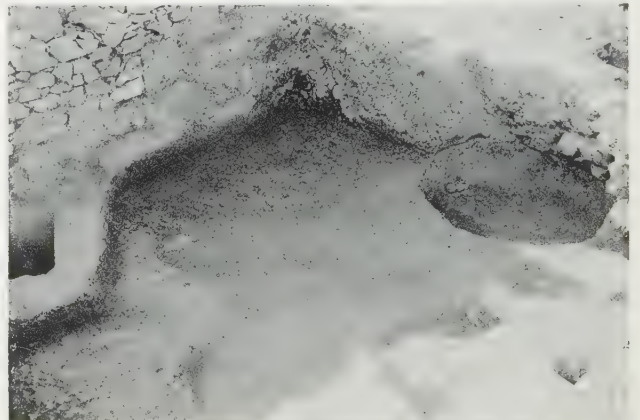
c. Area of Trenches 3 and 4, from South before excavating.



d. Trench 3. Sloping Road Levels at North End.



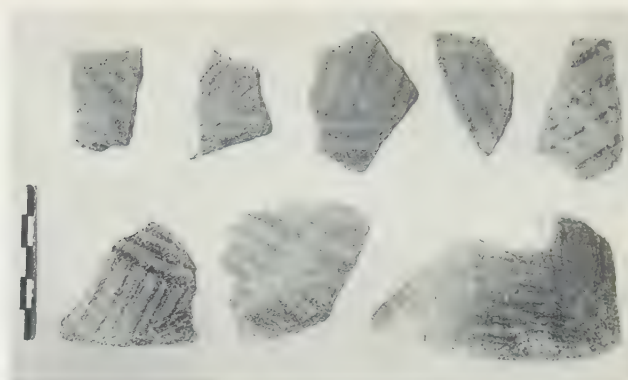
e. Trench 4 after Partial Excavation. Late Neolithic Pit in Northwest Corner (top center).



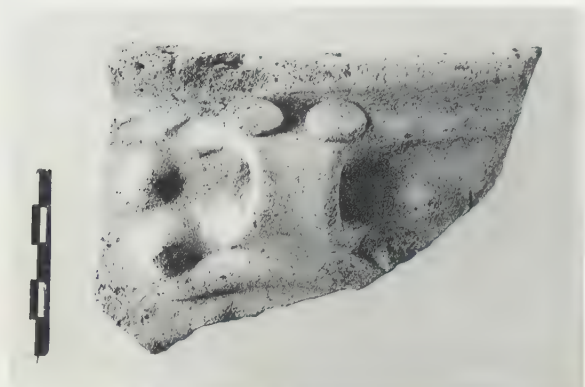
f. Trench 4. Middle Neolithic Layer on Hardpan over Much of Area.



a. Neolithic Gray Ware Sherds with Grooved and Incised Decoration.



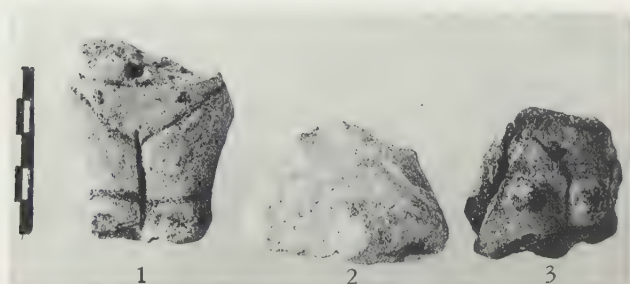
b. Late Neolithic Red or Brown Stroke-burnished Ware, Trench 1.



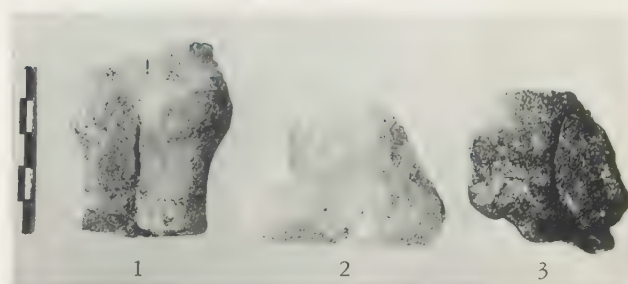
c. Handle of a large E. H. II Bowl, Trench 2.



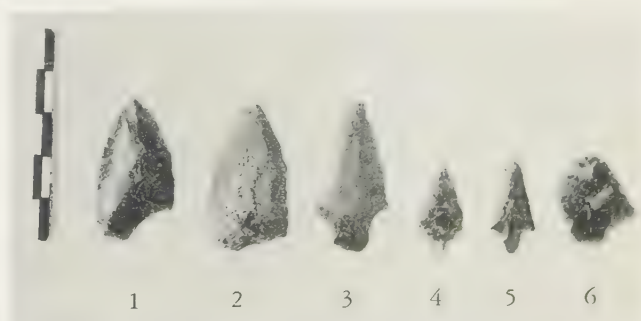
d. E. H. I Incised Bowl, Trench 2.



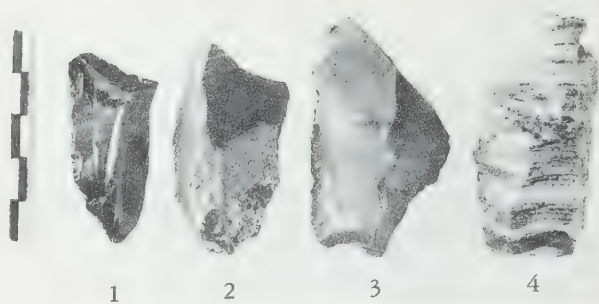
e. Neolithic Figurines. Front and Back Views. 1-2, Trench 4; 3, Trench 1.



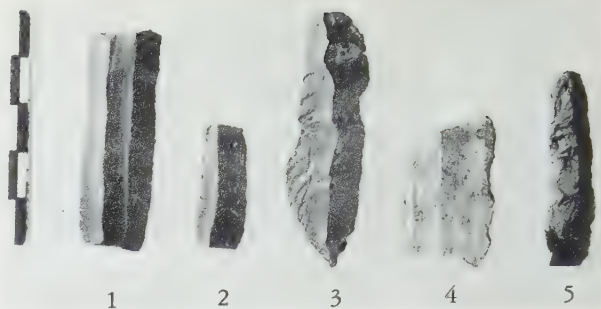
f. Bone Implements. Late Neolithic (1-5) and possibly Middle Neolithic (6-7).



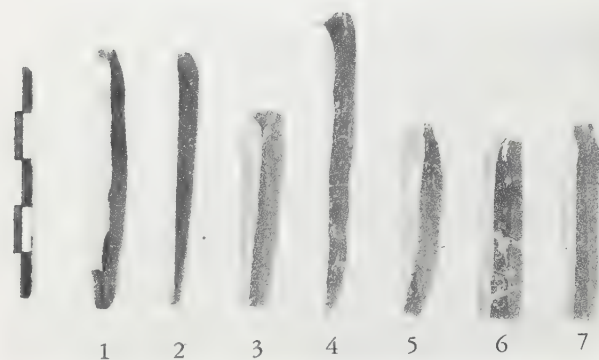
g. Arrowheads of Flint (2) and Obsidian (1, 3-6). Middle Neolithic (2, 3) and Late Neolithic (1, 4-6).



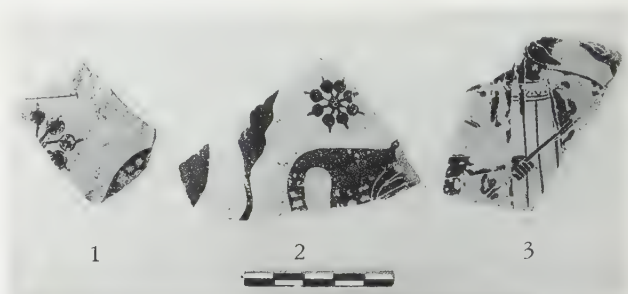
a. Late Neolithic Scrapers of Flint (4) and Obsidian (1-3).



b. Blade Tools of Flint (1, 3, 4) and Obsidian (2, 5). Late Neolithic (3), E. H. I (1, 5) and E. H. II (2, 4).



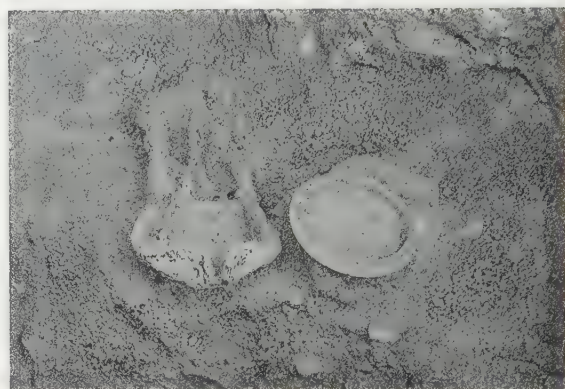
c. Obsidian Blades of E. H. II, Trench 2.



d. Protocorinthian Fragments (1, 2) of one Vessel, Trench 1; Corinthian Sherd (3), Trench 3.



e. Attic Black-figured Fragment, Well in Trench 1.



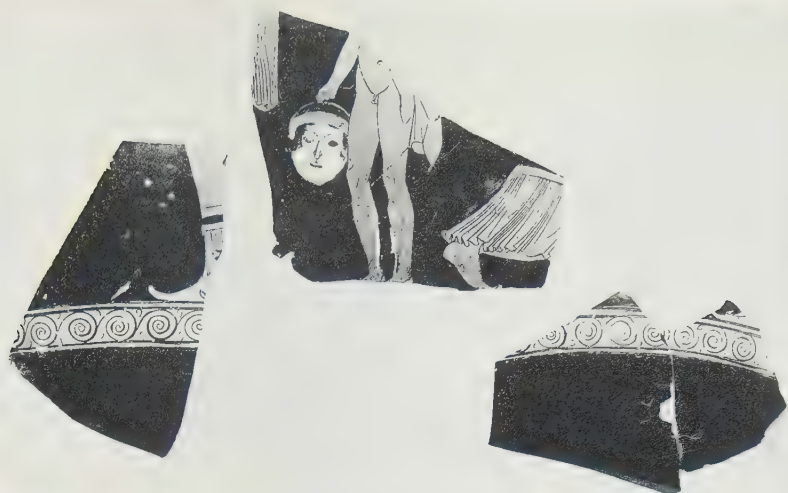
f. Bronze and Iron Lamp and Protocorinthian Lid *in situ*, Trench 1.



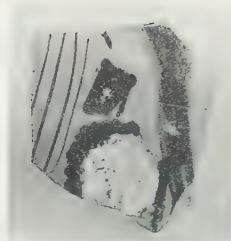
g. Protocorinthian Lids found with Bronze and Iron Lamp, Trench 1.



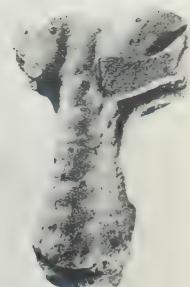
h. Bronze and Iron Lamp, Trench 1.



A 1



A 1a



A 9



B 2



B 5



B 4



B 3



B 33



B 7a



B 7b



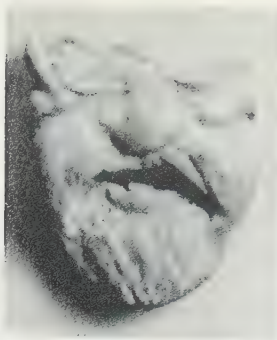
B 7c



B 7d



B 1



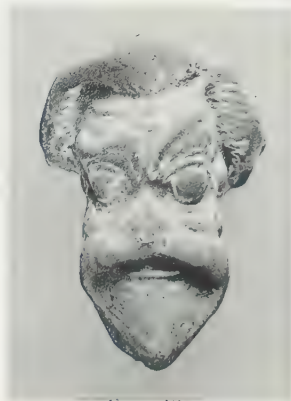
B 10



B 13



B 19



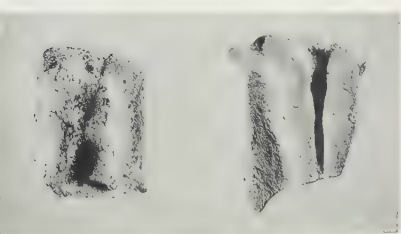
B 22



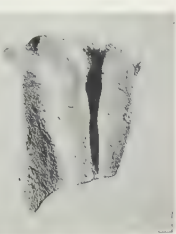
B 18



B 14



B 20



B 21



B 28



B 29



B 30



C1



C2



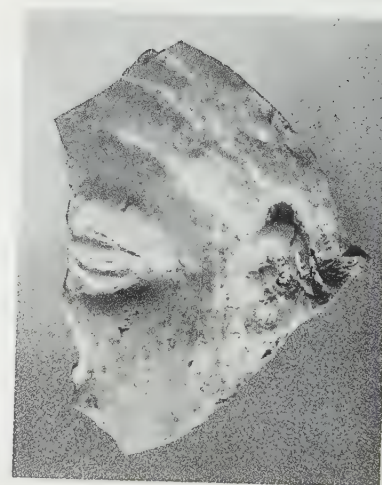
C4



C5



C6



C8



C7



C9



C10



C11



C13



C14



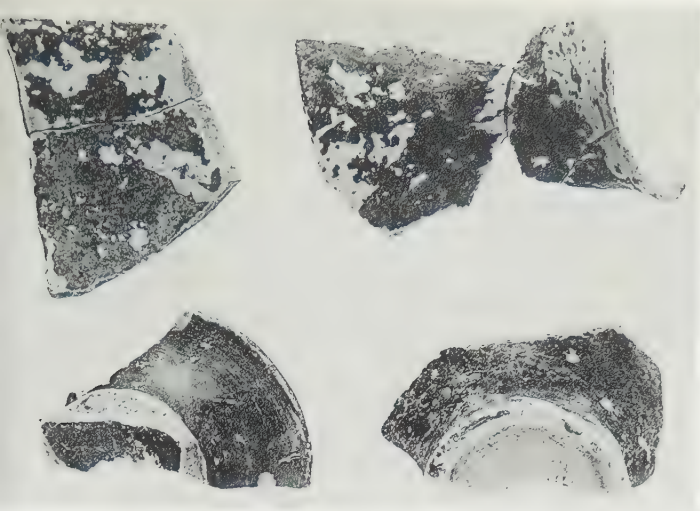
C23



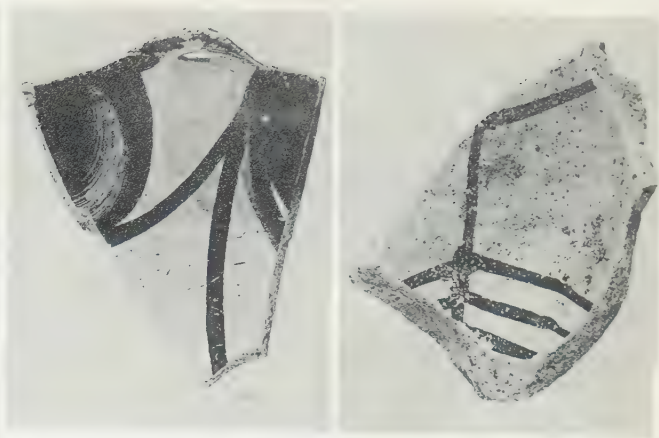
C26



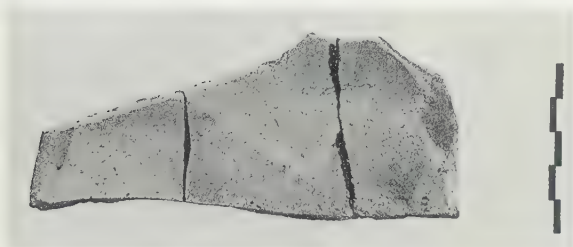
C28



a. Red Glazed Ware. Lerna III (E. H. II)



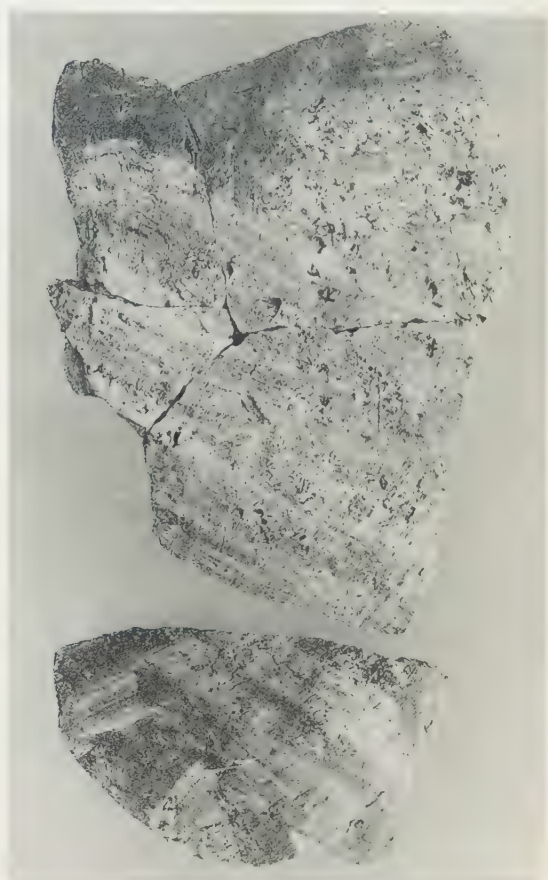
b-c. Patterned Ware. Lerna III (E. H. II)



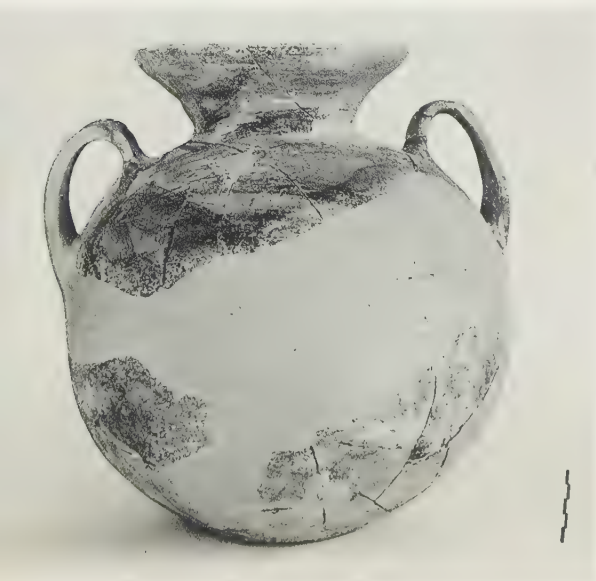
d. Saucer with Cross. Lerna III (E. H. II)



e. Lid with Stamped Pattern. Lerna III (E. H. II)



g. Smear Ware. Lerna IV (E. H. III)



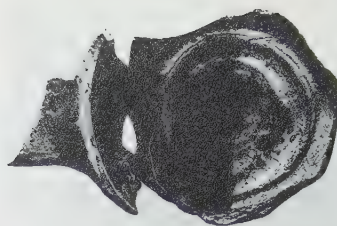
f. Jar in Smear Ware. Lerna IV (E. H. III)



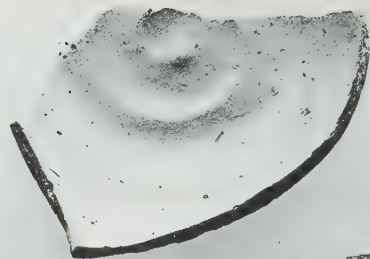
h. Rope Pattern. Lerna IV (E. H. III)



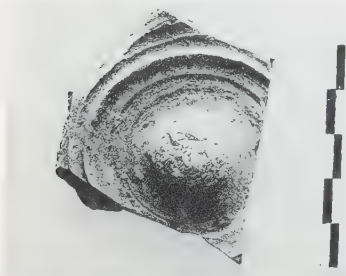
a.



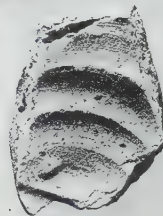
c.



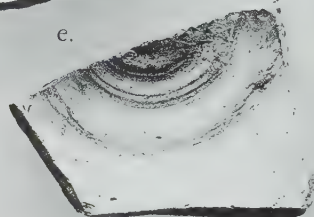
e.



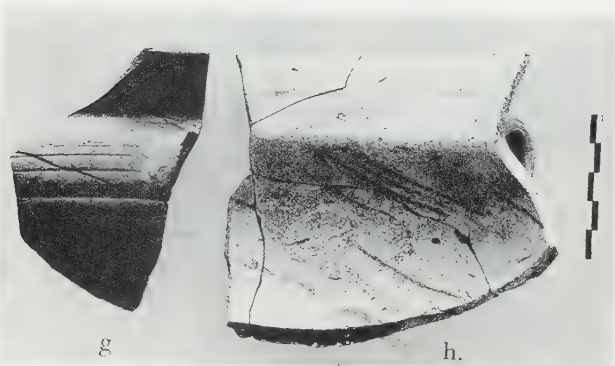
b.



d.

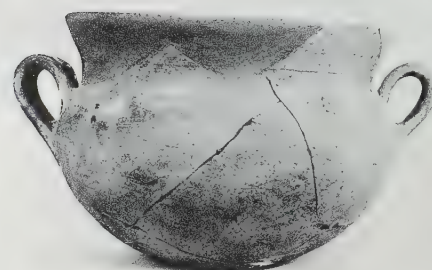


f.



g.

h.



i.

a.-i. Wheelmade Pottery. Lerna IV (E. H. III)



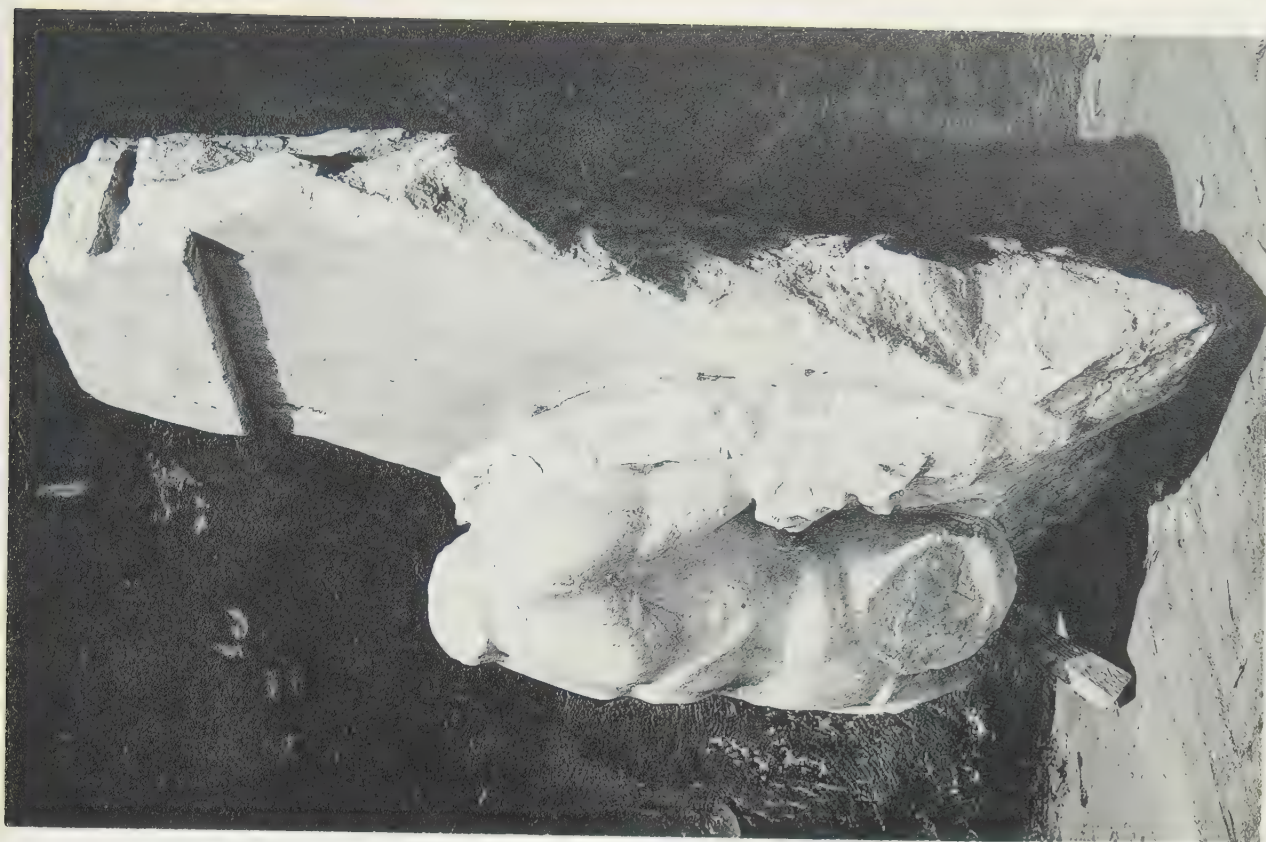
j. Large Jar. Lerna IV (E. H. III) (Water Color by Piet de Jong)



k. Jar with Pattern in Lustrous Paint. Lerna V (M. H.)



a. Sculptured Metope in the Palazzo dei Conservatori



b. Oblique View of Metope Showing Lifting Hole

WILLIAM B. DINSMOOR: A GREEK SCULPTURED METOPE FROM ROME



a. Looking west; in right background, chapel of St. George (Nisaia)



b. Looking west towards the Megarian plain



c. Outer face of north wall near east corner



d. Outer face of north wall

ACTIVITIES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1959

(PLATES 73-80)

IN its program of exploration in the Athenian Agora the American School of Classical Studies devoted its principal effort in 1959 toward regularizing the eastern side of the excavated area.¹ When property was being acquired for excavation in the 1930's the disposition of the ancient monuments was still for the most part obscure. On the completion of the major excavation it became apparent that some additional property would have to be acquired along the east side in order to permit the more complete clearance of the monuments and to facilitate maintenance. To this end six additional lots with as many 19th century houses were expropriated in the name of the Greek state: one behind the north end of the Stoa of Attalos, one at the extreme southeast corner of the Agora and four on the north slope of the Acropolis. Demo-

¹ The resident staff comprised Eugene Vanderpool (Deputy Field Director), M. Alison Frantz, Virginia R. Grace, Mary Zelia Philippides, Maria Savvatianou, Lucy Talcott, Dorothy B. Thompson and John Travlos, together with the undersigned as Field Director. Eva Brann, Evelyn B. Harrison, Mabel Lang, Evelyn L. Smithson and Brian Sparkes spent shorter periods in Athens in pursuit of their studies of various groups of Agora material. Poly Pamel has continued in charge of the records.

The excavation at the southeast corner of the Agora was supervised by Dorothy B. Thompson, that in the Eleusinion by Eugene Vanderpool; the account of the results in those areas is based largely on their field notes. The undersigned was responsible for the clearance behind the north end of the Stoa of Attalos and for the investigations in South Stoa II.

The photographs for this article are by Alison Frantz. Most of the drawings are the work of John Travlos. Figure 1, however, is by Martin R. Jones; Figures 2 and 3 by Katrina Konsta, a student of architecture in the Polytechnion of Athens to whom we are much indebted for this and other voluntary assistance in the summer of 1959. The water color of the Ionic capital in Plate 77, c is by Piet de Jong.

The present report deals with little but the field work of the past year; the majority of the staff, however, have been occupied with studies which will speak for themselves as they appear in the form of articles in *Hesperia*, as monographs in the *Athenian Agora* series or as booklets in the series of Agora picture books. The sculpture found in 1959 is dealt with in a separate article (below, pp. 369-392) by Evelyn B. Harrison.

With the curtailment of field work the technical staff was reduced at the end of the season. Among those employees of many years' standing with whom we have been compelled to part company are Miss Aziza Kokoni, George Zoumanides, Andreas Dimoulinis and Yanni Bakirzis. The skill and devotion of these persons have contributed greatly to the smooth and pleasant functioning of the organization and so to the efficient scholarly activity of both the regular members of the staff and of visiting scholars. Maria Savvatianou, after ten years of service as assistant to and collaborator with Virginia Grace in the study of ancient wine jars, now joins the staff of the National Museum in Athens. Our best wishes go with all these old friends in their new careers.

lition having been effected by contract, the excavation of the areas was carried out in the months of February through August, 1959. Conservation and planting followed (Pl. 73, a).

Although the immediate objective was utilitarian, the scientific results of the season's field work were also gratifying. The clearance behind the north end of the Stoa of Attalos clarified the history of an important entry to the Agora. The removal of a salient at the southeast corner of the Agora exposed the best preserved section of the Panathenaic Way and brought to light two new buildings: a temple of the early Roman period which, pending its more secure identification, has been designated the Southeast Temple, and a large public building which must likewise remain for the present under a provisional designation: the Southeast Building. The season's work in this area also permitted the completion of the clearance of a building which had previously been exposed in part and identified as the Mint (*Argyrokopeion*). On the north slope of the Acropolis the principal objective was the further clearance of the Eleusinion, the Sanctuary of Demeter in the City. Although the eastern end of the sanctuary still eludes us, the limits of the temenos to the west, north and south were clarified, the remains of a propylon, a colonnade and various monuments were exposed within the sanctuary, and useful new evidence was secured for dating the temple.

Within the Agora proper some supplementary excavation was carried out in the lesser, southern square which had long been designated as the Commercial Agora and in the Hellenistic colonnade which bordered the south side of that square; the results of this work necessitate the re-consideration of several major problems of Agora topography.

The program of conservation and landscaping was continued, and some additional work was done on the installation of the Agora museum in the Stoa of Attalos.

THE PANATHENAIC WAY (FIG. 1; PL. 73, b)

The work of the past season brought to light a 50-meter stretch of massive stone paving which marked the Panathenaic Way at its exit from the southeast corner of the Agora. This section of the road was delimited to north and south by two cross streets, the one entering the Agora at the southwest corner of the Library of Pantainos, the other bordering the south side of the Agora. The paving proper was 7 to 8 meters in width, but a gravelled verge on either side brought the total width of the thoroughfare up to about 10 meters. The surface water that flowed down the road from the south was conducted into a large rectangular catch basin at the west side of the paving and thence into the main drainage system of the Agora.

The paving consisted of a single layer of re-used architectural blocks of poros, 0.30 to 0.45 m. in thickness, fitted together with some care and in an irregular alter-

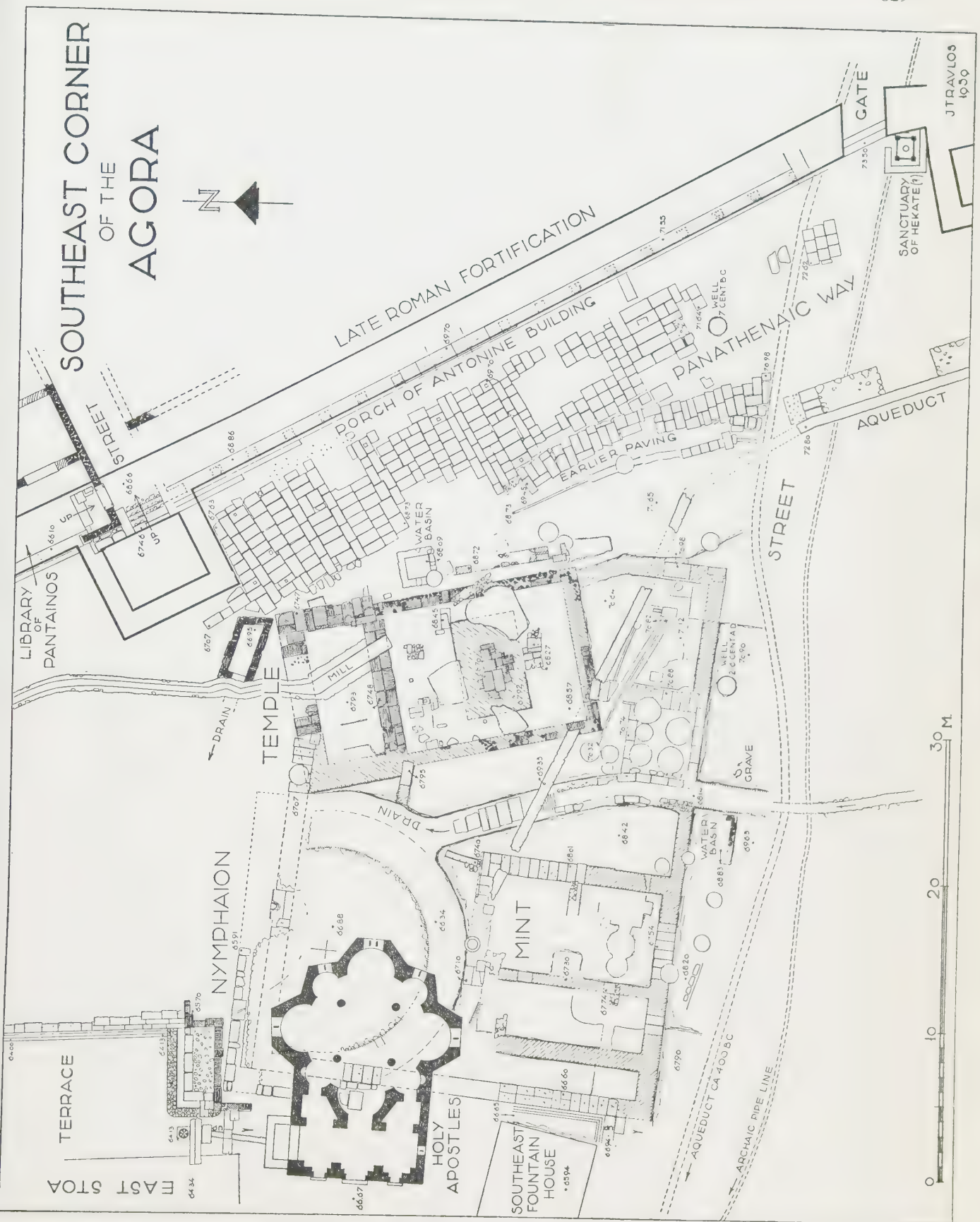


Fig. 1. Southeast Corner of the Agora.

nation of headers and stretchers (Pl. 74, a). In the surface of the blocks are a number of sinkings *ca.* 0.15 m. square and *ca.* 0.10 m. deep; similar holes occur also in the stretch adjoining the Eleusinion (Fig. 3). The sinkings would seem to fall into an irregular line along either side of the roadway with holes at intervals of 4 to 5 meters from one another, the two lines being *ca.* 5½ meters apart. This was conceivably provision for a system of light posts supporting ropes for the control of spectators on such special occasions as the Panathenaic procession.

The surface of the paving is scarified by many wheel ruts as much as a foot (0.30 m.) in depth; pairs of ruts, when recognizable as such, are *ca.* 1.50 m. apart. The ruts indicate that most of the wheeled traffic coming from the north was diverted to east or west on the important cross road that skirted the south side of the Agora; above this point the ruts are few and shallow.

The paving is much disturbed along the east side of the Southeast Temple. There can be little doubt, however, that the paving is later than the temple and that it was laid with some attention to that building. This is particularly clear from the line of a shallow trench which was cut in the surface of the paving to carry the water around the northeast corner of the temple; the corner of the temple foundation was itself rounded off to the same end. On the east side of the thoroughfare an irregular strip of gravel, 1.50 to 2.00 m. wide, exists between the paving and the front of the Southeast Building. This would seem to imply that the paving is the earlier; otherwise the paving would presumably have been fitted to the building.

To either side of the main paving are traces of earlier and less systematic measures to improve the road surface. Opposite the southeast corner of the Southeast Temple is a long narrow strip of paving made up of large poros blocks (stippled in the plan Fig. 1). Its surface is about a foot lower than that of the main paving, from which it differs also both in alignment and in gradient. The purpose of this strip was apparently to close a small gulley.

On the east side of the roadway, opposite the tongue-shaped paving, is another, but less regular stretch of early paving made up of old architectural blocks of various material, shape and size bedded in gravel. Noteworthy among this re-used material is a series of three large cornice blocks of Pentelic marble (Fig. 2).² In each case there remains only the corona, which had been laboriously detached by means of a chiselled trench from the back part of the block; the back part, being more regular in shape, was presumably re-used elsewhere. The guttae on the soffit of the mutule have been completely worn away by traffic. One detached gutta from an architrave probably from the same building was found near by. With a mutule 0.7415 m. wide and a via of 0.165 m., the cornice blocks indicate an interaxial spacing of 3.626 m.

² These blocks are not shown on the plan, Fig. 1; their position is just south of the title PORCH OF ANTONINE BUILDING.

for the building, which must therefore have been very close in scale to the central element of the Propylaia where the "normal" spacing is 3.628 m. Since the blocks are also comparable with the corresponding members of the Propylaia in profile and in quality of workmanship, they provide evidence of a large, splendid and hitherto unattested building of the Periclean age. A mason's mark, $\Lambda\Xi$, roughly cut in one end of one of the blocks, must derive from some earlier re-use since masons' marks

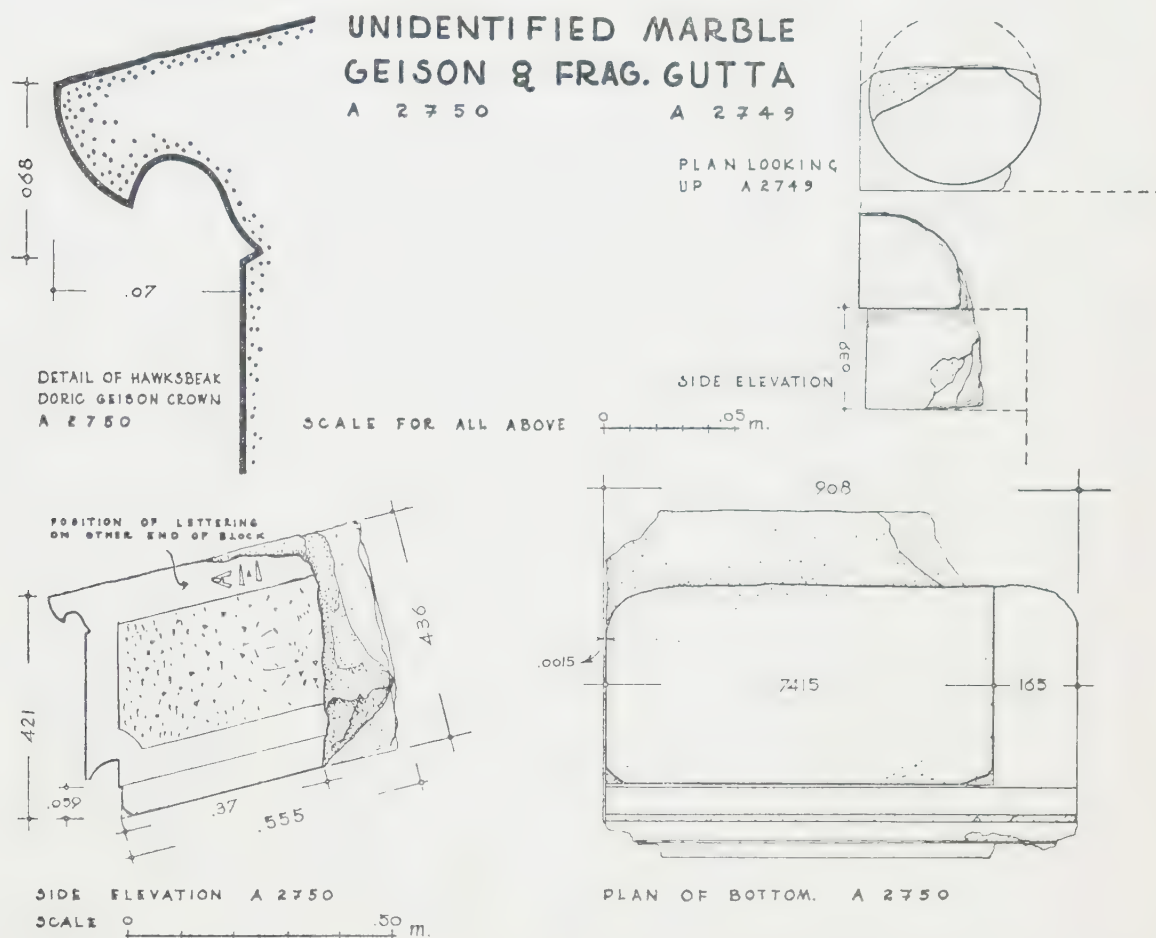


FIG. 2. Doric Cornice (Geison) and Gutta re-used in Paving of Panathenaic Way (A 2750, 2749).

were not needed by the road builders, and the letter forms are too late for the time of the original construction. No building of scale and period appropriate to these cornice blocks is known in the area of the Agora.

In the course of the road farther to the north, i. e. in front of the Library of Pantainos, are a few scattered paving blocks probably also earlier in date than the main paving; they were apparently set down in pits or soft spots in the gravel packing of the road.

Since the blocks of the principal paving were laid for the most part on dressed bedrock, little evidence is available for dating. Pottery gathered from several significant places would point, however, to a date within the first half of the 2nd century after Christ. This is about a century later than the date indicated for the paving higher up on the road where it borders the Eleusinion (cf. p. 336); but it is understandable that the various sections of the road may have received attention at different times. One might conjecture that the paving was done in preparation for special celebrations of the Panathenaia such as that for which Herodes Atticus was responsible, probably in A.D. 142/3, when the procession was extraordinarily splendid.³

The less regular earlier paving appears to date from the 1st century after Christ. Not all of it need be of one and the same time; but the truncated marble cornice blocks along the east edge were probably put in place early in the century. At certain points, where early deposits of road gravel had survived, the stratified sequence goes back at least into the 5th century B.C. At a point beneath the east edge of the Panathenaic Way a few meters to the north of the great poros aqueduct there came to light the remains of a small potter's establishment which had been abandoned and covered over in the second half of the 7th century B.C. Its demolition was conceivably necessitated by some change in the line of the road which was undoubtedly subject to slight alterations until it came to be bordered by substantial buildings. A few meters higher up a well of the late Geometric period was discovered beneath the paving of the road.

Beneath the east edge of the Panathenaic Way, at and to the north of its intersection with the street bordering the south side of the Agora, the excavations brought to light a number of rectangular pits of various sizes roughly aligned with the Way. The little pottery recovered from the pits indicates that they were in use in the 4th century B.C. They presumably served the same purpose as more numerous cuttings of similar shape and date that had been found earlier to the east of the Panathenaic Way and opposite the Stoa of Attalos. In both cases it is tempting to believe that the cuttings were for wooden posts to support bleachers (*ikria*) for spectators at the festival. Such temporary arrangements were presumably rendered unnecessary by the construction of the Panathenaic Stadium begun by Lykourgos ca. 330 B.C.

At a point just outside the southeast corner of the Agora the Panathenaic Way was crossed by the important and early east to west thoroughfare that skirted the south side of the Agora. In earlier seasons the course of this road had been well established to the west of the Panathenaic Way; ⁴ in 1959 its course was explored a distance of ca. 25 meters to the east of the Way. The stratification of the road metal indicates that in this stretch the road was already a much used thoroughfare as early at least as the 6th century B.C., and that it continued in use into the late 6th century

³ P. Graindor, *Hérodote Atticus et sa Famille*, Cairo, 1930, pp. 65 f.

⁴ *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pp. 47-49.

after Christ. After the Dark Ages, beginning in the 10th century, its course was overlaid by a series of private houses which in turn gave way in late Byzantine times to the Church of Christ. The width of the ancient street varied from four to six meters; its surface was gravelled, not paved.

In the southeast angle of the junction between the east to west road and the Panathenaic Way a small enclosure had been examined in 1958 (Figs. 1, 3).⁵ The remains comprise a bedding block with a circular socket for the support of a central element, as also the foundations of a fence and of a stone wall by which in turn the central element had been enclosed. Two of the fence posts came to light in 1959; they are of marble with sockets in the sides for wooden rails and with indications of a marble crowning member. We must therefore restore a fence of much the same type as that around the Eponymous Heroes.⁶ The establishment has been tentatively identified as a sanctuary of Hekate, appropriately situated at an important crossroads, the guarding of which would have come within the province of the goddess.

With the additional clearing of 1959 it becomes apparent that the little sanctuary must postdate the construction of the Southeast Building in the middle of the 2nd century after Christ, since one of the posts that supported its enclosing fence was set down into the top of the foundation for the (unfinished) south pier of a gateway to the south of that building. One of the fence posts was found in a hollow of the Panathenaic Way in a context of the 3rd century after Christ. At that time the fence would seem to have become inadequate to protect the sanctuary against the rising ground level; it was therefore pulled down and replaced by a wall. This presumably occurred before the Herulian sack of A.D. 267. The establishment was respected by those who erected the Late Roman Fortification Wall in the latter part of the 3rd century, but it was finally abandoned at some time in the 4th century.

In the southwest angle of the junction between the Panathenaic Way and the east to west street bordering the south side of the Agora there have survived some tenuous remains of houses and shops that were in continuous use from the 4th century B.C. until the Herulian sack of A.D. 267. That some at least of these buildings were occupied by sculptors is proven by the presence in their clay floors of shallow depressions full of sludge from the polishing of marble. Similar evidence had long ago attested the activity of sculptors in a suite of rooms in the Library of Pantainos.⁷ These shops will have been the source of the unfinished marble sculptures so many of which have been recovered from the adjacent stretch of the Late Roman Fortification.

⁵ *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 95 f.

⁶ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 137-139.

⁷ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 394-398; XVIII, 1949, p. 269.

THE ELEUSINION

The excavations of 1938 to the east of the Panathenaic Way and well up on the north slope of the Acropolis had brought to light the remains of a small temple of the late archaic period together with the western part of its peribolos. A number of inscriptions recording dedications to Demeter and Kore were found in the area, as also several deposits of kernoi, the characteristic vessels used in the cult of the goddesses. This evidence at once suggested an identification with the Eleusinion, i. e. the city sanctuary of the Eleusinian goddesses. The situation also corresponded in a satisfactory way with the indications in the principal literary references to that sanctuary.⁸

The additional exploration carried out in 1959 has exposed more of the sanctuary, though its eastern part is still overlaid by modern houses (Fig. 3). The plan of both temple and peribolos is now clearer; so too is their history. The discovery of additional inscribed dedications to the goddesses and of kernoi has now put the identification of the sanctuary beyond all reasonable doubt. Pausanias, in his brief reference to the sanctuary (I, 14, 1-4), mentions two temples, one of Demeter and Kore, the other of Triptolemos. As yet only a single temple-like building has appeared, but this, in view of its dominant location within the sanctuary, may be recognized as the major temple, viz. that of the goddesses. The temple of Triptolemos presumably stood in the still unexcavated eastern part of the sanctuary.

The temple stood in the northwest angle of the sanctuary on a spur of the hillside, and its situation was given still greater prominence by the massive terracing of the site toward the north. On the west the sanctuary bordered the Panathenaic Way. The angular space between the sanctuary and the important east to west road to the north would seem to have been occupied during the Greek period by a small open-air sanctuary now attested by one round and two rectangular bases in its eastern part. In the early Roman period the front part of this space was overlaid by a 4-roomed structure, perhaps a shop building, that faced on the Panathenaic Way. On the south, at least from the 1st century after Christ, the sanctuary was skirted by another east to west street. Since Philostratos in his account of the course of the Panathenaic Ship observes that the vessel rounded the Eleusinion, we may hypothesize a road also around its east end.⁹

Parts of the original enclosure wall remain on the west, south and north sides (in black on the plan, Fig. 3). The exact line is as yet somewhat uncertain at the northwest angle, as also in the southward return to the east of the temple. The wall was well built of Acropolis limestone with polygonal jointing and with a thickness of

⁸ *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 207-212; IX, 1940, p. 268; XVIII, 1949, pp. 134 f. For the literary and epigraphic testimonia cf. R. E. Wycherley, *Athenian Agora*, III, *Testimonia*, pp. 74-85, nos. 191-228.

⁹ *Vitae Sophistarum*, II, 1, 7.



FIG. 3. Eleusinion.

ca. 0.90 m. (3 feet) where free-standing. There is an indication of an entrance through the south wall near its west end (to the left of the word TERRACE on the plan, Fig. 3).

At a later period, probably within the 4th century B.C., the terrace around the northwest corner of the temple was reinforced by great masses of masonry built of re-used poros blocks. Steps set against the outer face of the western wall toward its north end now provided seats or standing room for those watching the Panathenaic Procession. To the same period (4th century B.C.) may also be assigned a small and simple propylon set in the west wall near the southwest corner of the sanctuary. It measured overall 4.10 x 5.90 m. and apparently consisted of two side walls forming a little vestibule both inside and outside the door; there were no columns.¹⁰

The Stoa along the south side of the sanctuary represents an extension made in the early Roman period. The colonnade proper lay entirely outside the original limits of the sanctuary, the south wall of which was demolished to permit the levelling of a terrace in front of the Stoa. The width of the building proper, from the face of its back wall to the face of its bottom step, was 7.40 m. and the column spacing was 3.00 m. A length of 25.40 m. has been exposed, but the foundations continue eastward beyond the limits of the excavation. An alcove at the west end appears to be a slightly later addition. No elements from the superstructure of the Stoa have yet been recognized. The building technique (dry-stone masonry in the foundations for the colonnade, limited use of mortar in the back wall, dovetailed wooden clamps) points to a date in the 1st century after Christ. It is significant that the lowest layers of road gravel to accumulate in the east to west street that was laid out to the south of the Stoa presumably soon after its construction are also of that period, while the ceramic evidence for the laying of the massive paving of the Panathenaic Way in the stretch adjacent to the sanctuary implies a date in the second quarter of the 1st century after Christ. These various operations may therefore have been carried out at about one and the same time.

Of the temple proper there remains much of the foundations for the east, west and north sides, a single block in the line of the south side (Pl. 74, b). In plan the building was a long rectangle with its major axis north and south; at foundation level it measured 11.00 x 17.70 m. An interior cross wall divided a large southern room from a narrow north room which may have served as an adyton. During construction a change of plan had occurred whereby the width was increased from an original 8.60 m. by the addition of a massive supplementary foundation 2.40 m. wide along the east side. There is nothing to indicate the use of columns anywhere in the building.¹¹ Nor is

¹⁰ These alterations in the sanctuary are perhaps recorded in *I.G.*, II², 1672 of 329/8 B.C. which mentions, *inter alia*, the piling of earth and the making of an entrance porch in the Eleusinion. Cf. *Athenian Agora*, III, no. 215.

¹¹ The restored plans shown in J. Travlos, *Πολεοδομικὴ Ἐξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, Athens, 1960, p. 67,

there any sure indication of an entrance; it may have been in either the south or the east side, more probably in the east.

The material of the temple foundations is hard limestone, gray or cream-colored in the earlier parts, reddish brown in the eastern addition. The coursing is regular, and the vertical joints are strictly vertical, but the horizontal jointing tends to the polygonal. Around the north end of the building, where the ground level was low when construction started, the outer face of the foundation is neatly stippled even though it was eventually to be buried deep below the finished grade. No clamps or dowels are in evidence in the surviving parts. The workmanship throughout is of a high order.

The most telling evidence for the date of the temple is provided by the pottery from the layers of filling that were built up around the north end of the building as the foundations rose. This material runs down into the opening years of the 5th century B.C. No significant difference is apparent between the pottery associated with the earlier construction and with the later; fragments of the same vase occurred, in fact, in both contexts. It is clear, therefore, that the change of plan does not signify any great lapse of time; the difference in stone between the two parts may well have occurred in one quarry.

The ceramic evidence from the construction filling of the temple is reinforced by that from the earlier buildings on the site, now represented by tenuous remains of light stone walls. The pottery from the floors of these buildings, as also from an associated well near the northeast corner of the temple, runs down to the end of the 6th century. The purely domestic character of this pottery indicates that the earlier structures were houses.

Pending the more thorough study of the evidence, the date of the temple may be put tentatively in the neighborhood of 490 B.C., with the possibility of a slightly later but scarcely an earlier date. Such a date accords satisfactorily with the conclusion arrived at by Miss Jeffery regarding the regulations for sacrifices at the Eleusinion. These rules were inscribed, *boustrophedon*, on two marble blocks, most of the fragments of which were found in or near the Sanctuary between the years 1936 and 1939.¹² The epigraphic evidence indicates a date between 510 and 480 B.C. for the inscriptions; the presumption is that the regulations were posted in this monumental form at the time of the construction of the temple or soon thereafter.

After an intensive study of the sacral inscriptions Miss Jeffery was inclined to believe that the blocks on which they were engraved had formed parts of one, or, more likely, of two altars.¹³ A foundation suitable in size, shape and location for an altar

fig. 33, B must be modified in the light of the recent exploration. On the other hand, the plan of the Athenian building as restored on the basis of the new evidence is strikingly similar to the plan of the "Solonian" Telesterion at Eleusis as restored by J. Travlos, *Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1950-1951, pp. 3, 13.

¹² L. H. Jeffery, "The Boustrophedon Sacral Inscriptions from the Agora," *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 86-111.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 90 f.

has come to light to the east of the temple at an interval of *ca.* 3 meters. It measures 1.10 x 2.70 m. The material of its underpinning is reddish brown limestone identical with that used in the later part of the temple foundations and probably to be recognized as surplus or discarded blocks from the main construction.

Although the existing temple cannot, as we have seen, antedate the 5th century B.C., and although no trace of an earlier temple has been recognized in the part of the sanctuary thus far exposed, the possibility of an earlier open-air sanctuary must be admitted. Perhaps relevant in this connection is a massive retaining wall that was disturbed by the south end of the temple, as also a concentration of primitive figurines and small bowls, perhaps votive in character, that occurred in pre-temple levels to the east of the temple.

The number of inscribed bases found in the area shows that the sanctuary was once richly adorned with monuments. Few of their foundations, however, have survived the disintegration of the terraces around the northern part of the temple and the disturbances caused by post-classical house builders in the southern part of the sanctuary. Only one such foundation need be mentioned in this report. It is a long narrow rectangle in plan, measuring *ca.* 2 x 15 m., lying to the east of the temple with an orientation closer to that of the pre-temple retaining wall than to the temple itself. Only the subterranean parts remain, massive construction of soft, cream-colored poros. The ceramic evidence points to a date in the second half of the 5th century B.C. We have as yet no clue to what stood here, though the dimensions and position imply something of major importance.

Among the inscriptions found in 1959 in the area of the sanctuary ten have special relevance to the Eleusinion. Among them are five more fragments of the "Attic Stelai" on which was recorded the sale of the confiscated property of Alkibiades and the others accused of mutilating the herms and parodying the mysteries of Demeter; one of the new fragments bears the name of Alkibiades himself and lists, *inter alia*, a number of his slaves (Pl. 80, b).¹⁴ The Attic stelai are known to have stood in the Eleusinion. Mention may also be made of another fragment of a large opisthographic stele of the 4th century B.C. of which the first piece had been found in 1957; the text has to do with the Overseers of the Mysteries of Demeter and Persephone.¹⁵ One of the new inscriptions (I 6909) occurs on a small altar, another (I 6896) on a statue base. The remaining two (I 6915, I 6921) are parts of documents concerned with the administration of the sanctuary.

¹⁴ W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 225-299; XXV, 1956, pp. 178-328; D. A. Amyx, XXVII, 1958, pp. 163-310.

¹⁵ I 6794. Cf. *Athenian Agora*, III, p. 225; *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 157.

SOUTHEAST TEMPLE

The temple was set down in the northeast corner of the large area previously occupied by the Mint (Figs. 1, 4; Pl. 75, a). It faced slightly west of north, and, since the ground slopes gently down toward the northwest, the building must have dominated the vista as one approached on the Panathenaic Way. This was especially true in the early years of its existence; later the temple was forced to share this advantageous site with the Nymphaeum which was thrust in, with very little room to spare, between the temple and the thoroughfare that led up to the south from the terrace of the East Stoa.

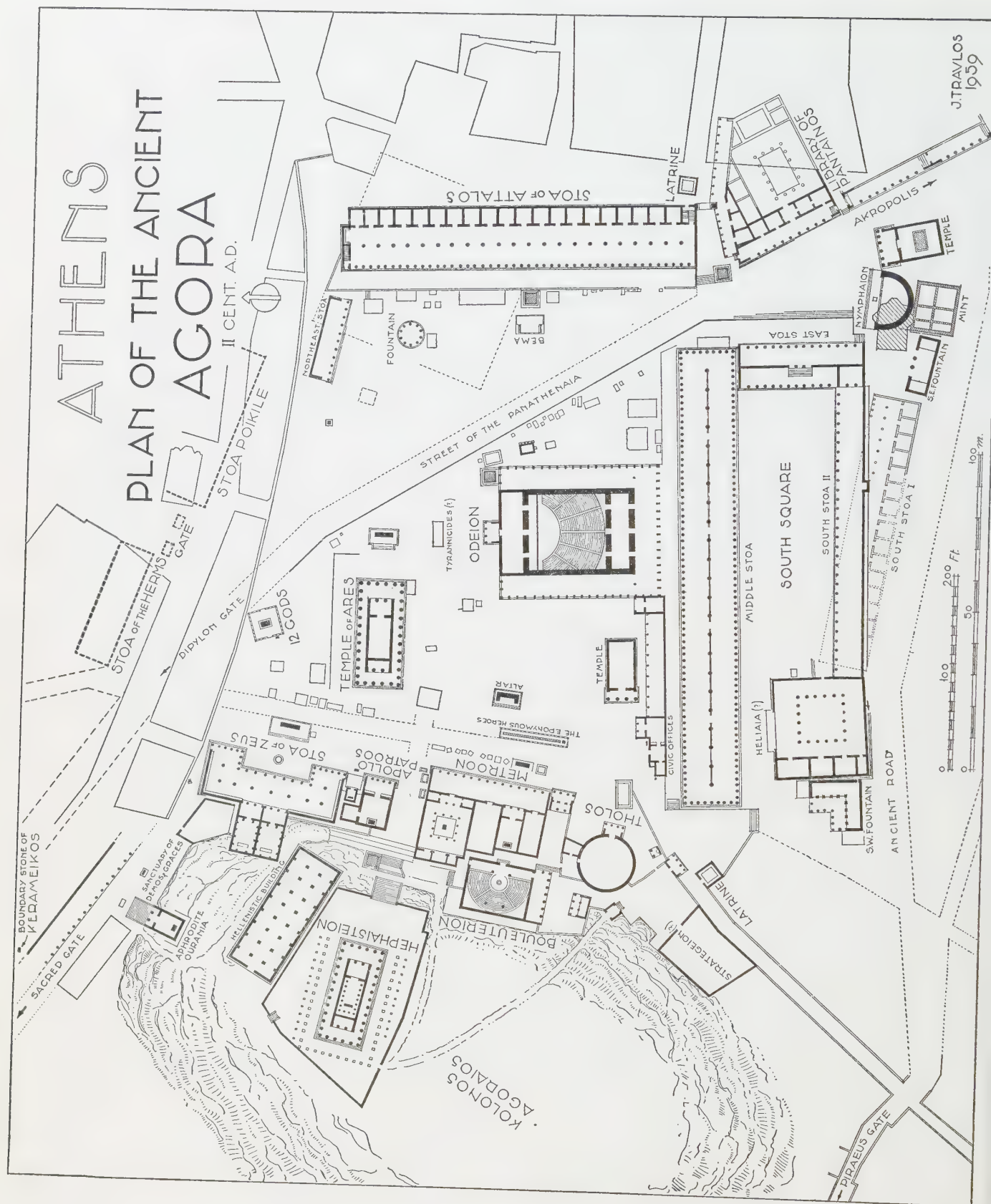
Although the area of the temple had been greatly disturbed in late Roman, Byzantine and Turkish times, enough of the foundation survives to give the plan: a broad cella with a large statue base near its middle and a porch facing north (Pl. 75, a). The overall length of the building was 20.60 m.; its width across the pronaos 12.20 m., across the cella 11.20 m. The cella measured inside *ca.* 12.50 x 9.56 m. No trace of an altar has been observed.

The walls of the cella were three feet (*ca.* 0.90 m.) thick. They rested on shallow irregular beddings without special foundations. The surviving lower parts of the walls consist of miscellaneous re-used blocks of poros set in gray lime mortar of poor quality. A little wall stucco survives on the inside of the southwest corner of the cella; it was painted dark blue with a spattering of bright red dots, but this original plaster had been overlaid at some later date with a second coat of inferior quality, white in color.

In the rear corners of the cella there remain small patches of an original floor of clay. In the front part of the cella are a number of miscellaneous bedding blocks which undoubtedly supported a marble floor in this part of the building; the cuttings in the tops of the bedding blocks indicate the use of large rectangular slabs, fragments of which may be recognized among the material recovered from the near-by tower of the Late Roman Fortification. A similar marble floor may be hypothesized for the pronaos, although deep disturbances in this part of the building have obliterated all trace of the flooring.

Much of the cella was occupied by the large pedestal that stood on axis somewhat back of the middle (Fig. 1; Pl. 75, a, A). The dressed bedding for the pedestal measures 4.40 x 6.70 m. In this bedding still stands a remnant of the core of rough masonry built up of re-used blocks of poros and conglomerate. Nothing remains of the facing. Behind and adjacent to this foundation, and likewise on the axis of the cella, is a smaller rectangular foundation of uncertain purpose, measuring 1.15 x 1.50 m.

Two fragments of a colossal statue of Pentelic marble were found at the level of the late Roman period, one just to the north and one just to the west of the main



pedestal. They are undoubtedly parts of a cult statue, a peplos-clad standing female figure somewhat over twice life size. The left foot of the figure had been found at the same level just to the west of the temple in an earlier season. Those who stripped the temple of its building blocks had presumably been baffled by the sheer bulk and unwieldy shape of the huge torso; later vandals knocked off protruding parts until little was left but shapeless chunks. For a more detailed discussion of the statue see below, pp. 371-373.

The porch of the temple, though undoubtedly contemporary with the cella, is strikingly different in the nature of its foundations. These were made throughout of re-used conglomerate blocks laid in a trench cut deep down into bedrock. Across the front the foundation is 1.70 m. thick, on back and sides 1.50 m. The greater solidity of these foundations suggests that the walls of the porch were constructed of squared blocks.

Nothing of the porch remains in place above the level of the lowest foundations. One would expect, however, to find some of its material in the near-by Late Roman Fortification, the builders of which were in the habit of incorporating the blocks of ancient buildings into their new construction with a minimum of transportation. Among the many diverse re-used blocks that were incorporated in the tower some ten feet to the northeast of the temple are a number of Doric members that may well derive from the temple. All of them had already been used at least twice before their incorporation in the fortifications.

The most characteristic part of this group of re-used material is a series of Doric columns of which eighteen drums and two capitals are still extant (Pl. 75, b, B).¹⁶ A difference of *ca.* 0.02 m. in the lower diameters indicates that the group comprised both normal and corner columns, the normal measuring 0.983 m. and the corner 1.004 m., i. e. just a little smaller than the corresponding members in the Temple of Hephaistos (1.018 and 1.036 m.). The workmanship is of late Periclean quality, save in the fluting which had been only begun at top and bottom by the original builders and completed in an inferior style by the re-users. The material is a bluish white marble of fine crystal and a laminated structure that has resulted in several of the drums breaking transversely. Associated with the columns by identity of material and workmanship is a series of wall blocks.

One of the two surviving column capitals from this series was found, not in the Late Roman Fortification, but imbedded in the gravelly packing of the Panathenaic Way at a point about six meters north of the temple. Since the top of the capital had been heavily worn by traffic in this position before the Herulian sack of A.D. 267, we must suppose that the 5th century Doric members had been employed in their inter-

¹⁶ Cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 331, fig. 18 for a restored drawing of one of these columns. Four of the column drums appear in the Late Roman Fortification in fig. 17 on p. 330.

mediate period somewhere in this vicinity; apparently the builders of this intermediate period were able to draw on a larger stock of old material than they needed and so were able to dispense with the one capital. The only building in the vicinity suitable for the columns in their intermediate use is the temple; the employment of a set of fine ancient columns and wall blocks in the front of that building would in fact account very satisfactorily for the striking disparity between the foundations of porch and cella.

An anta capital (A 2989) was found in the same tower of the Late Roman Fortification. Its design shows that it derives from a prostyle façade. The capital is congruent in scale with the Doric columns, and its hawksbeak moulding has a 5th century profile; but the material is Pentelic, different from the marble of the columns and wall blocks, and the workmanship is patently of the Roman period. This will have been a supplement added by the temple builders.

In addition to the closely related members described above, the tower of the Late Roman Fortification yielded a miscellany of other Doric members: architraves and architrave backers, triglyphs, metopes, cornice and sima blocks, and a marble tympanum block. Though made originally for several ancient buildings, some of these members were in all probability re-used in the temple.

It may never be possible to unravel the whole of this tangled skein of architectural history, but the origin of at least the set of four Doric columns and related wall blocks can be established. The very characteristic marble of these members is that of the Laurion region in southeastern Attica, familiar from the ancient buildings of Sounion and of Thorikos. The source can be fixed more precisely as a sanctuary of Demeter in the plain below the theater at Thorikos. Partially uncovered and examined in 1754, 1812 and 1893, the building is again buried, but its condition and its architectural details are recorded in *The Unedited Antiquities of Attica*, published by the Society of Dilettanti, London, 1817, Ch. IX, pp. 57-59, Pls. 1-3. The building was peripteral with 7 x 14 columns, of which the entire row across the short northeast end was found missing by the early explorers. Missing too were the walls of the cella. Steps and columns had been left unfinished, the fluting merely started at top and bottom; the building program here, as at Rhamnous, had presumably been interrupted by the Peloponnesian War. The correspondence between the re-used members in the Late Roman Fortification in the Agora and the temple at Thorikos is so close in respect of material, dimensions and conditions as to leave no doubt of their relationship.¹⁷

¹⁷ I am deeply indebted to Professor W. B. Dinsmoor for making detailed measurements of the columns from the Late Roman Fortification and comparing them with the columns of the temple in Thorikos as known from the publications. Professor Eugene Vanderpool has drawn my attention to a photograph in the files of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens showing the building as it was after the partial excavation conducted by Stais in 1893 (Πρακτικά, 1893, pp. 16 f.). On Thorikos see further J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias*, II, p. 410, V, pp. 525 f.; W. Wrede, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. Thorikos (1937).

Thorikos was described as desolate by Pomponios Mela writing in the 1st century after Christ (II, 46), nor was it even mentioned by Pausanias in the following century. It is not surprising, therefore, that when some urgent need for a new temple arose in Athens the material for its façade should have been salvaged from Thorikos and conveyed, no doubt by water, to Athens. Nor would it be strange if one or more of the original cult statues should have been brought along with the architectural members to be set up again in the new temple, conceivably in the company of some newly deified member of the imperial family.

As to the date of the temple in the Agora the evidence is very slender, consisting as it does of little beyond a few handfuls of pottery gathered from significant places around the foundations. Such as it is, and on the basis of a preliminary study, this evidence indicates a date in the 1st century after Christ. It is to be hoped that further study will lead to greater precision.

MINT (ARGYROKOPÉION)

As observed above, the Southeast Temple was set down in part of the area once occupied by the building tentatively identified as the Mint (Argyrokopeion; Fig. 1; Pl. 75, a, B).¹⁸ The whole area of the earlier building has now been cleared, but not enough study has yet been devoted to its tenuous remains to justify more than the most tentative conclusions.

The overall dimensions of the building are its most certain feature: 27.30 m. north to south and 37.80 m. east to west. The northeast corner would appear to have been bevelled from the beginning to conform with the line of the Panathenaic Way. The enclosed area was divided between roofed rooms and unroofed courtyard. The east branch of the Great Drain of the Agora passed from south to north beneath the building, in much of its course apparently under a courtyard.

Having surrendered the northeast part of its area to the temple in the 1st century after Christ, the old establishment was still further truncated by the insertion of the Nymphaeum (Pl. 75, a, C) in its northwestern quarter, probably in the Antonine period.

The little evidence produced by the recent excavations tends to confirm for the original building a date toward the end of the 5th century B.C.

The identification of the building as the Mint was originally suggested by the discovery of a number of blanks for the making of bronze coins. The excavation of 1959 yielded eight more such blanks, all imbedded in the ancient floor in one of the rooms of the southwest block. It may also be of some significance in this connection that even after the construction of the Southeast Temple in the 1st century after Christ

¹⁸ *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 45-48.

metal working in the area is attested by the remains of several small furnaces in the extreme southeast corner of the early building. This activity continued, or was resumed, even after the Herulian sack of A.D. 267, but there is nothing to show whether the activity was of a public or private nature.

SOUTHEAST BUILDING

This large building bordered the east side of the Panathenaic Way opposite the Southeast Temple (Figs. 1, 4). Only its porch lies within the present limits of the excavation. This porch, of the Ionic order, filled the interval of 49.50 m. between the narrow street that bordered the Library of Pantainos on the south and the east to west road that skirted the south side of the Agora. A monumental archway would seem to have been planned for the southern road; this is implied by the fact that the foundations of the colonnade were carried some 10.90 m. south beyond the southwest corner of the porch, thus crossing the road. But the construction of the arch or gateway appears not to have been carried above ground level, for the wheel ruts in the line of the road have cut deep into the top of the foundations. The width of the porch, *ca.* 5.80 m., is given by a remnant of its back wall at the extreme north end. There were 14 columns set 2.76 m. center to center with a short length of wall near the middle of the building where the level of the stylobate steps up abruptly from north to south.

The porch of the newly found building was continuous with that of the Library of Pantainos, the two of them providing a long stretch of covered sidewalk. Since the terrain slopes up at a gradient of *ca.* 1:10 from north to south, transverse steps were necessary at the north and south ends of the porch of the library, at both ends and at the middle of the porch of the newly found building.

An entrance led from the Panathenaic Way through the porch at a point where the level of the road coincided with the level of the floor of the porch; this point fell a little to the north of center. The entrance, three bays wide, was not marked by any projection in the line of the front, for that would have interfered with traffic on the busy thoroughfare; it was distinguished rather by the use of a marble stylobate instead of the normal poros, and by the omission of square pedestals beneath its columns.

The steps and foundations of the porch are preserved throughout their length beneath the outer face of the Late Roman Fortification. The three poros steps, 0.28 m. high, rest on a foundation of re-used poros blocks which in turn is supported by a concrete footing made with crumbly mortar, yellowish in color. The stylobate in the width of the entrance is of Hymettian marble; only the places for the columns were carefully dressed, the intervening spaces being left quite rough. A stairway of Hymettian marble led up from the Panathenaic Way to the narrow street between the Southeast Building and the Library (Pl. 75, b, A).

Most of the façade of the porch was incorporated in the Late Roman Fortification (Pl. 76, a). The stylobate was cleared to receive the outer face of the fortification wall simply by tipping backwards the square pedestals that had carried the columns; eight of these pedestals were found at the proper intervals in the core of the wall. The architrave-frieze and wall blocks were incorporated in the faces of the fortification wall; the column shafts, round bases and capitals, as also the cornice blocks, were thrown into the core.

The pedestals for the columns are of Hymettian marble, 0.80 m. high, 0.70 m. to the side on top, 0.72 m. at the bottom, with simple mouldings top and bottom. They are finished at the most only on three sides, the backs being quite rough. Traces on the sides of the pedestals of the northern section show that steps rose between them. On top of the square piers rested circular bases of Attic type and of Pentelic marble. These in turn carried the monolithic, unfluted shafts of Hymettian marble with a lower diameter of 0.53 m., an upper of 0.47 m., and an average height of 3.82 m. The Ionic capitals, of which two were found, were roughly carved of Pentelic marble.

Architrave and frieze were cut from Pentelic marble in one piece with a height of 0.52 m., length of 2.76 m. The architrave has three fasciae; the frieze is marked by an S profile. On several blocks the mouldings on one side, presumably the inner, were only roughly cut. The cornice blocks, of Pentelic marble and 1.70 m. long, were also roughly finished, some of the lions' heads being left in the boss. A number of fragmentary terracotta antefixes bearing simple palmette designs were found along with the marbles of the porch; they presumably derive from the building.

Numerous "doodles" had been scratched in the shafts of the columns while they were still standing (Fig. 5). The most frequent motif is a simple radiate sundial; but there are also sketches of human faces, a lion hunt and a bull fight. Only a single personal name has been observed, Agathopous, in striking contrast to the prominence of names among the well known scribblings on the walls of ancient gymnasia. It is doubtful whether in this case the graffiti have any special relevance to the building; they are presumably the work of casual idlers who also left their mark on the marble work of the Library of Pantainos.

The stylobate of the entrance way was higher by the height of the square pedestals, i. e. 0.80 m., than the stylobate in the north part of the porch. To the south of the entrance the level was stepped up a further 1.85 m. How this difference in level was treated in the entablature is not yet clear. The uniformity in lower diameter between the columns of the entrance way and those of the rest of the porch makes it unlikely that a pediment was used in the line of the colonnade above the entrance, nor have any elements of such a pediment been found.

The foundations for the stairway in the east to west road between the Southeast Building and the Library of Pantainos abut against, and so must be later than, the



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foundations of the Library. Since the foundations for the stairway are an integral part of the structure of the porch of the Southeast Building, it follows that the Southeast Building is also later than the Library which is dated by its dedicatory inscription in or very close to the year A.D. 100.¹⁹ Since the main paving of the Panathenaic Way seems not to have been laid with respect to the Southeast Building, the building may be regarded as later than the paving, and the paving, as we have seen above, was put down at some time in the first half of the 2nd century after Christ. The similarity between the antefixes from the Southeast Building and those from the Odeion in its second period would argue for approximate contemporaneity; the tiles of the Odeion are dated by their stamps to a time close around A.D. 150.²⁰ The little pottery to be associated with the foundation of the porch is close to that of Robinson's Group H of the mid 2nd century.²¹ A date near the middle of the century would thus seem appropriate for the Southeast Building.

Until such time as the excavation is continued farther to the east, we can scarcely hope to know more about the plan or purpose of the Southeast Building. The existence of a well defined entrance near the middle of the porch would seem to imply, however, that there was some important element behind the porch. We may suppose that the design of the building resembled in a general way that of the Library of Pantainos which comprised a series of rooms around a central court. Whatever the primary purpose of the building may have been, its architect was clearly concerned also with the relation between this building and the Panathenaic Way. The long porch, continuous with that of the neighboring building to the north, is a modest but interesting Athenian example of the colonnading of streets which was so popular in the 2nd century, especially in the eastern provinces. And the generous provision of steps along the front of the colonnade was no doubt intended for the convenience of spectators at such pageants as the Panathenaic procession.²²

HYDRAULIC INSTALLATIONS

The exploration of the road that skirted the south side of the Agora exposed at two more points the round terracotta water pipe of the late archaic period that had

¹⁹ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 331; Suppl. VIII, p. 269.

²⁰ *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 126.

²¹ H. S. Robinson, *Athenian Agora*, V, *Pottery of the Roman Period*, Princeton, 1959, pp. 46-49.

²² As to the identification of the building, it would be well to bear in mind that an arcuated lintel with an inscription (*I.G.*, II², 3391) recording the dedication of the Agoranomion by the Council of Five Hundred to the Emperor Antoninus Pius in the period A.D. 140-145 was found near the Gateway of Athena along with two other inscriptions regarding the Agoranomoi (*I.G.*, II², 3238, 3602). *I.G.*, II², 3391 is commonly referred to a building south of the Tower of the Winds, but that structure already has an appropriate inscription (Judeich, *Topographie*², p. 374; *Athenian Agora*, III, p. 190).

already been identified as the feed pipe of the Southeast Fountain House (Fig. 1).²³ The newly examined section runs almost due east and west beneath the south side of the ancient street. Its course has been followed to a distance of 25 meters to the east of the Panathenaic Way, but no further evidence has been secured for its date, nor for its ultimate source.

After about a century of use the terracotta pipeline was replaced by an underground stone aqueduct that ran roughly parallel to its predecessor, a little farther to the north but still beneath the ancient east to west road.²⁴ The course of this conduit also was pursued a little farther to the east in 1959, again to a point about 25 m. beyond the Panathenaic Way. No less than three branch lines consisting of small terracotta channels have been found issuing from the north side of the aqueduct, one at the west and one at the east side of the Panathenaic Way and one still farther to the east. A limited amount of pottery recovered from significant points along the main aqueduct points to a date in the very late 5th century or the beginning of the 4th, a trifle later perhaps than the date previously proposed.

For the later history of the stone aqueduct it may be noted that its channel was blocked by the foundations of the Southeast Building which were laid down about the middle of the 2nd century after Christ. By this time the function of the old classical aqueduct would appear to have been taken over by another aqueduct that entered the area at a higher level and descended along the west side of the Panathenaic Way to supply the newly built Nymphaeum as well as the Southeast and Southwest Fountain Houses.²⁵

The excavations of 1959 failed to reveal the northward continuation of this later aqueduct. Its line of concrete piers, which presumably carried arches, breaks off abruptly at the south side of the east to west road. No trace of the aqueduct has been observed between this point and the Nymphaeum. The explanation may be that in this stretch the water channel was carried on piers and arches built of cut-stone masonry, the blocks of which could well have been entirely removed by the builders of the Late Roman Fortification and other late structures in the area.

More rewarding was the exploration of the upper course of the aqueduct. Coming from the southeast beneath the road that flanked the south side of the Eleusinion, the channel passed under the paving of the Panathenaic Way to reach a settling basin from which one stream continued in a westward direction, the other in a northern (Fig. 3). To the south of the Eleusinion the channel was set deep down in the rock; its walls were lined and its top was vaulted with brick. The clear width inside was 0.60 m., height 1.20 m. No evidence for the dating of this aqueduct was secured in 1959, but the close correspondence in size and construction between the channel to

²³ *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 29-35; XXV, 1956, pp. 49-52; XXVIII, 1959, p. 96.

²⁴ *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 52-54; XXV, 1956, pp. 52 f.; XXVIII, 1959, p. 96.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 97 f.

the south of the Eleusinion and parts of the Hadrianic water system previously observed elsewhere in Athens encourages the belief that we have to do with a part of that system.²⁶

The part of the aqueduct that bordered the Panathenaic Way was dismantled after the Herulian sack of A. D. 267 but was rebuilt in a less substantial form in the 4th or 5th century. Its line can now be traced above the southwest corner of the already ruinous Southeast Temple to a point at the south side of the Nymphaeum (Fig. 1). By this time the Nymphaeum must have been as ruinous as the Southeast Temple; we may suppose that the water channel continued in a northwesterly direction to supply the needs of the Gymnasium that occupied the mid part of the ancient Agora in the 5th and 6th centuries.

To the east of the Southeast Temple, between the temple and the pavement of the Panathenaic Way, is a settling basin measuring internally 1.45 x 1.60 m. (Fig. 1). Only the lowest part of the basin remains. It was perhaps fed by a channel carried on the rubble foundation that approaches the basin from the south on a line parallel to the wall of the temple. The scale of the settling basin implies an installation of some consequence, but neither the source nor the destination of the water is as yet certain. Similarity in construction and dimensions between this settling basin and the one belonging to the 2nd century system opposite the Eleusinion (above, p. 348) may be taken to indicate some connection.

In the 5th and 6th centuries a water mill was established in the area of the pronaos of the Southeast Temple which was then long since forgotten (Fig. 1). The pit for the mill wheel measured internally 0.80 m. x 6.40 m. Some slight vestiges of the mill room were observed to the west of the pit. The water was brought from the southeast in an aqueduct of which a small remnant survived above the east foundation of the Southeast Temple. The source of the water seems not to have been the late version of the aqueduct that bordered the Panathenaic Way but rather another aqueduct that came from the east, crossing the Late Roman Fortification at a point to the east of the south end of the Southeast Temple; a short length of the underpinning for this aqueduct is shown on Figure 1 a little to the south of the end of the inscription PORCH OF ANTONINE BUILDING. Having turned the wheel in the ruins of the temple the water was carried northward to drive another mill that came to light in 1930 some 50 meters farther north.²⁷ Beyond this point the precious water was carried once more northward in an arched aqueduct that implies the existence of a third mill beyond the present limits of the excavation.

²⁶ Judeich, *Topographie*², pp. 203 f. The water system begun by Hadrian was completed under his successor in A.D. 140.

²⁷ A. W. Parsons, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 70-90.

LATE ROMAN FORTIFICATION AND RE-USED ARCHITECTURAL MEMBERS

The fortification wall of the late 3rd century, the so-called "Valerian Wall," was explored thoroughly for a distance of some 65 m. over the full width of the Southeast Building and the streets that bordered it to the north and south.

Here, as elsewhere, the wall consisted of inner and outer faces carefully constructed of re-used architectural members. The space between was filled with a tumbled mass of ancient column drums, broken blocks, sculpture and other material that did not lend itself readily to incorporation in a close-jointed wall; the interstices were normally filled with earth, occasionally with a crumbly lime mortar (Pl. 76, a). At irregular intervals headers were allowed to project from the faces of the wall into the core to hold the mass together. The outer face of the wall was here planted firmly on the front foundations of the Southeast Building from which the superstructure had been stripped; the inner face was carried down to bedrock. Particular care was taken in the choice of material and in the construction of the outer or field face of the wall; long series of blocks drawn from the same courses of earlier buildings permitted tight jointing and a more monumental appearance (Pl. 75, a, E). The total thickness of the wall in this stretch was *ca.* 3.40 m.

The gap between the Library of Pantainos and the Southeast Building was covered by the builders of the Late Roman Fortification with a rectangular tower measuring 7.20 x 8.80 m. (Fig. 1; Pl. 75, b). With a view to the more thorough examination of the earlier buildings much of this tower was demolished in the summer of 1959, only enough being left to enable the visitor to grasp the outline of the tower. The rich variety of architectural members and of sculpture that had been incorporated in the tower and in the immediately adjacent curtain wall was observed already in the original excavation of 1933.²⁸ At that time a large female statue was extracted from the outer wall of the tower,²⁹ a series of Doric columns was noted,³⁰ and an inscribed Ionic architrave block was exposed.³¹ A pair of marble ceiling beams, with inter-beam blocks and many fragments of the coffered marble slabs from the same ceiling, were found in 1933 and 1939; they have since been attributed to the Temple of Ares.³²

The material recovered from the tower in 1959 was equally varied and valuable. Reference has already been made above to the set of Doric columns and other Doric members which would seem to have been re-used in the Southeast Temple (Pl. 75,

²⁸ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 329-334, figs. 16-21.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 384-387, figs. 11-14.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 329 f., fig. 18.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 58-60, nos. 21 f.

³² L. T. Shoe, *Profiles of Greek Mouldings*, Cambridge, Mass., 1936, p. 45, XXI, 28, 29; W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 39-42; M. H. McAllister, *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 38-43.

b, B). Another large statue of a female figure came out this season, S 1882, for which see below, pp. 373-376; the statue had been deliberately broken into many pieces which were used for chinking the interstices between the blocks in the south and the west walls of the tower. Among numerous other sculptures, for the most part very fragmentary, may be noted a piece from the forepart of a large human foot; this fragment joins with a set of toes (S 1220) found in 1946 among the ruins of the Odeion of Agrippa and attributed tentatively to a statue of Dionysos seen by Pausanias in that building.³³ From the tower comes also an unfinished and fragmentary replica of the Apollo Lykeios similar in type to the statuette in Dresden (S 2127).

Another link with the Temple of Ares was provided this season through the discovery in the tower of a small fragment from a marble wall block bearing a mason's mark of the sort so characteristic of that building (A 2894).³⁴

Late archaic architecture is well represented among the finds from the tower. Two tympanum blocks of granular brown sandstone stuccoed on the outer face come from opposite ends of a small building (A 3012). Numerous fragments were found of sima blocks of island marble, a horizontal series with straight profile (A 2992) and a raking series with a shallow cavetto profile (A 2993). Since both are of the same material and workmanship and have exactly the same height, they may well come from the same building. The horizontal member, 0.573 m. in width, has a slender tubular water spout. The interest attaching to this discovery is heightened by the fact that fragments of identical water spouts were found long ago beneath the floor of the Annex erected in the early Roman period behind the Stoa of Zeus, while units of both the raking and horizontal simas were incorporated in the walls of a drain that served the Odeion of Agrippa;³⁵ other fragments have been picked up in disturbed contexts at other widely separated points in the excavations. The late fortification wall yielded also a series of Doric cornice blocks of island marble crowned with a hawksbeak which, being comparable with the simas both in workmanship and dimensions, may well derive from the same building (A 2990, 2991). The identification of the once splendid building represented by these marbles still remains a tantalizing mystery.

The underpinning for the south wall of the tower comprised the elements of a series of Ionic columns (Figs. 6, 7; Pls. 75, b, C, 76, b, 77). There remain twelve drums constituting three complete shafts, one base, and two capitals. The drums and capitals had suffered only minor chipping, but the base, like the large statue mentioned above, had been deliberately reduced to small fragments to be used in chinking the interstices among the drums. The relationship among the members can be recovered with certainty from a set of mason's marks carefully engraved in inconspicuous places (Fig. 6). The joints were lettered continuously through the

³³ Pausanias I, 14, 1; *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 79 f.

³⁴ *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 47-54.

³⁵ *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 97 f., fig. 2.

series of columns, starting at the top of one, running to its base and resuming at the top of the next. The joint between the capital and the top of the shaft in the first column was designated A, and an A was incised on both the member above and that



FIG. 6. Mason's Marks on Ionic Columns.

below the joint; the next joint was marked B and so on. The choice of this system of lettering suggests that the number of columns was limited; a fourth could have been included without straining the alphabet, but not a fifth. The number four is suggested also by the fact that two of the columns are uniform in height with one another but

0.80 m. shorter than the third; it is likely, though not of course certain, that there were two short and two tall columns in the original set. The columns throughout are carved from Pentelic marble of choice quality.

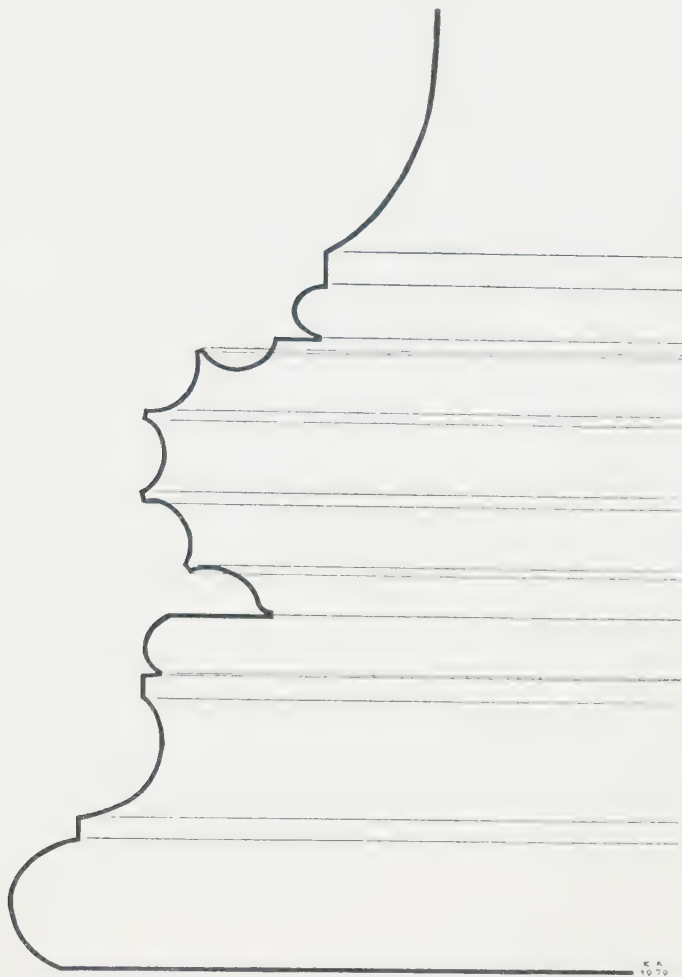


FIG. 7. Base Profile of Ionic Column (A 2891, 2892). Scale 1:4.

All parts of the Ionic columns are fresh and show little trace of weathering. This fact, combined with the free use of painted rather than carved ornament on the capitals, implies an interior use. The difference in height among the columns was presumably intended to take up a difference in floor level within the building. It is to be noted that all three shafts are uniform in upper diameter.

The one preserved base, which belongs to one of the shorter columns, measures 0.34 m. in height, the shorter shafts 5.18 m., the taller shaft 5.98 m., the capitals 0.35 m. The total height of the shorter columns was thus 5.87 m., of the taller 6.67 m.

The lower diameter of the shorter column is 0.824 m., of the taller 0.854 m.; the upper diameter is uniformly 0.68 m. Both sets of columns have stocky proportions, the height of the shorter pair being 7.12 lower diameters, of the taller 7.81. The proportions of the taller were thus almost identical with those of Athena Nike (7.82 l.d.), the stoutest hitherto known of Attic Ionic columns from buildings of the 5th century.

In the one column that has been re-assembled (Pl. 77, a) it has been possible to measure the entasis. The outward curvature from the straight line in the side of the shaft reaches a maximum of 0.003 m. at a height of 1.55 m. This results in a curve more delicate even than those in the north porch of the Erechtheion and in the Ionic columns of the Propylaia which are credited with the slightest entasis among columns hitherto known.³⁶

The base is cut from two pieces of marble (Fig. 7). The profile of the lower comprises a scotia between two tori, the upper torus being much smaller than the lower. The upper member is a disk with horizontal fluting. There is no cutting for an empolion in the top of this base, nor in the bottom of the related shaft; the other two shafts, however, one short and one long, have each a cutting in the bottom.

The shafts were built up each of four drums with empolia between (Pls. 76, b, 77, a). The flutes number twenty rather than the normal twenty-four. In one of the columns, that which has been re-erected, deep vertical slots were cut in the bottom of the flutes: two diametrically opposite one another in the second drum from the bottom; two in the third drum also diametrically opposite; four in the top drum set at intervals of 90° from one another. These cuttings resemble those normally employed for the fastening of grilles in the pronaos or opisthodomos of a temple. In the newly found column, however, they could scarcely have served this purpose; apart from the absence of corresponding cuttings in the other columns of the series, the cuttings in the various drums do not align with one another nor with the capital.

The two surviving capitals both come from the shorter columns.³⁷ On each capital

³⁶ W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, London, 1950, pp. 168 f.

³⁷ The major dimensions of A 2972 are as follows:

Overall length	1.240 m.
Overall width	0.794 m.
Width between faces of volutes	0.714 m.
Overall height	0.458 m.
Height of central part	0.350 m.
Interval between eyes, center to center.....	0.804 m.
Width of volute	0.370 m.
Diameter of resting surface	0.680 m.
Abacus: length	0.936 m.
width	0.764 m.
height	0.050 m.

There are some slight and insignificant differences in the dimensions of the two capitals.

above the echinus there is a vertical fascia which is decorated on A 2973 with a normal maeander, on A 2972 with a very unusual design which might be regarded as a hybrid between the maeander and the wave pattern (Pl. 77, b, c). Whereas in A 2972 the abacus has a fascia above the ovolo, A 2973 has the single ovolo profile of "normal" Ionic. Both capitals were left somewhat rough on top. A 2972 has two pry-holes in its top for the setting of the architrave; A 2973 has none.

The ornament of the capitals was partly carved, partly painted. The volutes, including their eyes, the palmettes at the inner angles of the volutes and the three half rounds on the bolster were rendered plastically. But the egg and dart on both echinus and abacus and the maeander pattern above the echinus were painted. Paint was used also to strengthen the outlines of the volutes and palmettes.

The principal colors employed were red and blue. They were combined in slightly different ways on the two capitals. Thus on A 2972 the eggs on the echinus are red against a blue background, on A 2973 the eggs are blue against a background of uncertain color, and whereas on A 2972 the eyes have red centers ringed with blue, on A 2973 the centers are blue ringed with red. The alternate squares in the saltire panels of A 2972 are black and white; but no black could be detected in the corresponding places on A 2973. The eggs on the abacus of both capitals are blue.

The new columns are valuable as illustrations of the Ionic style in Attica just before it attained its canonical form. Thus in the base, although the lower part alone contains the three elements (scotia between two tori) that were shortly to constitute the normal Attic base, the designer could not refrain from superimposing a fluted disk of large scale, an inheritance presumably from Asiatic Ionic. The base resembles that used by Mnesikles in the interior of the Propylaia in having four elements. This resulted in a relatively great height for both bases, but in the relative sizes of the tori the Mnesiklean design is more advanced. The lesser flare of the Propylaia bases may be due to the purely practical necessity for conserving floor space in a building that must at times have been subject to a heavy flow of traffic. In its use of a very small torus in combination with a larger torus the new base finds a parallel in the Nike Temple; but in the Nike Temple this feature was presumably copied more or less directly from the Temple by the Ilissos (anta) which in turn may have been inspired by the Stoa of the Athenians at Delphi.

The newly found capitals also show a number of pre-Mnesiklean features: the employment of three rather than four hoops on the bolster, the simple profile of the ridge outlining the volute, above all the retention of the vertical fascia above the echinus which is such a characteristic feature of a considerable group of Attic capitals that are commonly dated before the middle of the 5th century.⁸⁸ In all these respects

⁸⁸ A number of Ionic capitals with painted fascia above the echinus have come to light in the course of the Agora excavations, all from unknown buildings; they and the newly found capitals will be the object of a special study.

our capitals would appear to be typologically earlier than those of the Propylaia. Yet they are so close to the capitals of the Temple by the Ilissos, of the Nike Temple and of the Propylaia in general proportions, in the profile of their mouldings and in the treatment of such details as the palmettes that there can be no question of any great difference in actual date. In a field where well dated comparative material is so scanty, and where the predilections of the individual architect might still count for much, it would seem rash to attempt greater precision on the basis of the available evidence. We shall scarcely go wrong, however, in assigning the new columns to the third quarter of the 5th century and to the Periclean school. As to the building for which the columns were designed we have no knowledge save the little that can be derived from the columns themselves.

The later history of the columns is equally tantalizing. As already observed, mason's marks point to an earlier re-use before the final employment in the tower. The only evidence available for dating this first re-use is provided by the letter forms of the mason's marks. The shape of the letters, as also the restrained use of apices, points to the early Roman period; close parallels might be cited from the time of Augustus.³⁹ We have no clue as to where the building stood in its intermediate period.

Apart from a few inconsiderable fragments of inscriptions, one important document had been incorporated in the tower. It is a list of members from various demes inscribed on the end of a block from a pier-like pedestal of the 4th century B.C. (I 1647). Since our block, though complete, contains neither the beginning nor the end of the inscription, the text had clearly been spread over at least three blocks.

The same tower of the Late Roman Fortification yielded also a number of fragmentary statue bases, two of which are noteworthy. The first (A 3001) was rectangular in plan (Fig. 8). There remain only a few fragments from its crowning member of black Eleusinian limestone. A corner fragment is illustrated. The block, with a total height of 0.167 m., had been set down to about half its depth in a socket

³⁹ Both the character of the lettering and the care with which the work was done recall the mason's marks on the Temple of Ares, the transplanting of which is dated by a concatenation of circumstances in the Augustan period (*Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 47-54). In the Temple of Ares the letters were engraved in the actual course of demolition; each set of letters was cut in the top surface of the block after the removal of the block above so that on re-assembly the letters were concealed. In the case of our columns, however, the marking was done before demolition began and hence inevitably on visible surfaces; the artisan depended on the small scale of his letters, which are on the average only 0.025 m. high, and on careful placing to keep the marks unobtrusive. The two sets of mason's marks are also different in the actual system of notation. Whereas in our columns a single series of single letters was employed for a whole group of members, in the Temple of Ares each mason's mark was either double or triple, recording two or three of the following elements: the side of the building, the number of the course, the position of the individual block in its course. In view of these differences between the two systems of marking, the two operations would seem to have been carried out under different directions, though they may nevertheless have been contemporary.

in the top of the die of the pedestal. The exposed upper part of its face flared outward in a gentle curve. In the joint surface on either side is a horizontal slot that widens inward and that was intended presumably for fastening the vertical facing of the pedestal. This treatment of the crowning member, which assured adequate thickness for the support of the statue while keeping the profiled face of dark stone to an appropriate height, may be paralleled in the Temple of Hephaistos in Athens (421-415 B.C.),⁴⁰ in the Temple of the Athenians on Delos (425-417 B.C.),⁴¹ and in the Tholos at Delphi (late 5th or early 4th century B.C.).⁴² The fresh condition of our

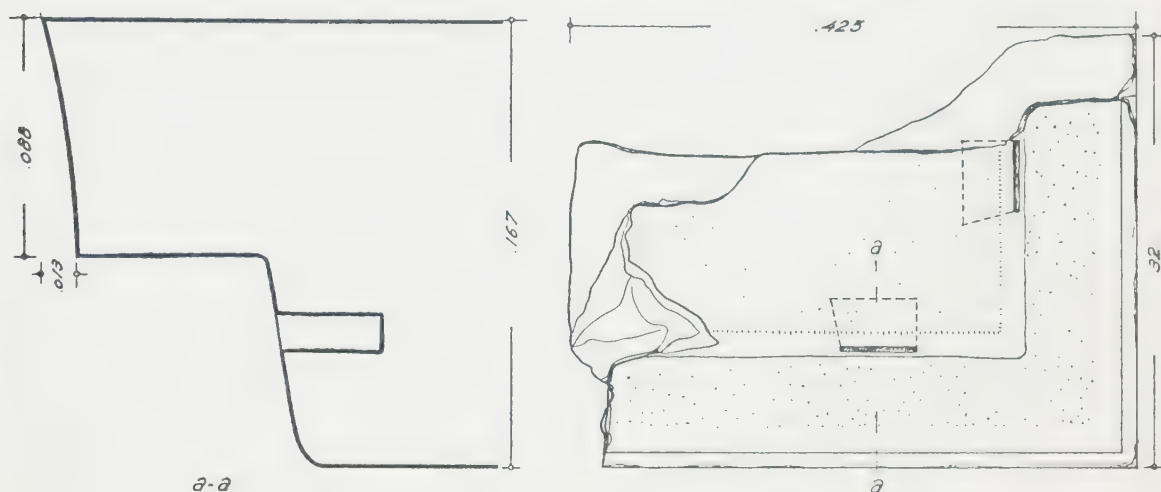


FIG. 8. Crowning Member of Statue Base of Eleusinian Limestone (A 3001).
Section and Plan of Underside.

fragments indicates that the pedestal stood under shelter. The use of Eleusinian limestone⁴³ as well as the exquisite quality of the workmanship leave no doubt that the base stood in some building of importance, in all probability a temple.⁴⁴

The second base from the tower (A 2974) was round with a maximum diameter of 1.26 m. and height of 0.56 m. (Fig. 9). It had been reduced to small fragments by the tower builders for use in chinking their foundations. The material is a slightly clouded gray marble, probably Hymettian. The die has a slight upward taper termi-

⁴⁰ *Hesperia*, Suppl. V, 1941, pp. 105-110, figs. 38-40.

⁴¹ *Exploration Archéologique de Délos*, XII, *Les Temples d'Apollon*, pp. 189-194, figs. 245-250, pls. XVII, XXIV.

⁴² *Fouilles de Delphes*, II, *Athens Pronaia*, 2, pp. 19 f., pl. XXI, f.

⁴³ On the use of dark stone cf. L. T. Shoe, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, pp. 340-352.

⁴⁴ Two possibilities that come to mind are the Temple of Ares and the Temple of Demeter at Thorikos from which so much other material was taken by the builders of our Southeast Temple. The evidence now available, however, does not permit anything more than mere conjecture.

nating above in a cyma reversa with a base fillet, below in an apophyge which clearly calls for another moulded member below. The top of the base is finished smooth and flat. In the original underside is a rectangular sinking that measures 0.39 x 0.775 m. with a depth of 0.09 to 0.12 m., suitable, that is, to receive the plinth of a

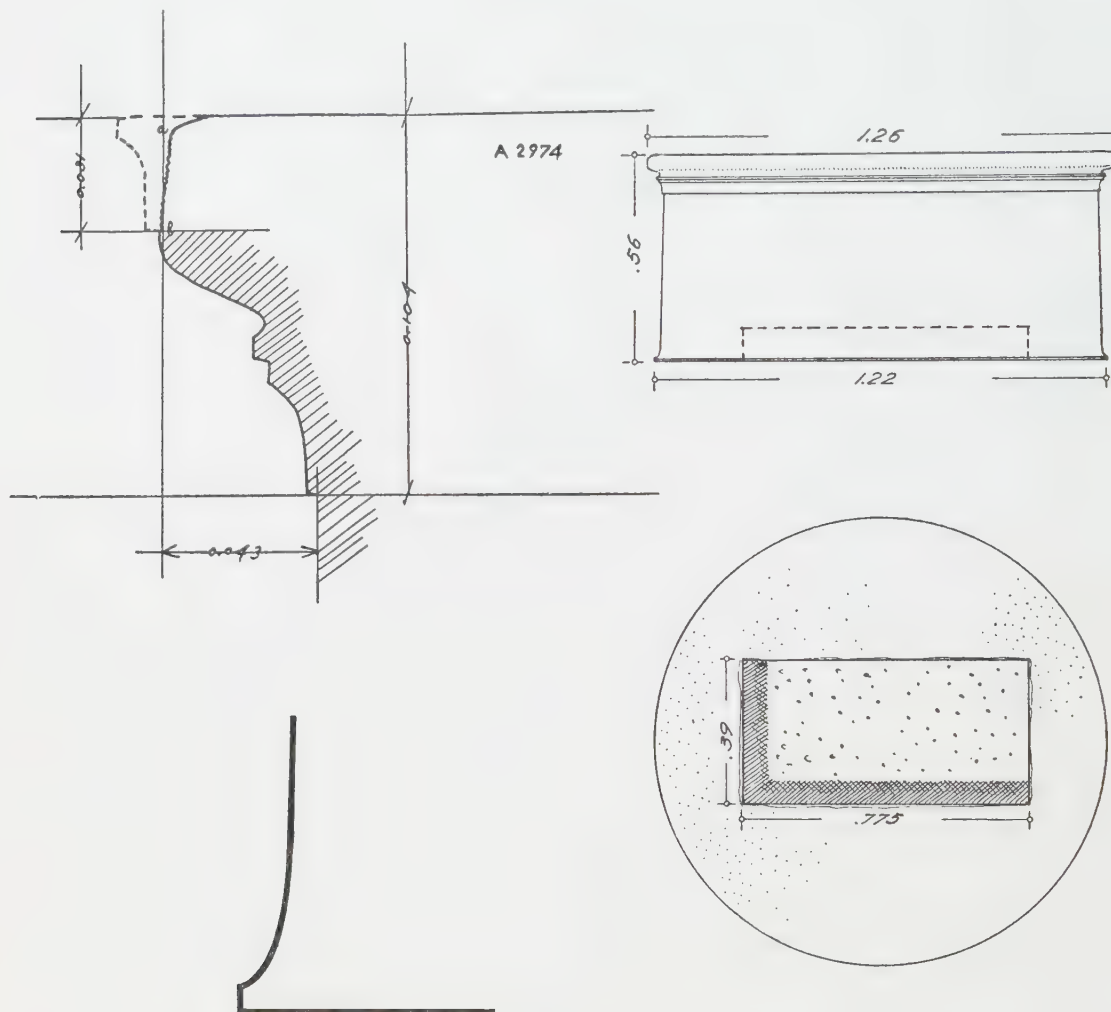


FIG. 9. Round Monument Base (A 2974). Mouldings, Elevation and Plan of Original Underside.

large statue. It would appear, therefore, that the marble had been re-used. Having become separated from the moulded member below it was turned upside down so that the original crowning moulding became a base moulding. The upper part of that crowning moulding, presumably a cavetto above the cyma reversa, was cut away by the re-users, probably because it had been found by them in a damaged condition. We have no clue as to the original use of the pedestal, not even as to whether it was an altar

or a statue base. Its scale, however, and the quality of its workmanship point to a monument of some importance.

AREA BEHIND THE NORTH END OF THE STOA OF ATTALOS

The removal of a single large house of the late 19th century has greatly improved the view of the north end of the Stoa (Pl. 79, a). The operation has also brought to light an imposing section of the Late Roman Fortification which is now visible to a height of 7.75 m. This fortification, built in the late 3rd century after Christ, rests on top of the foundations for the Square Peristyle of the 4th century B.C. that preceded the Stoa of Attalos on the site. The area to the north of this wall has been left at a level just below the top of the foundations of the 4th century B.C., but exploratory trenches were carried down to bedrock, an additional depth of 4 meters.

It is now clear that the ancient road which issued from the northeast corner of the Agora and skirted the north end of the Stoa continued in use through the Byzantine period. Deep soundings revealed foundations of buildings of the Hellenistic, late Roman and Byzantine periods along the north edge of this road. All were extremely ruinous and would scarcely merit complete excavation in such a confined area.

The results of this limited operation have been valuable in both their positive and negative aspects for a better understanding of a significant point in the topography of the city.

SOUTH STOA II

This long narrow colonnade, dating from the middle of the 2nd century B.C. and closing the south side of the Agora, had been cleared in the campaigns of 1936, 1952 and 1953.⁴⁵ The earlier excavation had stopped, however, at the level of late antiquity. In the summer of 1959 an ancient accumulation as much as 1.00 m. in depth was removed from the square in front of the building and two transverse trenches were opened to test the stratification within the Stoa (Fig. 4; Pl. 78, a).

A closer examination of the surviving parts of the Stoa has shown that the building was constructed of re-used material drawn from the Square Peristyle that had stood at the northeast corner of the Agora until demolished to make way for the Stoa of Attalos.⁴⁶ Among the certainly re-used elements are the stylobate and second step, the Doric columns and entablature, the back wall and certain interior foundations. The inter-columniation of the original building (3.006 m.) was retained, as also the width of the colonnade measured from the face of the back wall to the front of the stylobate (8.50 m.). With the help of a number of very small fragments found

⁴⁵ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 357 f.; XXII, 1953, pp. 37 f.; XXIII, 1954, pp. 48-50.

⁴⁶ *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 101; XXIII, 1954, pp. 60 f.

in front of the building (Pl. 78, b), it has been possible to recognize all the elements of the façade and to assign to it numerous larger pieces of various members that have been found at widely scattered points throughout the excavation and even as far afield as the Market of Caesar and Augustus.⁴⁷ The material is distinctive: a hard, travertine-like, gray poros that was used in Athens especially in the 4th century B.C.

These newly recovered architectural members, especially the mouldings of the cornice, will help greatly toward a more precise dating of the Square Peristyle. Their evidence goes far to confirm a date in the time of Lykourgos (338-326 B.C.) for the inception of the building program. The pottery and stamped amphora handles found in undisturbed contexts beneath the floor of South Stoa II correspond precisely with similar material from the pillaged foundation trenches of the Square Peristyle beneath the Stoa of Attalos. In both cases the latest amphora handles are of the period 167-146 B.C.⁴⁸ It appears therefore that when the Square Peristyle was demolished to make way for the Stoa of Attalos its material was carted southward and incorporated in South Stoa II. It also follows that the Stoa of Attalos and South Stoa II are very closely contemporary, dating from the years around the very middle of the 2nd century B.C. In this connection it is worth recalling that South Stoa II was the third element in the series of colonnades thrown up around the lesser square of the Agora in the course of the 2nd century, the Middle Stoa being the first and the East Stoa the second; the whole program seems to have been completed within about a quarter of a century.

Some startling discoveries were made in the course of the season's work as to the later history of South Stoa II. Throughout the eastern half of the building and over a considerable area in the open square to the north have been observed abundant traces of iron working. The material consists of masses of iron slag together with ash and charcoal. An especially distinctive concentration came to light immediately in front of the building at a distance of about 10 meters from its east end. Here a pit had been dug with some care through the gravelled floor of the square into the soft bedrock. It was rectangular in plan, measuring 2.50 x 4.50 m. with a maximum depth of 0.80 m.; its floor sloped down irregularly from east to west. After use the pit had been filled with lumps of iron slag and a great quantity of ash and charcoal; this material had been supplemented with a miscellaneous assortment of unworked stone and fragmentary ancient marbles, including pieces of two marble benches (A 2910), a fragment of a marble table of offerings with a dedication to Aphrodite (I 6952), and a fragmentary marble cinerary urn. Above this filling the floor of the square had been reconstituted at approximately its original level with a packing of field stones.

⁴⁷ To this series belongs a set of Doric frieze blocks undercut at the ends to permit of cantilevered construction; they are now incorporated in a late wall in the Market of Caesar and Augustus; *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, p. 302 (H. S. Robinson), p. 383 (W. B. Dinsmoor).

⁴⁸ I am indebted to Miss Virginia Grace for the analysis of the two groups of amphora handles.

The exact purpose of the pit is not clear; the comparative freshness of its walls would seem to preclude its having been used as an actual furnace, yet the presence of so much slag and charcoal indicates that smelting had been carried on in the immediate vicinity.

The pottery and amphora handles found in the pit point to a date in the second half of the 1st century after Christ for the iron working.⁴⁹

The iron workers, having closed down their establishment, were succeeded by marble workers who have left evidence of their activity in the eastern part of South Stoa II, in the East Stoa and throughout the eastern end of the lesser Agora square.

The remains left behind by the marble workers were of two sorts: layers of white marble chips, and laminated deposits of sludge from the sawing and polishing of marble. The marble chips were most abundant in the northern part of the square in front of the Stoa. The greatest concentration of sludge came to light in the south-east corner of the square, but it occurred in lesser quantities also within both South Stoa II and the East Stoa. The layers of chips and sludge interlocked at many points proving that the various operations represented by these materials were going on simultaneously. The sludge was like very fine sand full of glittering crystals; for the most part it was compacted to a rock-like consistency. Its color varied: slate gray, dark and light yellow, occasionally white. This substance had been deposited in layers over considerable areas and to a depth of 0.20, 0.50 or even 0.75 m.; here and there it occurred in round pockets set down in the floor, 0.30 m. or so in diameter, the walls of which had become thickly coated.

These deposits are of the same nature as those to be seen in the numerous marble-working establishments outside modern Athens where the cutting is done with abrasive sand actuated by iron saws; the sludge formed of the finely ground sand and powdered marble is carried off by a constant stream of water to be deposited in layers in the adjacent yard or field. For the identification of the activity that went on in the Agora additional evidence of various sorts was yielded by the excavation. In the tops of three large bedding blocks set down in the mosaic floor of the East Stoa and originally designed to support tables are numerous saw cuts; these must have been made after the removal of the tables when the bedding blocks were found to be a convenient place to set up blocks of marble for sawing. Just to the east of the bedding blocks are two large shallow water basins, one within the east aisle of the East Stoa, one on the terrace in front of the Stoa; rudely constructed with floors of terracotta tile and rubble walls, they most likely belong to the period of the marble workers. Here and there in the sludge lay bits of marble and stone sawn for use as veneer, usually broken edges of slabs fresh from the saw, some of white Pentelic, others of variegated stone (red and yellow). A marble hand (S 3748) and a marble finger (S 3749), also from the sludge, are so fresh that they would seem to have been broken from statues in

⁴⁹ Professor H. S. Robinson has kindly examined and given his expert opinion on the relevant pottery.

process of carving. Several unfinished marble basins found in front of the Stoa may also be products of the local industry; a characteristic example (ST 695; diameter 0.40 m.) is illustrated in Plate 78, c.

The date of the marble working is given by the pottery and amphora handles found among the chips and the sludge. This material is appreciably later than that associated with the iron working; it may be assigned to the first half of the 2nd century after Christ.

The extent of the deposits left by the marble workers and the variety of their products would appear to rule out the possibility that the establishment was set up to meet the needs of any specific building project of the time. It would seem rather to have been a regular commercial marble works that functioned in this area for a generation or more, meeting the varied needs of the district in worked marble and stone.

One may well ask about the state of the South Stoa at the time of these industrial activities. It is hard to believe that such things should have gone on within and immediately in front of the old building while it was still intact. The stratification, moreover, shows that in the 2nd century after Christ the level of the area in front of the Stoa was allowed to rise until it reached the top of the stylobate; thereafter the levels within and without the building continued to rise concurrently until the surface was as much as 0.40 m. above the stylobate, a continuous floor sloping down gently toward the north. This phenomenon is most readily intelligible on the assumption that the deposit formed after the removal of the colonnade. Among the many small scraps from the entablature of the Stoa that came to light in front of the building some were found in contexts of the 1st and 2nd centuries after Christ. One small fragment from the cornice of the Stoa is incorporated in the south wall of the Library of Pantainos, a building which dates from about A.D. 100. We must believe, therefore, that the façade of the Stoa had been dismantled before the end of the 1st century after Christ. The steps, however, were left in the front of South Stoa II; the excavation showed that they were removed only in late antiquity. The back wall of the Stoa was in large part demolished but was reconstructed in concrete toward the middle of the 2nd century after Christ to serve as a retaining wall, perhaps also to support the continuation of the Hadrianic aqueduct.⁵⁰ There is nothing to show that the façade of the Stoa was ever restored.

The results of the season's work have complicated the question as to the function of South Stoa II and its neighbors, viz. the Middle and the East Stoa, all three of which were clearly erected as parts of a program with the object of creating a closed complex in the south part of the Agora. It had been supposed previously that the lesser square thus constituted was intended primarily as a commercial market place,

⁵⁰ *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, p. 97, pl. XVI.

and it has for long been designated as such on the restored plans of the Agora.⁵¹ It must be frankly admitted, however, that the further exploration of the area has given no encouragement to that hypothesis: no closed shops, no trace of counters, booths or stalls, no weights, measures or other paraphernalia appropriate to a market place. The purpose of the complex must accordingly be reconsidered; in the meantime the area has been designated by the non-committal name of the "South Square."⁵²

CONSERVATION, LANDSCAPING, MUSEUM INSTALLATION

Conservation was carried out in the course of the year on a number of monuments in the area. In the temple of Hephaistos an ancient wall block was put back in place above the doorway of the Christian period in the west end wall, and the south side of this doorway was filled out. The peristyle was levelled with a filling of earth and surfaced with crushed stone which makes the building more convenient and safe for the visitor without seriously hindering any scholar who may wish to re-examine the foundations. The remains of the public water clock erected in the 4th century B.C. against the north face of the Heliaia were protected against erosion by a retaining wall. The large building of the late Roman period to the north of the Temple of Ares was cleaned and its foundations were filled out in such a way as to make the plan intelligible.

On the completion of excavation at the southeast corner of the Agora a new entrance was arranged at this point to facilitate communication between the Agora and the Acropolis. A small parking lot was established near this entrance, to the south of the church of the Holy Apostles, for the convenience of visitors to the Stoa of Attalos. Retaining walls and fences were erected along the eastern limits of the excavations as defined by the season's digging.

The new retaining walls, fences and parking lot were screened by the planting of shrubs, especially oleander and buckthorn. Planting was also carried out on the lower slopes of the Areopagus where exploration has been completed. The trees used here were pine, cypress and olive, so that this area, lying outside the Agora proper, will become continuous with the existing park on the upper slopes of the Areopagus

⁵¹ *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 35-38; XXIII, 1954, pp. 48-51.

⁵² Among the possibilities to be taken into account is some connection with the law courts. This is suggested by various considerations: the inclusion in the complex of the structure that has been identified, albeit tentatively, with the Heliaia (*Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 33-39); the fact that South Stoa II evidently replaced South Stoa I which has some claim to identification as the Thesmotheteion (*Ibid.*, p. 45, note 14); the use in South Stoa II of material from the Square Peristyle which replaced a group of buildings that were undoubtedly law courts and so was itself in all probability a law court (*Ibid.*, pp. 58-61); the discovery along the north side of the Middle Stoa of several kleroteria or allotment machines of approximately the same date as the Stoa (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 205, no. V, p. 206, no. VI, p. 207, no. VIII, p. 207, no. IX, p. 209, no. XI).

and Acropolis.⁵³ Slight adjustments were also made in the light of experience to the paths and planting around the Temple of Hephaistos and the amenities were augmented by the erection of a drinking fountain near the entrance.⁵⁴

With the completion of excavation behind the Stoa of Attalos it became possible to arrange in that area the many hundreds of ancient marbles from the Stoa which could not be incorporated in the reconstruction of the building (Pl. 79, b). The heavier blocks have been laid out by categories on the ground; the more delicate members have been placed on shelving of reinforced concrete set unobtrusively against the face of the high scarp behind the building. The scholarly visitor now has ready access to this great mass of material on which the reconstruction of the Stoa is so largely based.⁵⁵

Within the Stoa of Attalos work continued on the installation of ancient marbles. Practically all the sculpture suitable for public display has now been provided with pedestals,⁵⁶ and one of the complete Ionic columns extracted in 1959 from the Late Roman Fortification (above, pp. 351-356) has been erected in the stairwell at the south end of the Stoa in a position where it is sheltered from the elements but at the same time readily accessible to all visitors (Pl. 77, a).

In the course of the year several additions have been made to the model of the Agora, scale 1:200, on display in the balcony of the Stoa of Attalos. The Library of Pantainos, completed in the previous year, has been put in place at the south end of the Stoa of Attalos (Pl. 79, c). The Northeast Stoa and the small round building in front of the Stoa of Attalos, now identified as a Fountain House of the Antonine Period, have been modelled and inserted in their places. The model of the Southwest Fountain House has been made but not yet placed. The photograph of the model (Pl. 79, d) will, however, assist in understanding the design of this large and interesting fountain house of the late 5th century B.C. The modelling continues to be done by Chr. Mammelis under the direction of John Travlos.

On the back wall of one of the ancient shops in the Stoa of Attalos at a point opposite the entrance to the building has been erected a series of three bronze plaques

⁵³ Much of the nursery stock for the new planting was generously contributed by the *Philodasiki Enosis Athenon* through the good offices of the President of the Society, Mrs. K. A. Argyropoulos. Mr. E. Vathis of the Superior School of Agriculture, who has been retained in an advisory capacity, has also been most helpful with counsel regarding both the maintenance and extension of the Agora park.

⁵⁴ The fountain is a contribution from Mr. Charles L. Booth, General Manager of the Athens Water Company, whose long-standing interest has meant so much to the development of the Agora park. We are indebted also to the Athens Water Company for technical assistance in the extension of the water system within the Agora necessitated by the new planting.

⁵⁵ The construction of the shelving and the arrangement of the marbles were carried out under the immediate supervision of John Travlos.

⁵⁶ Evelyn B. Harrison has continued to supervise the installation of sculpture.

commemorating the excavation of the Agora and the reconstruction of the Stoa, and listing the names of those who participated in and contributed to those enterprises.⁵⁷ The plaques were unveiled on August 25, 1959, at the close of a ceremony in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the commencement of exploration in the Agora; representatives of the Greek Archaeological Society and of the German Archaeological Institute spoke on this occasion of the part played by those organizations in the earlier phases of the exploration.

MISCELLANEOUS FINDS

Some 150 inscriptions were found in the course of the season's work, most of them in the area of the Eleusinion. A dozen of the new finds represent additional fragments of documents already known.

Mention has been made above (p. 338) of the ten inscriptions that have special relevance to the Eleusinion. Among the other new stones may be noted another large fragment of a known casualty list from one of the last years of the Peloponnesian War (I 1008, I 6955);⁵⁸ a large fragment containing a list of the members of the Council from a stele of which many pieces had previously been found and which has been dated to *ca.* 303/2 B.C. (I 4720),⁵⁹ a fragment of an opisthographic stele of Roman times listing Areopagites of the tribe Kekropis (I 6889), and a fragment of an imperial letter from the reign of Commodus (I 6935).

Among a number of interesting though very fragmentary examples of black-figure pottery from the construction filling of the temple in the Eleusinion may be noted an amphora of the mid 6th century (P 26632, 26651). Only small scraps remain of the two panel pictures, but one of these, though enigmatic in theme, is interesting as an early representation of a Doric building (Pl. 80, a). The treatment of the columns and entablature is close to that of the two buildings illustrated on the François Vase, but our draughtsman has shown greater daring than Klitias in his handling of the roof. The individual tiles, both pan and cover, are drawn, and are further differentiated by the alternate use of black and red. As on the "Olive Tree Pediment" the sloping top line presumably implies a hipped roof. In view of the comparative prominence of the architecture over the draped male figure that stands between the columns, the episode would appear to be one in which a building played an important part.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ The cost of the plaques was defrayed by Mr. Ward M. Canaday, President of the Board of Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

⁵⁸ *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 82-91; XII, 1943, pp. 37-48. The new fragment, which joins the top of old Fragment B, preserves the heading for the tribe Leontis and records the names of two ἀρχοντες τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, of two taxiarchs and of four trierarchs.

⁵⁹ *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 46.

⁶⁰ Cf. Bushor's observations on the state of mind of the vase painter when representing archi-

Of several wells that were cleared in the course of the season mention may be made of one which was opened between the Mint and the east to west road that bordered the south side of the Mint. This is one of a number of wells of the Hellenistic and Roman periods which have come to light along both the north and south borders of this busy thoroughfare; they served the houses and small shops that lined the street, the presumption being that the courtyards of those establishments were too small to permit the digging of a well. The well that was cleared this year, like several others of the series, had been in use for a very long time, from the latter part of the 2nd into the 6th century after Christ. The contents were for the most part of a purely domestic character, great quantities of household pottery, scraps of wood, fruit stones, and the bones of animals, especially boar and goat.

Of particular interest among the pottery from the well is the lower part of a large amphora-like vessel (P 26600; Pl. 80, d).⁶¹ That it was no ordinary household container is clear from the fact that a round aperture 0.065 m. in diameter was left in its bottom by the potter. Its unusual character is further confirmed by the representations on its wall. On one side stands a nude male figure, holding some slender object in his left hand. On the opposite side is preserved the lower part of a long-robed figure, presumably female. The figures were separated from one another by two columns, the better preserved of which is decorated with a vague floral design suggesting an acanthus column. A non-joining fragment from high on the wall preserves a band of palmettes. The base is elaborately profiled and further adorned with rows of short oblique bars. Nothing remains of the mouth. The context provided by the well, as also the style of the floral ornament, would point to a date in the early part of the 4th century after Christ.⁶² As to the purpose of the vase, one can scarcely avoid association with the Panathenaics; the male figure is clearly an athlete bearing the palm of victory, and the female figure may be a last pitiful representation of Athena. If it is indeed to be thought of as a prize vase, its function, in view of the open bottom, must be considered as purely symbolic. There is reason to believe, however, that the Panathenaic Festival persisted into the 5th century of our era, and prizes presumably continued to be given.⁶³ Though the incomplete state of the vase

tectural forms; *Ath. Mitt.*, XLVII, 1922, pp. 81-91 (à propos of the "Olive Tree Pediment" on the Acropolis).

⁶¹ Pres. H. 0.34 m. Fine buff clay. The figures are painted in brown on a light ground and the wall below the figured panels is also brown. Interior details on the figures are incised. White paint was used for the floral ornaments, for the dots on the base and for a dotted ground line below the figures.

⁶² The floral ornament may be paralleled on household vases of the late 3rd and early 4th centuries; *Athenian Agora*, V, pl. 37.

⁶³ On Panathenaics in the Hellenistic and Roman periods cf. G. R. Edwards, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 320-349. On a mosaic of the latter part of the 1st century after Christ in Corinth an athlete bearing a palm branch appears in the company of Eutychia; O. Broneer, *Corinth*, I, iv, *The South Stoa*, Princeton, 1954, pp. 108 f., pl. 31 and color plate facing p. 108. The possibility cannot

imposes some degree of caution, we may with probability regard the piece as by far the latest known example of a series that had its beginning as early at least as 566 B.C., and one of the latest documents concerning the principal festival of the city of Athens.

Among a number of terracotta figurines from the well may be mentioned one of the 3rd century after Christ (T 3635), an actor clad in a long-sleeved, quilted garment white in color, his face and hand dark red, his hair tawny (Pl. 80, c).⁶⁴ The type corresponds to the description of the "leading servant" in Pollux (IV, 149): "The leading servant has a *spira* of yellowish red hair, he raises his eyebrows and frowns; he occupies the same position among the slaves as the leading old man among the free men."

Likewise from the level of the 3rd century in the well came a terracotta medallion with a representation of the triple-bodied Artemis Hekate in high relief (Pl. 80, e).⁶⁵ The disk is flat behind but has a moulded border in front and two holes for suspension at the top. Although much of one side is broken away, the figure may be supposed to have been symmetrical with the same three attributes in each triad of hands. The artist no doubt envisaged the figure as completely triple, i. e. with three heads, three bodies and six arms. The dress is a peplos with long overhang and prominent girdle; each head is crowned with a kalathos. The attributes in the hands are torch, whip, bow and arrow. To the left of the goddess stands a stag, to the right a dog. In the field, at the level of the goddess' heads, is a crescent moon.

The syncretism of the two goddesses, Artemis and Hekate, which is attested in Athens already by Aischylos, is here well illustrated by the attributes, the torch, the whip and the dog of Hekate, the bow, the arrow and the stag of Artemis.

Though hastily made from an already worn mould, the medallion must derive ultimately from an impressive work of the late 5th century B.C. In date and figure type it might well be thought to echo a work of Alkamenes who, according to Pausanias (II, 30, 2), was the first to render Hekate in triple form. The name of Alkamenes, however, is generally and perhaps correctly associated with the archaistic rendering which predominates among the innumerable little marble hekataia in the round that have been found especially in Athens.⁶⁶

be ruled out that the female figure on our vase also was some such personification; but in Athens, where the tradition of prize vases of amphora shape bearing the figure of Athena was so old and so consistent, the probabilities are all in favor of Athena.

One of the latest epigraphic documents relating to the Panathenaic Festival is *I.G.*, III², 3818 (*ante med. saec. V post*) in which one Plutarch is honored for three times paying the cost of conveying the sacred ship to the temple of Athena.

⁶⁴ H. 0.077 m. Light brown clay. Broken away below the waist. On the type cf. M. Bieber, *History of the Greek and Roman Theatre*, Princeton, 1939, p. 189, figs. 263-269; T. B. L. Webster, "The Masks of Greek Comedy," *Bulletin of the Rylands Library*, XXXII, 1949, p. 9.

⁶⁵ T 3637. Diam. 0.18 m. Traces of white paint on the figures.

⁶⁶ On this whole subject cf. T. Kraus, *Hekate*, Heidelberg, 1960, Ch. IV. Some of the more characteristic marble hekataia from the Agora are listed by Kraus, *op. cit.*, p. 173, A4-A14.

Since the well from which the medallion was recovered is only a short stone's throw from the crossroads shrine at the intersection of the Panathenaic Way and the east to west street, it is tempting to see some connection. More probably, however, the little *eikon* comes from some neighboring house. From a familiar passage in Aristophanes' *Wasps* (line 804) we know that hekataia were to be seen commonly above the doors of houses in Athens. Just as Hekate Epipyrgidia from her position beside the Temple of Wingless Victory kept watch over the entrance to the Acropolis, and Hekate-Artemis-Kalliste in her sanctuary outside the Dipylon controlled the approach to the city, so these lesser images were placed to protect the entrance to men's homes.

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NEW SCULPTURE FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA, 1959

(PLATES 81-86)

GOOD and interesting sculpture was unusually plentiful among the finds from the 1959 excavations in the Athenian Agora. Some of the most beautiful pieces are originals from the 5th century B.C., but the new discoveries also have much to tell about artistic activity in Athens during the Roman period. A selection only is presented in this report.¹

The earliest and perhaps the loveliest piece of all is a head made of Parian marble, a little over life size, which seems to have been broken from its statue in antiquity and re-used, perhaps more than once (Pl. 81, a, b).² The surface of the face, though mottled by brown stains, is little weathered, so that its subtlety can still be enjoyed. Flesh and features have been given a very fine abrasive finish with no suggestion of polish, and the natural translucency of the marble lends a gentle glow. The face is carved in large and simple forms but with a beautifully controlled outline and with a very delicate play of surface in the soft areas around the mouth. The goddess, for such she must be, though her name remains a mystery, wears a low stephane which ends on the sides above the ears. Irregular chisel marks on the headdress and coarse carving in the hair behind the ears which contrasts sharply with the softly varied treatment of the front hair suggest that some re-cutting was done in ancient times, probably to remedy damage that was suffered when the head was first broken from its statue. The back hair, now broken away, was apparently twisted into a mass that fell down the back of the neck as in the Artemis of Ariccia.³ The head shows no marked inclination, but it may be that it was originally meant to be seen in three-quarters view from the proper right, for the upper eyelid overlaps the lower at the outer corner of the right eye but not of the left.⁴

¹ The writer was able to study this sculpture during a visit to Athens in the summer and autumn of 1959 which was made possible by grants from the American Council of Learned Societies and the Council for Research in the Humanities of Columbia University.

² Inv. S 2094. Found June 30, 1959 in the core of the Late Roman Fortification (S 17). P.H. 0.28 m. The head was probably first carved in one piece with its statue, but after it was broken off, perhaps by accident, a round hole was drilled in the center of the neck for its reattachment. This contained no dowel or rust stains, but the two smaller holes fore and aft of it still held iron dowels. The head is too small to have belonged to the Parian marble statue described below, pp. 373-376.

³ Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pls. 756-757. Paribeni, *Museo Nazionale Romano, Sculture del V Secolo*, nos. 108, 109.

⁴ On the Laborde Head, from one of the pediments of the Parthenon, there is overlapping in

This must be the work of an Attic sculptor of the first rank from some time between 440 and 420 B.C. The impressionistic softness of the hair would be improbable before the time of the Parthenon frieze, and the expression of the face recalls some faces on the frieze, for example the Artemis of the east frieze. On the other hand, the low forehead and the wide eyes with sharply defined lids show no hint of the approach of fourth-century style. The face is not so plump in outline as typical Parthenon and post-Pheidian Attic female faces such as the Athena Parthenos, the Laborde Head, the Prokne of Alkmanenes and the Erechtheion caryatids, but it is shorter and has proportionately larger features than the "Lemnian Athena." A head in Berlin, which has sometimes been compared with the "Lemnia," though it is a later and warmer creation, resembles the Agora head in eyes and mouth.⁵

Most interesting is the evidence that our head was used as a model by copyists in Roman times. Three tiny pin-prick depressions have been worn into the finished surface in just the positions where a Roman sculptor placed the measuring points on a work that he was copying from a model, two in the forehead hair and one on the chin.⁶ It is not surprising that the head was copied, for it is a beautiful example of that quiet "classical" style that was always popular in Roman times for the heads of goddesses and the nobler female personifications. It must be from a sculptor's workshop, therefore, and not from a temple destroyed by the Herulians, that this head came into the Late Roman Fortification. A number of unfinished works were also found in the wall, and remains of marble workshops found just south of the road that bounds the south side of the Agora gave further evidence of the presence of sculptors in this area.⁷

the left eye but not in the right (cf. Becatti, *Problemi Fidiaci*, pl. 7 for the left side and *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art*, III, pl. 161 for the right). This, together with the more careful rendering of the left ear and the hair on the left side suggests that the head was made to be seen in three-quarters view from the proper left, and should therefore probably come from the right half of its pediment. The Agora head does not look like pedimental sculpture, being quite free of pedimental weathering. A diagonal view of the head is by no means unusual for free-standing statues.

⁵ Blümel, *Katalog*, K 173.

⁶ Compare the points on the unfinished "Eubouleus" head, Pl. 85, c, d. I owe this suggestion to Dorothy B. Thompson, who first noticed the holes.

⁷ Besides the unfinished "Eubouleus" (Pl. 85, c, d) and the relief of a man with horses (Pl. 84, c), unfinished works from the wall included several small statuettes: a Hermes, S 2080 (R 16); the feet of an Apollo with a kithara as support, S 2093 (S 17); a Dioskouros, S 2100 (S 17); two running figures of Artemis of the Rospigliosi type, S 2101-2 (S 17); a fragment of a female figure in peplos, S 2103 (S 17); an archaistic kriophoros roughly sketched in poros, S 2107 (S 17); and a female figure, perhaps Aphrodite, very roughly blocked out, S 2108 (S 17). Also from the wall are the shaft of an unfinished portrait herm, head missing, cuttings for herm-arms not yet made, S 2105 (S 17); a poros relief consisting of separate sketches, perhaps for metalwork, one of which shows two Erotes, S 2083 (S 17); and a tripod and snake, evidently a support for a statue of Apollo, about two-thirds life size, of the Lykeios type, S 2127 (R 15). These workshops south of the Agora are doubtless also the source of two unfinished pieces found just north of the

In the cella of the Southeast Temple described above by Homer Thompson (pp. 339-343) the excavator, Mrs. Thompson, found two large fragments of a colossal female statue in Pentelic marble. One piece is from the upper part of the torso and preserves cuttings for the separately attached head and left arm; the other extends from the hips to below the knees. These pieces are so heavy that moving them is difficult. Temporarily they have been set upright in place (Pl. 81, c) until a more sheltered location can be found for them.⁸ The great base whose core was found in place in the temple is too large to have been occupied by a single statue, but it would seem that the present statue, the only one not carried off, must have been the largest of those that stood there. Scheme and style recall the so-called Capitoline Demeter, a Roman copy of a late fifth-century work that has been associated with the name of Alkamenes.⁹ Of fifth-century originals, the caryatids of the Erechtheion are most similar.¹⁰

The goddess wears a peplos with an overfall below which appears the strongly arched edge of the kolpos drawn out over the belt. A bit of the kolpos may be seen on our larger fragment near the upper break on the proper right side. The lower part of the dress falls in fine long parallel folds that give the impression of a thin material. In the Agora statue there are more of these than in the Capitoline Demeter,

Eleusinion, the portrait herm (Pl. 86, d, e) and a roughly blocked-out head, S 2043 (T 18) made of the same coarse-grained marble as the "Eubouleus." For the evidence of marble-working south of the road, see above, p. 333.

⁸ Inv. S 2070 a (lower torso), P.H. 1.60 m., and b (upper torso), P.H. 1.00 m. Found under Byzantine wall in cella of Southeast Temple (Q 16). Back of both fragments completely broken away. Only bottoms of folds remain on upper portion. Surface of front folds fairly well preserved on lower portion. All surfaces somewhat weathered. Lime adhering and some traces of burning. Just as the fragments seemed to us too heavy to move easily, so they must have seemed to the men of late antiquity who built the lime-slaking pit that was found beside the fragments. Probably the statue had been toppled from its base, breaking with the fall into two fragments, from which the destroyers then chipped away small chunks to feed to the limekiln. Many little bits, edges of folds especially, were found in the surrounding earth. They clearly belong to the statue, but we have not succeeded in joining them to the surviving cores, probably because intervening portions are missing.

⁹ Stuart Jones, *Museo Capitolino*, Salone 24, pp. 290-291, pl. 70. Brunn-Bruckmann, 358. Petersen conjectured that the "Demeter" was a copy of the Hera of Alkamenes, the statue which Pausanias saw in a half-ruined temple between the Peiraeus and Athens (*Röm. Mitt.*, IV, 1889, pp. 65 ff.; Pausanias, I, 1, 5). Furtwängler, though doubtful of the identification with Hera, retained the connection with Alkamenes, comparing the head to that of the "Venus Genetrix" in which he saw, probably wrongly, the Aphrodite in the Gardens by Alkamenes (*Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, p. 82). A whole series of statues, generally similar in type but not identical in details, may be attached to the Capitoline Demeter. For a recent summary of opinions and bibliography see G. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi, le Sculture*, p. 42.

¹⁰ Schrader, *Pheidias*, pp. 195-196, discusses the relation of the caryatids to the Capitoline Demeter, which he sees as a middle term between the Prokne of Alkamenes and the caryatids. Dohrn, *Attische Plastik*, p. 67, denies that Prokne and caryatids are creations of the same master.

which is smaller in scale; the finish of the folds is finer and their carving more varied. The Demeter wears a cloak with the ends laid over her shoulders, the rest falling down her back. None of this survives on our statue, which has had the whole back surface, both upper and lower, chipped and split away. No doubt the projecting loops of drapery on the shoulders offered a good chopping-hold to the destroyer's pick, for both shoulders of the Agora statue have disappeared. What remains for us to see on the upper portion of our statue, besides the cutting for the neck, which shows the rhomboid neckline that the Demeter scheme demands, is only the bottoms of the folds below the neck and between the breasts. Here we find the same sweep of the folds toward the side of the supporting leg that we have on the Capitoline figure. The raised left arm of the Demeter explains why the sculptor of our figure chose to carve the left arm separately.

The original size of our statue can be only very roughly estimated, but even so it is clear that it was remarkably big. Measurements of the neck cutting and of the width of the statue at hip level indicate that the figure was about twice the size of the caryatids, that is, somewhere near 4 m. tall.¹¹

The size is unusual enough to suggest that a fragment of a right foot with a little of its plinth found in 1954 in a modern house wall in the same area must come from the same statue.¹² Scheme and scale both agree. The foot must have belonged to the weight-leg of a draped female statue, for the folds of the dress break over the instep just as they do in the caryatids.¹³

Two important questions remain unanswered, what divinity our statue represents, and whether it is an original fifth-century cult statue or a very fine Roman copy. The answers depend in part on the history of the temple in which the statue was found. Since Homer Thompson has discovered (above, p. 342) that the columns used for the pronaos of the temple are actually fifth-century Doric columns transported from the unfinished temple of Demeter and Kore at Thorikos, it is at least possible that the statue too was brought from Thorikos. The possibility is somewhat strengthened by the fact that the architectural style of the temple suggests a date around 420 B.C.,¹⁴ whereas the statue could well belong to the immediately following

¹¹ Neck cutting, distance from point in front to point on left shoulder, *ca.* 0.35 m. (same distance on second caryatid on west side, 0.17 m.). Width of statue just below preserved edge of kolpos on side *ca.* 1.08 m. (average width of maidens measured just below the overfall on the weight-leg side 0.535 m. The length of the overfall varies on the caryatids but the width is fairly constant in this part of the figure, so that small differences in height make virtually no difference in width). I am grateful to Höpfner of the German Institute in Athens for the measurements of the caryatids. Their heights without their plinths and cushions range from 2.004 m. to 2.029 m.

¹² Inv. S 1823, found in area Q 16. Broken off diagonally behind big toe, preserving first three toes, front of sandal sole and a little of the plinth to right and in front of foot.

¹³ The lower part of the Capitoline Demeter, being restored, is useless for comparison.

¹⁴ I owe this observation to W. B. Dinsmoor.

decade. This would confirm the identification of the type as Demeter, though it may possibly have represented someone else in its Roman re-use. The workmanship is good enough for a fifth-century original; no careless detail of form or finish betrays the copyist's hand.¹⁵ There is none of the empty, mechanical quality that would naturally result if an original on a smaller scale had been adapted to colossal size. If the statue is a copy, which seems at present the less likely alternative, the original was probably of the same colossal scale. This would explain why we have several adaptations but no exact replicas in the series of statues related to the Capitoline Demeter, which must itself be a reduced copy.

The tower of the Late Roman Fortification which contained the fine Ionic columns described above (pp. 351-356) also yielded a late fifth-century statue of flamboyant beauty (Pl. 82). It had been deliberately smashed into many fragments which were used as packing between the larger stones of the wall, but patient piecing together has recovered the pose and the main lines of movement.¹⁶ The figure, which is well over life size, stands in a swaying pose as if she had just taken a step and paused to look back. Her feet are placed diagonally on the plinth, but the upper torso is turned a little more frontally than the legs, and the head may well have turned still more, the glance following the direction of the trailing foot, so that the total movement

¹⁵ Two technical questions may be raised: (1) is the technique of attaching the head and left arm Roman rather than Greek? and (2) were marble statues of such large size made in the fifth century B.C.? For neither is there conclusive evidence. The head and neck were set into a cutting with approximately vertical walls and a flat bottom that sloped a little forward. The head was evidently held in place by its own weight, for the bottom of the cutting is rough-hammered (not smoothed and picked as for cement) and there is no dowel hole. Similar cuttings are found in Roman statues, but since two other forms, the flat-bottomed cutting with picking for cement and the concave rough cutting with dowel hole, are found both in Roman and in classical Greek works, it may well be that the present form also was known in both periods. The large square mortise for the arm may be found in the southeastern caryatid on the Erechtheion and in the Dionysos from the Choregic Monument of Thrasyllus. As for the size, the Nemesis of Rhamnous, though smaller than our figure, proves that cult statues considerably over life size were made in marble in the fifth century, and if we consider the difficulties that must have been overcome in producing such a work as the Poseidon for the west pediment of the Parthenon, we can hardly doubt that a simple draped statue on a still larger scale would have been within the Attic sculptors' powers.

¹⁶ Inv. S 1882. Parian marble. H. 1.83 m. Only the mid section of the torso, from midriff to hips, was preserved in a single large fragment. The rest, in smaller bits, served to fill the chinks between the Ionic column drums and capitals. Since three fragments had been found in earlier investigations of the same tower in 1933 (one appears to the right in the photograph in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 385, fig. 12), it may be that some of the missing chips were lost even earlier, before the start of excavations in our area. The surviving fragments join from plinth to neck, so that there is no doubt about the pose and movement of the statue, but since one fragment which supplies the connection in the region of the thighs is interior only, a gap appears on the surface. This has been filled with cement in order to give the necessary strength. The head, which was carved in one with the torso, is broken off at the neck. Both forearms were attached at the elbows by iron dowels. Front of left shoulder and left breast are entirely lacking.

was held in balance. A gentle wind blows the himation forward in undulating folds over the left thigh. A similar movement occurs in two figures of Aphrodite, one on a votive relief from the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Daphni, and one in a Judgment of Paris engraved and painted on ivory, found in a Scythian grave.¹⁷

The voluptuous torso in the transparent beltless chiton intensifies the impression that our goddess is in fact Aphrodite. A large Hellenistic statue found in the same tower in 1933 (evidently just above our statue, since fragments of the latter appeared at the same time, see above, note 16) is of a type that has been called both Artemis and Aphrodite but is clearly characterized as Aphrodite in a statuette found in Corinth.¹⁸ Shear conjectured that the Hellenistic statue might come from the Stoa of Attalos and represent Stratonike, the wife of Attalos II, but this seems less likely now that we know more about the rest of the material built into this part of the wall.¹⁹ Perhaps the two Aphrodites are votive statues from a temple, like the two seen by Pausanias in the Temple of Ares.²⁰ If ceiling beams and coffers found in adjacent parts of the wall came from the Temple of Ares, as W. B. Dinsmoor and M. H. McAllister have suggested,²¹ the statues might have the same source. Otherwise, they may more probably have belonged to the mysterious structure from which the Ionic columns came.

The pose of our fifth-century statue is very similar to that of the Hera Borghese, which resembles it also in the way that the himation encircles the hips, "like a great corolla out of which the torso rises," as Paola Zancani-Montuoro says of the Hera. The diagonal placement of our figure on its plinth suggests that Mme. Zancani is right in advocating a diagonal view for the Hera Borghese too.²² Also related to our statue, though somewhat earlier in style, is the Aphrodite in the Villa Doria Pamphili, a statue which shows its close descent from the Parthenon pediments.²³ The slack

¹⁷ The relief, Athens National Museum, no. 1597, Wide, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1910, p. 46, fig. 5; Svoronos, *Athener Nationalmuseum*, pl. CXXIX; Oikonomos, 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1923, p. 95, fig. 28. The ivory, Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, III, fig. 626. In both Eros appears, flying toward the left shoulder of the goddess on the relief, already perched there on the ivory. Our marble figure seems not to have held an Eros, for there are no traces on the back of the shoulder, and the marble would not have been strong enough to support one perched on the hand.

¹⁸ Johnson, *Corinth*, IX, p. 45, no. 53. There is an Eros on the back of the shoulder. Laurenzi, *Röm. Mitt.*, LIV, 1939, pp. 57 f., argues that the type was originally Rhodian and represented Artemis. Poulsen, on the other hand, in discussing a statuette of the type in Copenhagen, suggests that the Agora statue may be the original (*Catalogue of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek*, p. 227, no. 312a).

¹⁹ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 387: "Since architectural blocks from this stoa were used in the construction of the wall it is possible that the statue came from the same place."

²⁰ Pausanias, I, 8, 4.

²¹ Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 39-42; McAllister, *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 38-43.

²² *Bull. Comm.*, LXI, 1933, pp. 25-58, where the Hera Borghese is attributed to Agorakritos.

²³ Brunn-Bruckmann, pls. 538-539; copy from Tralles in Smyrna, Oikonomos, 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1923,

folds between the breasts of the Agora figure recall those on the Doria Pamphili Aphrodite, which derive in turn from the Aphrodite of the east pediment of the Parthenon, but the transparency of the chiton is much more advanced. Yet a stage later than our statue is the Tired Maenad ("la Stanca") of the reliefs in New York and Madrid.²⁴

There are close resemblances to the Nike Parapet in the rendering of many details of the drapery. The carving of the lower chiton folds is characterized by very deep-cut narrow furrows and by ridges variously refurrowed with the chisel, the "changing and Protean sharp edges of the stone" which Carpenter remarks in the work of his Nike Parapet 'Master A.'²⁵ The himation folds are equally fine and varied, but treated as rounded ridges without sharp chisel edges. The ridges that resemble inflated tubes, nicked where they bend, of which Carpenter speaks in comparing his 'Master B' with Paionios²⁶ are much in evidence. The most striking single motif in the drapery of our statue, the overfall caught up by the breeze and arching over the top of the right breast, appears not in the surviving figures of the Nike Parapet but in the Neo-Attic relief in Florence which is generally believed to be an adaptation of a Parapet slab.²⁷ Though the lower portion of the figure in which it appears has rightly been criticized as improbable,²⁸ the upper torso of this Florence Nike is so like our statue as to suggest that this part of the relief has been closely copied from a fifth-century original, probably a lost figure of the Parapet. The same motif recurs later in the akroteria from Epidauros.²⁹

If Carpenter is right in dating the Parapet to the Peace of Nikias (421-415 B.C.),³⁰ our statue probably belongs around 420 B.C. Standing in an unbroken line of

pp. 59 ff. Oikonomos, *op. cit.*, p. 95, identifies the Aphrodite of the relief from Daphni with this type, and Langlotz, *Phidiasprobleme*, p. 89, note 19, accepts the identification. Actually, since the figure of the relief is about midway between the Doria Pamphili Aphrodite and ours, it cannot be identified as either, but it serves to support the name Aphrodite for both types.

²⁴ Richter, *Catalogue of the Greek Sculptures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, pls. L-LI, no. 58.

²⁵ *The Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet*, p. 19. On our statue the outer sharp edges are mostly broken away, but the intricacy and variety of the carving can be seen in the furrows, enlivened by subsidiary small ridges.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 35.

²⁷ Mansuelli, *Le Sculture*, pp. 41 f., no. 16; Fuchs, *Die Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs* (*Jahrb., Ergänzungsheft XX*), pp. 12-17, pl. 2.

²⁸ Fuchs, *loc. cit.*

²⁹ J. Crome, *Die Skulpturen des Asklepiostempels von Epidauros*, pls. 7-8.

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 80-82. Since the Parapet is presumably part of the plan for the temple and sanctuary as revised in the 420's (cf. Dinsmoor, *Architecture of Ancient Greece*, p. 185, note 4), there is no proof that work on it was not begun before 421, but since only the most advanced of the work on the frieze of the temple is similar to the general style of the Parapet, Carpenter's date seems about right. The date in the last decade still favored by many German scholars has little to recommend it, since it creates a gap between temple and Parapet which does not appear in the

descent (through the Berlin Aphrodite⁸¹ and the Doria Aphrodite) from the Aphrodite of the Parthenon pediments, it belongs already to the generation of the Hera Borghese, the Rhamnous base, and the Nike Parapet. Its extraordinary richness of movement and detail, comparable to the most flamboyant of the Parapet Nikai and to works of the Meidias Painter, would be overpowering were it not for the rhythmic unity of the pattern which dominates the whole figure. This is a moment of transition rather than of supreme achievement. With 'Master E' of the Parapet, the creator of the Nike adjusting her sandal, and with the "Venus Genetrix," which is so closely related to his work, a new, lighter and more graceful vision takes form.

To try to name the sculptor of our statue would involve making up one's mind about the works and artistic personalities of men whose histories are still vague to us. If one could plot the centers of gravity of the groups of works generally assigned to Agorakritos and to Kallimachos, this piece would come somewhere between them.

Second only to 'Master E' in the exquisite modelling of the female body through thin drapery is 'Master D,' the artist who seems to have been responsible for the southern half of the west end of the Nike Parapet.⁸² No whole or even nearly whole figure from his hand has come down to us, but one fragment has long captivated visitors with its quiet loveliness.⁸³ Now a fragment from the Agora, recently identified though not recently excavated, adds much to our understanding and enjoyment of this figure (Pl. 83, a).⁸⁴ The brilliant contrast between chiton and himation which Carpenter praised in describing the upper part of the Nike is even more effective now that we have more of the himation. The Nike leans in an easy pose, with the left leg crossed over the right, against a smooth support whose shape and meaning are still not clear. The ends of her himation fall in a fan-like pattern over its surface. Between the support and the left thigh the folds were protected from the weathering that has so heavily eroded the upper parts of 'Master D's' figures, and the crisp, almost hard finish is beautifully preserved. What remains of the support appears conical

style of the sculpture and makes the Parapet sculptures contemporary with the friezes of the Erechtheion, which belong to a later stage of development.

⁸¹ Blümel, *Katalog*, III, K 5; Brunn-Bruckmann, 537; Becatti, *Problemi Fidiaci*, pl. 100.

⁸² Carpenter, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-55; Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XXXIV, 1930, p. 282.

⁸³ N (Heberdey-Dinsmoor) or 9 (Casson-Carpenter). First published (reversed) in *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1842, unnumbered plate, it was one of three Nike Parapet pieces admired and described by Flaubert in notes from his visit to Athens in 1851 *Œuvres Complètes*, X, *Notes de Voyage* 2, Paris, 1910, p. 115 "Un torse drapé sans tête"). I owe this reference to Irma B. Jaffe.

⁸⁴ Inv. S 1759. Catalogued November 1953 from unrecorded marbles (presumably from demolition of modern houses) from the northeast slope of the Areopagus just west of the Panathenaic Way (P-S 22-23). Broken all around, the fragment preserves the left thigh to below the knee and a little of the right, together with part of the support and the drapery falling over it. None of the background survives (pres. th. of fragment ca. 0.115 m.). Thanks are due to Mr. John Meliades, Ephor of the Acropolis, for having the fragment reattached to the Nike and for permitting publication of a photograph.

rather than cylindrical or convex. It seems too regular to represent a natural form such as a rock or a tree-stump. Since the hand of the Nike appears to rest lightly on its top, the weight of her body must be supported rather by the pressure of her hip against the object than by her arm. That would suggest that the object is something heavy and fixed rather than a movable attribute.³⁵

The graceful leaning pose of our figure is probably inspired by the late-Pheidian or Alkamenian leaning Aphrodite,³⁶ which, though it has come down to us only in replicas of poor quality, was popular, as appears from the number of copies, and influential in its own time, as we can see from the charming reflections of it in lesser arts. The figure of Alkestis as a bride on the Eretria Painter's *onos* in Athens³⁷ is perhaps the earliest of these reflections, resembling the Naples copy of the Aphrodite in the details of the pose. The exquisite heroine with Eros on an impression from the cheek-piece of a helmet is probably not, as Langlotz would have it, earlier than the statue,³⁸ but inspired by it. On our Nike a corner of the overfold of the himation falls between the knees as on the Alkestis, instead of to the side as in the statue. In spite

³⁵ Kekule, *Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike*, pl. IV, restored a shield. Heberdey, rejecting this, as well as a suggestion by Otto that the Nike was leaning on an altar (too informal a behavior for any but the god to whom the altar belongs), suggested that the object was a ship's anchor (*Jahreshefte*, XXI-XXII, 1922-1924, p. 68). Carpenter, *op. cit.*, p. 49, mentions the possibility of an altar but without conviction, placing the Nike in his reconstruction as though the object were not an altar. Dinsmoor (*A.J.A.*, XXXIV, 1930, pp. 285-286) does not mention the object, but argues against placing this Nike to the left of Athena, where she presumably ought to be if she were next to the altar (the Nike sacrificing the bull is by 'Master C,' who did the left part of the west side). It is hard to find analogies for the shape which our fragment seems to indicate. The most interesting, and by the same token the most dangerous, suggestion is that it might be one of the upright stones that represented Apollo Agyieus. These are described as being pointed at the top (Schol. Aristophanes, *Vespae*, 875) and appear circular in section on coins of Ambracia (*Brit. Mus. Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks*, pl. 35, 8) but are also described as square (Schol. Aristophanes, *Thesm.*, 489). Studniczka suggested (*Neue Jahrb.*, XVII, 1906, pp. 545 f.) that the conical-seeming stone in front of the Tyrannicides on the well known red-figured oinochoe in Boston (*Röm. Mitt.*, XIX, 1904, pl. VI; Brunnsåker, *Tyrant-Slayers*, pl. 24) is an Apollo Agyieus.

³⁶ Copies listed by Arndt, Text to Brunn-Bruckmann, pl. 673 right. Schrader, *Pheidias*, pp. 206-210, suggests an identification with the Aphrodite in the Gardens by Alkamenes. Langlotz, *Phidiasprobleme*, p. 89, and Becatti, *Problemi Fidiaci*, pp. 211-212, agree that the statue is probably not the cult statue of the sanctuary at Daphni, but neither would make it the Aphrodite in the Gardens, for which both have other (though perhaps not better) candidates.

³⁷ Athens, N.M. 1629. *A.R.V.*, p. 726, no. 27. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 561; Beazley and Ashmole, *Greek Sculpture and Painting*, fig. 108.

³⁸ Cf. *Phidiasprobleme*, pp. 85 ff., pl. 30. Additional references, Karouzou, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXIX-LXX, 1954-1955, p. 85, note 56. The folds that run across from one breast to the other are a post-Pheidian development that appears neither on the Parthenon nor in the copies of the leaning statue (excepting the fragment in Boston, Caskey, *Catalogue*, no. 72, which is not really a copy, though so counted by Langlotz). There are also reflections on gravestones, cf. Richter, *Catalogue*, no. 80, where a woman leans against the anta of the stele, and the unpublished stele in Athens mentioned *ibid.*, p. 54 (N.M. 3891), in which she leans on a loutrophoros.

of this variation, the Nike, enriched by our new fragment, greatly helps us in the difficult task of visualizing the original beauty and variety of the himation in the leaning Aphrodite, which has been so coarsened by the copyists as to lose most of its charm.

Some of the characteristic fifth-century blend of sweetness and nobility has been recaptured by a minor artist of a later period in an appealing head of a boy, under life size (Pl. 83, b), found in the Eleusinion area.³⁹ The features are so true to the late fifth-century type as to suggest that the face is a direct copy from a work of that period. Very similar in style is a head in the Athens National Museum which Paola Zancani-Montuoro has connected with Agorakritos.⁴⁰ The two heads are of the same scale, and both appear, from their symmetry and frontality and the square section of their necks, to have been broken from herms. In both the strands of hair are indicated by parallel grooves just as they are in archaistic herms. Both heads wear fillets that rise to a point at the center front. Similar fillets appear on heads of ephebes found at Rhamnous.⁴¹ One of these has a broad face and a wrestler's ear, while another has a babyish face and normal ears.⁴² Neither is archaistic or classicizing, but they show an analogy with the Athens heads in the distinction between the sturdier, boxer-wrestler type and the non-combatant athlete. The head from Athens in the National Museum has a broader face than the Agora head; the hair on the crown of the head is cut into short locks, and the right ear is slightly thickened. On our head the hair of the crown is long, the face is a slender oval, and the ears are normal. All this suggests that the Athens heads are also ephebic dedications. Probably they belong to the Roman period, when the prevailing taste for classical art may have led the ephebes to substitute such ideal heads for the semi-portrait heads that were popular earlier and later. Though the faces may have been copied directly from fifth-century works, the hair, at least on the Agora head, was modified or invented to suit the herm form, for the locks on the crown and the nape of the neck are dull and mechanical.

³⁹ Inv. S 2057. Found in loose late Roman fill north of the retaining wall of the Eleusinion (T 18) together with the unfinished herm (Pl. 86, d, e). P.H. 0.20 m. Broken off at neck. Top hair heavily weathered.

⁴⁰ N.M. 468. *Bull. Comm.*, LXI, 1933, p. 55, suppl. pl. C, top.

⁴¹ A chlamys herm of small size with a girlish head surrounded by such a fillet was dedicated by the ephebes of Erechtheis who were victorious in the torch race. Pouilloux dates the inscription on prosopographical grounds around 330 B.C. (*La Forteresse de Rhamnonte*, p. 111, 2 bis, pl. 45). In spite of the girlish head, which led Pouilloux to interpret the figure as female, perhaps a personification of the Tribe, it must actually be male, an ephebe as Hermes.

⁴² N.M. 317 and 318, *Rev. Arch.*, XXI, 1913, pp. 273-274; *Δελτ.*, IX, 1924-1925, p. 156, fig. 6 (N.M. 318 only). These two are probably not much later than the complete chlamys herm but they are larger in scale and may be from statues rather than herms, being too large for any of the herms that were found with them. In any case, they must be ephebic dedications.

The torso of an archaistic kouros about half life size (Pl. 84, a, b) was found below the floor of the Southeast Temple.⁴³ The symmetrical pose with left leg advanced, the long, grooved shoulder-locks like those of herms, and the proportions with broad shoulders, narrow waist and full thighs give the archaistic look. The actual anatomy does not imitate the archaic but merely generalizes classical forms. A small mantle pressed into narrow pleat-like folds was draped across the back and over the forearms. Its ends fell vertically along the thighs so that the mantle served the purpose of the struts used in late archaic marble kouroi to support the hands in front of the thighs.

Archaistic kouroi are much rarer than korai. The type is used for Apollo and less frequently for Dionysos, but apparently does not occur as an anonymous attendant like the basin-bearing korai. Dionysos is, of course, not a kouros in archaic art, and the standard Neo-Attic Dionysos is bearded and draped, but a small statue from the Agora in much the same scheme as our present figure is characterized as Dionysos by the kantharos in his hand.⁴⁴ Probably the community of type between Apollo and Dionysos that was established in the fourth century, when both were represented as long-haired youths, is here carried over into the archaistic. No attribute survives to show which god the new torso represents. The existence of a Dionysos in this form from the Agora makes Dionysos rather the more likely.

A more surprising kind of archaistic sculpture is an unfinished relief showing a man with two horses (Pl. 84, c). Like so much of the unfinished sculpture found last season, it was built into the Late Roman Fortification.⁴⁵ It seems to have been intended for some architectural use rather than as a simple votive offering; there are projecting borders above and below the relief but no framing on the sides, which are vertical, without taper. Evidently the surviving slab was meant to be part of a continuous frieze of some kind. The relief is exceptionally high for the size of the figures, and details are rendered with unusual precision. Four measuring points, on the mane, buttocks and thigh of the near horse and on the knee of the man, show that the work was being copied from a model. That it belongs to the Roman period can be seen from the technique: the liberal use of the running drill for outlining the figures and detach-

⁴³ Inv. S 2109. Found July 15, 1959 resting on bedrock below the floor of the Southeast Temple (Q 16). Head broken off. Both arms broken off just above elbows. Both legs broken off just below knees. Cloak broken away except at back and in traces against thighs. Top of left shoulder chipped. Pentelic marble. P.H. 0.565 m.

⁴⁴ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 392, fig. 18.

⁴⁵ Inv. S 2079. H. 0.52 m. W. 0.646 m. Total P. Th. 0.12 m. (Th. of background 0.045 m.-0.06 m.). H. of borders: upper *ca.* 0.105 m., lower *ca.* 0.10 m. Pentelic marble. Found June 9, 1959 in core of Late Roman Fortification (R 16). Mended from a number of fragments. Missing: outer surface of borders, near legs of near horse (except for a small non-joining fragment of foreleg), muzzle of near horse, right arm of man and reins of both horses.

ing legs from the background and also the use of very coarse rasping for the preliminary surface.

At the same time, the relief has little in common with ordinary archaistic work of the Roman period. If a small fragment such as the head of the man had been discovered alone, few would have hesitated to attribute it to the sixth century. The front of the torso, which would scarcely have been seen by the ordinary viewer, is carefully modelled, with three transverse divisions of the abdominal muscle above the navel, a feature that is common in kouroi earlier than around 520 B.C., but not in archaistic works. Also, the proportions of the horses are genuinely archaic.⁴⁶ The more closely we look at the relief the more likely it seems that the model was an actual archaic relief and not an archaistic creation of the Roman period. But what kind of relief will it have been? It is most unusual in archaic marble reliefs of such small scale to find the depth of relief so great that parts are completely detached from the background. The figures, around 30 cm. high, are just about half the height of those on the frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi.⁴⁷ On the other hand, applied metal figures such as those on the great bronze krater from Vix provide a close analogy for the depth of the relief, the careful detailing of the side plane of the human figures, and the elaborate rendering of the bridles of the horses. Furthermore, the type of horse on the krater is much closer to that of our relief than any that we find on archaic Attic marble reliefs. The long manes that fall down to the top of the shoulder are to be seen on all the horses of the krater, and some of them show the bare angle between the back and the last long locks that appears at first glance so strange on our horses. Some also show the tips of the locks turned back, as if caught by a light breeze, a peculiarity of our foreground horse.⁴⁸ Most striking is the resemblance in spacing and pose of our two horses to the foreground and second-plane horses of the quadriga teams on the krater. Even without a chariot, they are behaving like chariot horses. Perhaps our relief was meant to represent an Homeric camp scene. The man, wearing light sandals and armed only with a short spear, is not equipped for battle, nor is he dressed as a rider. The chlamys, which shows dull, archaistic folds like that of the kouros above, may have been added by the copyist, and the curious stephane-like headdress is also open to suspicion. Possibly the strong forward lean of the man's body is also due to the copyist, for we find it in other archaistic works.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ The horses are longer than high (length from point of shoulder to point of buttock; height from top of croup and withers to the ground), though the relation of the head-length to the individual members is correct. Cf. Markman, *The Horse in Greek Art*, pp. 64-65.

⁴⁷ The height of the frieze, including a narrow plinth below the figures, is 0.64 m.

⁴⁸ *Monuments Piot*, XLVIII, 1, 1954, pls. 9-13.

⁴⁹ This was suggested to me by Otto Brendel. Cf. the well-known archaistic reliefs showing a procession of four gods, Fuchs, *Die Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs*, pp. 48-49. Note that there is less of this forward lean in the relief from Delos, *ibid.*, pl. 10, c, than in the other examples.

There is no lack of literary evidence for the admiration that was felt in Roman times for early Greek metalwork. The Neo-Attic marble kraters must have had metal prototypes, and there is nothing inherently improbable in the idea that the prized Peloponnesian bronze of the archaic period would also have been copied in marble. But, though the Vix krater offers the closest parallel for so many characteristics of our figures, the originals can hardly have belonged to a krater, for our horses are twice the size of the Vix figures. Oscar Broneer, in publishing two charming bronze horse heads from Isthmia,⁵⁰ observes that a resemblance exists between these heads and the horses of the Vix krater but comments that his horses would be about 25 cm. high if restored, whereas the Vix horses are only 14 cm. high. He suggests, therefore, that they come from a metal relief of some kind. Something similar must have served as a model for our relief.

The date of the Roman version is not easy to fix, since the surface finish, which is normally the most reliable guide, has not yet come into being. The pedantic accuracy of the copy⁵¹ and the great proficiency of the sculptor with the running drill suggest the Hadrianic or Antonine period.

A head of a square-faced youth with short curly hair (Pl. 85, a)⁵² is a modified replica of the Meleager attributed to Skopas.⁵³ The locks of hair around the edge of the face are the same as in the other replicas, and the topknot-like projection of the front hair above the forehead is preserved, but the hair on the crown and the nape goes its own way. It would seem that the copyist pointed off only from the front of his model and omitted the side points that we find on the unfinished "Eubouleus" head.⁵⁴ The emotional, "Skopasian" quality is largely lost, as a result of the hard plastic treatment of details such as the eyelids and the locks of hair. The date of the copy may be Claudian or Flavian. Another replica of the Meleager discovered earlier in the Agora⁵⁵ is probably of Augustan date (Pl. 85, b). It reproduces the hair more accurately and captures more of the spirit of the better copies, though neither of the Agora heads can count as a first-class replica. A peculiar feature of the new head is its pose, straight on the neck instead of inclined to the proper left as in all the

⁵⁰ *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, p. 329, pl. 69.

⁵¹ A votive relief to Demeter and Kore found recently in the Olympieion area (*A.J.A.*, LXIV, 1960, p. 268, pl. 73, fig. 17) combines figures of the goddesses evidently copied from a fifth-century model with a figure of the Hierophantes whose portrait head appears early Antonine in style.

⁵² Inv. S 2035. P.H. 0.28 m. Pentelic marble. Found March 13, 1959 in a context of the sixth-seventh centuries after Christ over the Panathenaic Way west of the Late Roman Fortification (S 16). Broken off just below chin. Nose broken; upper lip and chin chipped.

⁵³ List of replicas in Arias, *Skopas*, pp. 127-131, 12 torsos, of which 4 have the original head, and 17 separate heads. He retains the attribution to Skopas, though it is not supported by any ancient text.

⁵⁴ Below, p. 382, Pl. 85, c, d.

⁵⁵ Inv. S 1227. P. H. 0.265 m. Found in 1947 in a late Roman wall at the northwest foot of the Areopagus (H 18).

complete statues of the type and the heads that come from statues. This may mean that it belonged to a herm. The earliest known copy of the Meleager, that from the Heroon at Kalydon, dated in the second century B.C., is a bust rather than a complete statue.⁵⁶

Whereas the Meleager head merely adds one more item to a long list of replicas, an unfinished copy of the so-called "Eubouleus" in a remarkably good state of preservation (Pl. 85, c, d)⁵⁷ raises some interesting questions about the original from which it was copied. Our bust differs from the other known replicas in the form of its base, a low square pedestal out of which grow flat acanthus leaves supporting the projecting edges of the bust. The leaves have been carved in front, and rough projecting areas of marble left on the sides suggest that leaves were to have been carved there too. All areas have been worked out with flat and round-nosed chisels except the back of the pedestal, the back part of the bust, the hair below the fillet in back, and a mass of marble left at the back of the neck to strengthen it during the work. These areas are rough-picked. Seven measuring points remain on the head. Three of these, two in the forehead hair and one on the chin, served for measuring the face and front hair. In addition, there are two on each side. Perhaps the points in the forehead hair were used with these to make sets of three. In any case, these side points must have been intended to insure accurate copying of the pattern of locks on the side of the head, a refinement which was neglected by the copyist of the Meleager.

Lumps of marble are left projecting beyond the surrounding surfaces in all areas where the drill was to be used. These, like the measuring point of the chin, create an odd impression that has to be thought away before one can take the features at their true value. The extent of the drilling intended corresponds closely to what we find actually executed in the other existing copies, including the fine head from Eleusis in the Athens National Museum which has often been called an original. The mane of hair was to be separated from the sides of the face by long, continuous running-drill channels. The presence of these channels in the famous Eleusis head is the strongest of many indications of its Roman date. Our bust is the tenth known replica of this type, of which two examples have been found in Eleusis, four in Athens, and one in Patras, while there are two more in Italy and one in Paris.^{57a}

⁵⁶ Dyggve, Poulsen and Rhomaios, *Das Heroon von Kalydon*, p. 369, VIII, figs. 91-93. Richter, *Three Critical Periods*, fig. 64.

⁵⁷ Inv. S 2089. H. 0.615 m. Coarse-grained white (Thasian?) marble. Found July 6, 1959 in the core of the Late Roman Fortification (S 17). Unweathered and virtually intact. Brown stains.

^{57a} Eleusis:

1. Athens N.M. 181, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1886, pp. 257 ff., pl. 10. Most recent photo, Richter, *Handbook of Greek Art*, p. 135, fig. 193.

2. Athens N.M. 1839. *Ath. Mitt.*, XVI, 1891, pp. 27 ff., pl. II; 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1911, pl. 3, 3. (A fragment of a third head mentioned together with this is rejected by Lippold, *Kopien und Umbildungen*, p. 257, note 8).

This list is probably not exhaustive. If a work reaches this degree of popularity it is likely that other replicas or fragments exist which have not been caught by the casually drawn net of references. Criticism of the copies has not proceeded so systematically as might be expected, largely because of the widely prevalent notion that Athens N.M. 181 was the original.⁵⁸ The other copies are mostly inferior to it both in workmanship and in preservation, and little attention has been paid to them except by their discoverers. With the emergence of the Agora bust, the situation is changed. For the first time we have a replica with all the essential elements of the composition, even the nose, complete, and with its vertical and horizontal axes inexorably fixed by the square moulded pedestal on which it is set. Only the surface colorism, the shimmering flesh and drill-darkened hair, of N.M. 181 are missing. It is as if a hard white spotlight had been suddenly thrown onto an object which we have been accustomed to see only by candlelight. We realize that there is no longer anything Praxitelean about the head. The "something portrait-like" which impressed Philios, the original excavator of N.M. 181,⁵⁹ emerges with full force, and the erstwhile melancholy daimon becomes a vigorous human youth. The most striking parallel,

Athens:

3. Acropolis 2394. Pfuhl, *Jahrb.*, XLI, 1926, p. 41, note 1. Described as a fragment but with face preserved.

4. Acropolis unnumbered. Pfuhl, *loc. cit.* Head and hair preserved but face missing. Provenance not recorded.

5. Athens N.M. 2650. 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1911, pl. 3, 4. Found at the Military Hospital south of the Acropolis (Judeich, plan I, F 6).

6. Agora S 2089 (the present bust).

Patras:

7. Patras Museum. Unpublished.

Italy:

8. Mantua. Arndt-Amelung 17. Levi, *Sculture greche e romane del Palazzo Ducale di Mantova*, Rome, 1931, pl. 32.

9. Rome, Capitoline. Jones, *Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, Stanza dei Filosofi, 1.

Paris:

10. Said to have been found near Pozzuoli. Louvre, Michon, *Catalogue Sommaire*, p. 35, no. 581, photo. Giraudon 2060.

⁵⁸ This idea grew out of a resemblance seen between the surface of the face of the "Eubouleus" and that of the Hermes at Olympia. As a result the head not only became Praxitelean, but, though the stone in its walled museum remained unchanged, became gradually transformed in the "museum without walls," its photographic-publication existence, by contamination with the Hermes until it was no longer quite itself. Plaster casts restored the nose and brow from that of the Hermes, photographs were taken always from above and to the left so that the head seemed to gaze downward like the Hermes (Philios was perhaps the last to publish a plain side view with chin up and drill-channels unmasked, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1886, pl. 10), and finally Rizzo went so far as to tilt the whole bust forward so that the resting-surface was no longer horizontal (*Prassitele*, pp. 105-106, pls. 157-158).

⁵⁹ 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1886, p. 264.

as Wilhelm Klein said long ago to unsympathetic ears, is the head of Alexander from Alexandria in the British Museum.⁶⁰

The important points of resemblance between the "Eubouleus" and the London head are the strong turn of the neck, whose powerful forms lend an air of virility in spite of the youthfulness of the face, and the similar arrangement of the mane of hair, without the *anastole* and with the shaggy locks separating over the center of the forehead.⁶¹ Whereas the London head is generally taken as a mid or late Hellenistic creation based on an earlier tradition,⁶² the "Eubouleus" appears to be an accurate Roman copy of a work made in the fourth century. No Hellenistic traits are discernible, and the care with which all details of the hair are reproduced betokens respect for the model. This model should be a contemporary portrait of the young Alexander. The head is boyish like the Acropolis head of Alexander, to which it shows some similarity,⁶³ but with more suggestion of power, a combination of youthful beauty with the strength of beginning manhood.

No other fourth-century Alexander shows such an exuberantly full mass of hair around the face. Even the Hellenistic British Museum head, while retaining the pattern of locks over the forehead, has simplified the hair. The Chatsworth Alexander, on the other hand, which Furtwängler admired for the richness of its locks and tentatively associated with Leochares,⁶⁴ seems in fact to be a later, perhaps even Roman, contamination of the "Eubouleus" type with the more usual Lysippean

⁶⁰ Klein, *Praxiteles*, p. 430. (The head is frequently pictured: Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*, fig. 745; Bieber, *Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.*, XCIII, 1949, p. 409, fig. 46.) Klein, being himself under the spell of the shimmering surface that led so many of his generation to take the "Eubouleus" as original, did not suggest that it might in fact be an Alexander. He took the Eleusinian interpretation for certain and merely used the resemblance to Alexander portraits to support an attribution to Leochares rather than to Praxiteles. D. B. Thompson, who excavated the Agora head, had the same reaction as Philios in excavating the Eleusis head, that there was a portrait quality about it and that it reminded her of portraits of Alexander (Philios, *op. cit.*, pp. 265-266, had cited the "Alexander-Inopos" in the Louvre and a second head from Delos called either an Alexander or an Apollo). It is to Mrs. Thompson rather than to the earlier scholars that I owe the idea.

⁶¹ Plutarch, *Alexander*, 4, mentions an inclination of the neck to the left as a characteristic of Alexander to be seen in the portraits by Lysippos. Kleiner, *Jahrb.*, LXV-LXVI, 1950-51, p. 215, takes this to mean the turn of the head to the left as we have it in the London head and the "Eubouleus." Bieber, *op. cit.*, p. 391, makes the opposite interpretation, so that the Azara herm would fit the Plutarchan description. Since both directions occur in recognized portraits of Alexander, it would seem that the turn rather than its direction is the important thing.

⁶² Gebauer, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXIII-LXIV, 1938-1939, pp. 38-39, suggests end of second or beginning of first century B.C.; Bieber, *op. cit.*, p. 391, suggests the second century B.C.; Kleiner, *Jahrb.*, LXV-LXVI, 1950-1951, p. 214, says late second century B.C.

⁶³ The Acropolis head is best published by Ashmole, *J.H.S.*, LXXI, 1951, pls. 11-12, pp. 15-16. He takes it to be a fourth-century work (as its workmanship seems to indicate) but admits (p. 15, note 19) that it may be a contemporary replica of a bronze work from which the two surviving Roman copies in Erbach and Berlin are derived. See below, p. 387 and note 73.

⁶⁴ *J.H.S.*, XXI, 1901, pp. 212-214.

Alexander. Comparison with other Alexander heads, of whatever date, shows that the *anastole* of the Chatsworth head has been shoved in artificially between the hanging locks of a coiffure like that of the "Eubouleus." The ends of the central pair of locks do not make a proper transition to the sides as they do in all types of which the *anastole* is an integral part. At the same time the curls of the back hair have been lengthened in order to give an Apolline effect. A round fillet like that of the "Eubouleus" separates the mane from the top hair. The full, smooth cheeks are like those of the "Eubouleus," but the eyes are made larger and the whole face shorter in keeping with the later notions of idealization. The head is turned to the right, as in the Azara herm. It would seem that the later artist, wishing to make a highly idealized Alexander, went to the youthful portrait for the effect of richness and beauty but borrowed from the official portrait those features which would make sure that it was recognized as Alexander.

The iconography of Alexander is so complex and has been treated from so many different points of view that anything more than a very superficial treatment of the problems raised by our bust would be out of scale with this report. Still, it is worthwhile to mention the most obvious considerations. The two main questions are (1) what was the original from which the "Eubouleus" type was copied? and (2) why did this type enjoy such popularity in Greece in the second century after Christ? That the original must have been a statue is proven, I think, by the opposing diagonal positions of head and shoulders which our copyist has carefully preserved, even at the cost of some awkwardness in fitting the bust onto its square base. Unfortunately we cannot tell whether the raised strip around the edge of the bust was to have been carved into a shallow semblance of drapery like that of N.M. 181 or whether it is simply a protective surface that would have been smoothed away. Hence we have no very good evidence as to how the original was clothed. The sketchy chiton of N.M. 181 may be a reflection of the actual dress (it is certainly not a true copy) or it may be simply made up for the occasion.

A late Hadrianic or Antonine date for most of the surviving copies is indicated by the free use of the running drill. The popularity of the type was evidently due to its subject rather than to its artistic status as a master-work, for the majority of the copies were not exported and the Agora bust is the only one found in a workshop context. The only other case where we find a comparable multiplication of a portrait in Athens for home use is that of the early Antonine bust identified as Polydeukion, the favorite pupil of Herodes Atticus, who died young and became a kind of second-class Antinous.⁶⁵ Among these three, the Antinous, the "Eubouleus" and the Polydeukion, there is a certain community of spirit. Philios felt himself reminded of

⁶⁵ List of replicas by Neugebauer, text to Arndt-Bruckmann 1198-1199. For the most recent discussion see Weber, *Olympiabericht* V, pp. 143-146 and addenda, p. 176.

Antinous by the Eleusis head. Now we see how much of the similarity lies on the surface, belonging to the interpretation of a later age rather than to the original plastic creation. In the unfinished Agora bust, where the artist is only following his model and has not yet begun to form and color the surface to his own desire, the thin veil of melancholy is wholly absent. Nevertheless, since it is the second-century interpretation rather than the original meaning of the work that created the demand for copies, the analogy with Antinous and Polydeukion may give the explanation we are seeking. It seems not at all unlikely that the Antinous cult with its widespread appeal to the religious imagination of the late Greek world brought about a revival of interest in the young Alexander, seen not as the deified Herakles on whom emperors modelled their iconography,⁶⁶ but as the doomed young hero, a symbol not for rulers only but for all men. Antinous was frequently worshipped in the guise of young deities of vegetation and mystery religions, Dionysos, Iakchos, Osiris and the Roman agricultural gods. His early death seems to have suggested a kind of identification with these youthful personifications of rebirth and immortality.⁶⁷ It is not so far-fetched as it may seem to believe that Alexander, with his permanent hold on the popular imagination, was belatedly received into the same company.⁶⁸ Marion Lawrence has recently called attention to a late Roman mosaic in Beirut in which the birth of Alexander is portrayed in a scheme invented for Dionysos and later used for the Nativity of Christ.⁶⁹ Such a hero-Alexander would not be out of place in Eleusis, where Antinous also appears,⁷⁰ and at the same time might be dedicated in other sanctuaries such as the Athenian Asklepion or the precinct of Dionysos, from either of which the Acropolis Museum pieces might have come.

Once the demand for such a portrait arose, the logical model would have been the gold and ivory portrait by Leochares in the Philippeion at Olympia, dedicated by Philip after Chaeronea. Not only was this of the right age (Alexander was eighteen at Chaeronea) and a work by a famous sculptor that was still available for copying in Greece,⁷¹ but the visual qualities of the gold and ivory work, the whitely shining

⁶⁶ Cf. Bieber, *op. cit.*, p. 425.

⁶⁷ Pausanias says that mysteries were celebrated yearly in honor of Antinous in Mantinea, and that the portraits of Antinous that he saw in the gymnasium there were mostly in the type of Dionysos (VIII, 9, 8).

⁶⁸ It is hard to say whether any chthonian significance should be attributed to the acanthus leaves on the Agora bust. A relief bust of Polydeukion in the Chalkis Museum, Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 145, figs. 58-59, also rises from a base of acanthus leaves. Perhaps the forthcoming monograph by Jucker on the acanthus bust will shed light on this question.

⁶⁹ Maurice H. Chehab, *Mosaiques de Liban (Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth, XV)*, Paris, 1959, pls. XXII, XXV (color); Marion Lawrence, "Three Pagan Themes in Christian Art," *De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, Zurich, 1960, New York, 1961, pp. 323-334.

⁷⁰ Kourouniotes, *Guide*, p. 90, fig. 35. Lippold, *Kopien und Umbildungen*, p. 192.

⁷¹ The statues were still in place when Pausanias visited Olympia (V, 20, 10), and Attic

flesh and brilliantly contrasting hair, would have been just those that appealed to the taste of the period and suited the idea of heroization. The first Eleusis copy reproduces the sheen of the flesh and the second had inlaid eyes, which do not prove the influence of gold and ivory but may well go with it.⁷² The Agora bust is made of the opaque white Thasian marble which is capable of taking a high polish. A fragment of another head in this material from the Agora (Inv. S 898) had gilded hair, and a similar treatment may have been intended for our piece. The arrangement of the hair in the "Eubouleus" type is eminently suitable for a gold and ivory statue, for the locks overlap the face all around in such a way as to hide the seam between the two materials. With the *anastole* this would have been difficult, since the roots of the hair must be shown. Bronze sculpture, with fine engraving shading into the flesh, was the ideal medium for the *anastole*, and it seems likely, therefore, that we should accept the suggestion of Ashmole that the Erbach head and its Berlin replica, which have it, are copied from a bronze, rather than the idea of Gebauer, who would make them copies of the gold and ivory work.⁷³ Finally, the running-drill channels that separate the sides of the face from the hair in all the "Eubouleus" heads, though they are a Roman device for outlining the face with shadow, suggest a continuity of the facial contour and a separateness of the hair-mass such as must have existed in the chryselephantine work.

Normally, the first question should be whether the style of the "Eubouleus" Alexander suits that of Leochares, but all arguments about the style of Leochares are necessarily circular, since we have no positively attributed monuments. The technical considerations, therefore, are a safer starting-place. Nevertheless, it can be said with confidence that the style suits the presumed date of the Olympia work and fits well with the group of monuments most often associated with Leochares. The top hair of the Alexander, with long, flatly-waved strands held in place by a hoop-like

sculptors were active in Olympia in the second century. The statue in the Athenian Agora mentioned by Pausanias (I, 9, 4) may also have been a youthful portrait (cf. Ashmole, *op. cit.*, p. 16, note 27), but was presumably of bronze.

⁷² Inlaid eyes in marble works are not uncommon in the archaic period but rare in the classical, perhaps because of the more subtle coloring then in vogue. In the Hellenistic age we meet them in the Lykosoura statues by Damophon, who repaired the Zeus at Olympia. A colossal marble female head from an acrolithic statue recently discovered at Pheneos in Arcadia and dated in the second century B.C. has inlaid eyes still in place (*B.C.H.*, LXXXIII, 1959, pp. 625-626, fig. 14). Roman marble copies of Greek statues often have them, but Roman marble portraits generally do not.

⁷³ Ashmole, *loc. cit.*, above, note 63. Gebauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71. Gebauer bases his conclusion on the stiff, frontal position of the head on the neck, which he says is unusual in a fourth-century work, and which he explains by the material of the original. A more natural conclusion for Gebauer, who believes the Acropolis replica to be Roman like the others, would have been that all three surviving heads come from herms. This raises difficulties, however, if the Acropolis head is really of the fourth century, for we do not expect regular portrait herms in that period. Cf. above, p. 384. On the other hand, use as a herm would explain the peculiar treatment of the hair in the Acropolis and Erbach heads.

round fillet (not a diadem; there are no hanging ends) is like that of the Ganymede in the Vatican, and the relation of this rather flat crown-area to the heavy frame of locks below is very much the same in the two works, though the locks of the Alexander are longer and thicker. A comparison between the right side view of the Ganymede⁷⁴ and that of the "Eubouleus" N.M. 181⁷⁵ shows how much closer is the similarity between them than that between N.M. 181 and the Capitoline Faun, a comparison formerly used to support the attribution to Praxiteles.⁷⁶ The long top hair, which the satyr does not have, may be borrowed from Apollo. It seems quite possible that Leochares, who made at least one Apollo and probably more, liked the Apolline long hair for youthful figures, whether he had to do a Ganymede or an Alexander. Even Alexander's upward gaze, which later develops a different meaning, may originally have been borrowed from the inspired musician Apollo. Such assimilations in the youthful portrait are not equivalent to formal deification; they are a commonplace of fourth-century art, which brings together the divine and human types to a common middle ground (as in the cases of ephebes and Hermes, athletes and Herakles).⁷⁷

The round fillet of the Chatsworth head is taken by Gebauer as a sign of deification,⁷⁸ but this need not be so in every case. Like the wreath, it is worn by human priests and worshippers and was no doubt especially appropriate to Apollo as the most priestly of the gods. Like the phiale, it signifies not so much divinity as communion. So it is equally appropriate to poets and satyrs (Capitoline Faun). Copyists often treat it as interchangeable with the wreath. One of two fragments belonging to the "Monosandalos" type (an early classical type representing a boy initiate to the Eleusinian mysteries) found in the Agora substitutes a wreath of myrtle for the fillet,⁷⁹ and a replica of the Capitoline Faun in Berlin substitutes a pine wreath.⁸⁰ If Alexander was initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries when he visited Athens after Chaeronea, this might explain both the occurrence of two copies at Eleusis and the use of the round fillet, but we have no literary record of his initiation, and we might have expected that among so many replicas from Roman times some at least would have had the Eleusinian wreath of myrtle leaves. For the present it may be enough

⁷⁴ Now well shown in *Vatican Katalog*, III, 2, pl. 104, Galleria dei Candelabri, 83. Lippold (Text, p. 216) accepts the head as "wahrscheinlich zugehörig."

⁷⁵ *Eφ. 'Αρχ.*, 1886, pl. 10.

⁷⁶ Cf. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, pp. 329-330.

⁷⁷ This kind of assimilation makes it very difficult to separate portrait from non-portrait in the Herakles heads of the Philip and Alexander coins, and there is even one Apollo head that resembles the Alexander-Herakles (Gaebler, *Die antiken Münzen Nordgriechenlands*, III, pl. XXX, 26) though the coin is of Philip. Kleiner, *op. cit.*, p. 271 suggests that it was first minted under Alexander.

⁷⁸ *Ath. Mitt.*, LXIII-LXIV, 1938-1939, p. 75: "Die Rundbinde bei Chatsworth bezeichnet die Vergöttlichung."

⁷⁹ Inv. S 316. The other, S 6, has the round fillet.

⁸⁰ Blümel, *Katalog*, K 221.

to say that there are many possible explanations for the fillet apart from that of deification.

It would be pleasant if we could go beyond broad generalities and use the facial type of the "Eubouleus" Alexander as evidence for the style of Leochares. This is not easy, however, because the special proportions of the face, the long cheeks, nose and chin seem to be Alexander's own rather than the contribution of the artist. We find them in the Azara herm and in the Alexander mosaic, whereas the idealization of later portraits has generally modified them.⁸¹

That the "Eubouleus" stands, in a sense, midway between Praxiteles and the later Lysippos accords well with the little that we know from literature about the life and works of Leochares, who did much of his work in Athens but later cooperated with Lysippos on the lion-hunt for Krateros at Delphi. It is more difficult to say just how all this affects the Leochares that Ashmole has so persuasively evoked for us out of marble works compared to certain slabs of the Mausoleum frieze.⁸² This may depend ultimately on the evaluation of the Acropolis Alexander, which is, as was noted above,⁸³ a difficult problem. It is enough, for the present, that the Agora bust has given us the unexpected assurance that the "Eubouleus" is in fact a young Alexander. The attribution to Leochares remains an attractive possibility.

An unfinished herm made in the third century after Christ (Pl. 86, d, e) shows that the workshops near the Agora also produced portraits of contemporary Athenians for official dedications.⁸⁴ Since there is no inscription we do not know what office the subject held, but the size of the herm and the mediocrity of the portrait recall the portraits of the Kosmetai, the annual directors of the ephebic training, who were regularly honored by such monuments at the end of their year of office.⁸⁵ The hair and beard appear to be in the style worn by Caracalla (A.D. 211-217) in the later years of his reign, with close-cropped curly hair and the beard clipped short. Our man is older than Caracalla; he has a receding hairline and a double chin. The hair is so short that no drilling is likely to have been intended. The beard would have been rendered by engraving short strokes into the rough raised surface that the sculptor has left for this purpose.⁸⁶ A few such strokes have already been made around the

⁸¹ One must discount the abnormal breadth of the nose in the Agora copy, which is due only to its being unfinished.

⁸² *J.H.S.*, LXXI, 1951, pp. 15-19.

⁸³ Note 73.

⁸⁴ Inv. S 2056. Found June 15, 1959 built into a late Roman wall north of the north retaining wall of the Eleusinion (T 18). The youthful head, Pl. 83, b, was found in adjacent loose fill. H. 1.70 m. (H. without tenon at bottom of shaft 1.58 m.). W. of shaft 0.33 m.; Th. 0.26 m. Pentelic marble.

⁸⁵ Cf. especially Graindor, *B.C.H.*, XXXIX, 1915, pp. 241-401.

⁸⁶ Compare finished portraits of this period from the Agora, S 517 and S 387, *Agora*, I, nos. 37 and 39.

edges of the mustache. The eyebrows have not yet been engraved, and the eyes are still blank. The customary three measuring points are present, two above the forehead and one on the chin. In Roman times, even original portraits must have had full-scale models. The bit of himation that is draped around the neck has been outlined and its folds furrowed with the running drill but the surface has not yet been smoothed down. No traces of rasping appear; that would have been the next step.

Completely finished and beautifully preserved, the portrait bust of a young man of around the middle of the third century after Christ confronts us with an extraordinarily vivid presence (Pl. 86, a, b).⁸⁷ Together with the man was found a headless bust which is shown by its drapery to have been female (Pl. 86, c). Marble and surface are so similar that the two seem to have formed a pair. The portrait head of the young man is of truly exceptional quality for Athenian work of this period, so that one suspects that an important person is represented. At the same time the expressive emphasis of the features, the enormous eyes with their sharply engraved outlines, the linear forehead wrinkle and the boldly hatched eyebrows recall Greek work of the period rather than the art of the capital. This must be a local product, but one of the very best.

The portrait of the emperor Gallienus (A.D. 253-268) in Berlin,⁸⁸ dating from the early years of his reign, furnishes the best parallel for the hair style of our head. This is intermediate between the very short military cut of the forties and the long hair of the mature Gallienus, so that our bust should be dated in the fifties. The hair forms a unified cap which separates only above the forehead into a fringe of pointed locks. The ends of the hair over the ears are just long enough to be caught and pushed out by the tops of the ears. The beard is as yet very light and does not extend down onto the neck. The eyes look upward to the proper right as in the Gallienus but their expression is more alert, less sorrowful than that of the emperor.

Whereas the date seems firmly fixed by the relationship of the coiffure to that of the youthful Gallienus and the correspondance of the style to Athenian work of the mid-century, the face is curiously reminiscent of certain earlier portraits, Alexander Severus, Julia Mamaea and especially Julia Domna. When we analyze this resemblance we discover that it consists not in similarities of style but in related physiognomies; there is a family resemblance between our portrait and the Severans of Emesa. The strongly arched eyebrows that grow together over the nose, the thin-bridged nose, curved in profile, the big expressive eyes and the mobile mouth all seem to connect our young man with this family or at least to characterize him as a Syrian.

⁸⁷ Inv. S 2062. P. H. 0.60 m. Pentelic marble. Found June 17, 1959 under fallen blocks north of the north retaining wall of the Eleusinion (T 18), context of the fourth century after Christ. Complete except for base, which is broken off, and minor chips, as end of nose.

⁸⁸ Blümel, *Katalog*, VI, R 114. B.M. Felletti Maj, *Iconographia romana imperiale da Severo Alessandro a M. Aurelio Carino*, pl. 41, figs. 135-136.

We have said that the very high quality of the sculpture would suggest that the subject is someone out of the ordinary. His youth together with the fact that his portrait is coupled with a female bust strengthens the probability that he is not a simple Athenian citizen. One would expect the pair to be members of the imperial family, but there is no family resemblance to Valerian and Gallienus, who were ruling at the time. The similarity in style and coiffure to the young Gallienus serves only to point up the difference in physical type and to underline the oriental character of the features. A real resemblance may be seen, on the other hand, with the portrait on the finest of the much-disputed gold coins of Uranius Antoninus which seem to have been issued in Emesa in the 250's. According to Delbrück's reconstruction,⁸⁹ this young man, about whom the historians tell us nothing, issued coins with the titles "imperator" and "Augustus" in A.D. 253 when Valerian was occupied with contending for the rule in Italy and Emesa became the spearhead of opposition to Shapuhr in Syria. When Valerian was confirmed as emperor, Antoninus dropped the imperial titles and issued gold coins with the title Uranius, presumably referring to a local priesthood. The earliest of these gold coins are in a local style with Palmyrene tight curls in hair and beard. Later the coiffure is assimilated to the western imperial fashion and the hair appears straight. It is this westernized group (especially Delbrück's Bb and Bc) that our portrait most resembles.⁹⁰

It is perhaps unlikely that the Athenians in this highly unsettled period, when the threat to their own security lay rather to the north than to the east, would have stuck their necks out to the extent of according any sort of official honors to the Syrian pretender. A pair of busts such as ours, however, would not have been an official dedication. Rather it would have adorned a private house, school or auditorium. The intellectual connections of Athens with Syria were very close. The rhetorician Longinus, who was teaching in Athens at this time, was a nephew of the rhetorician Phronton of Emesa, and his student Porphyry came from Tyre. Longinus left Athens, apparently some time before the Herulians struck in A.D. 267, and cast his fortunes

⁸⁹ *Num. Chron.*, 1948, pp. 11-29. His affirmation of the genuineness of the coins is approved by Mattingly in *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, IV, p. 206. S. L. Cesano, *Rivista Numismatica Italiana*, LVII, 1955, pp. 51-69, revives the argument against genuineness, but without detailed refutations of Delbrück's reconstruction. After this article had gone to press, Alfred Bellinger called my attention to a recent article by Henri Seyrig (*Revue Numismatique*, 1958, pp. 51-57) in which he supports the authenticity of the Antoninus coins with arguments that seem conclusive. He answers the objection of Miss Cesano but recommends scepticism as to the details of Delbrück's reconstruction.

⁹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 17, figs. 7 and 8. B. M. Felletti Maj suggests (*Iconographia*, p. 215) that the coin portrait with smooth hair goes back to an earlier sculptural prototype whereas that with curls shows the influence of the Gallienian mode. This would seem to reverse Delbrück's sequence and lead to rather peculiar results, since the city coinage, of which one piece is dated 253, all shows curly hair. The idea that the curly-haired portraits are related to Palmyrene art is supported by the stiffer general style of these portraits.

with Palmyra, where he became Zenobia's counselor and was put to death by Aurelian in 273. It is easy to imagine that during the fifties he or one of his followers in Athens felt sufficient enthusiasm for the young standard-bearer of resistance to Persia and reviver of Syrian claims to glory to want to display his image.

The finding place of the busts gives no real indication of their provenance. It would appear that during the late Roman period someone threw away or allowed to be buried assorted sculptures which had been collected, for whatever purpose, from some building that was destroyed in the Herulian sack. What that building was we cannot say. It is equally possible that our pieces had been set up in a house or lecture hall or that they lay unclaimed, though finished, in the sculptor's workshop, whether because the career of the subject had come to an untimely end ⁹¹ or because he who had commissioned the busts had already despaired of the future of Athens and departed.

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⁹¹ Cf. Delbrück, *op. cit.*, pp. 28 f.: "What the fate of the young Sulpicius Antonius may have been remains unknown. Vaballāt Athenodōrus appeared later in his place as 'dux Romanorum.'"

ARISTOTLE'S *ATHENAION POLITEIA* 65,2: THE "OFFICIAL TOKEN" *

(PLATE 87)

A distinctive feature of the Athenian popular courts, or *dikasteria*, was the great number of citizens who actively participated in each trial. An Athenian dikast heard and judged lawsuits on particular days in company with 200, 400, 500, 1,000 or more of his fellow citizens. Upon entering the court in which he was to sit, each of these men received an official token, or *σύμβολον δημοσία* (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 65,2, ἐπε[ιδὲν δ' εἶς] ἐλθὼν παραλαμβάνει σύμβολον δη[μοσία] παρὰ τοῦ εἰλη[χό]τος ταύτη[ν] τὴν ἀ[ρχήν]).¹ While Aristotle does remark the use of a bronze token (*σύμβολο*][ν [χ]αλκοῦν *Ath. Pol.* 68,2) which is given to each dikast after he has voted, and in return for which the dikast later receives his pay, he does not explain for what purpose the *σύμβολον δημοσία* is issued, nor does he describe it.

The word *symbolon*, used in a numismatic sense, denotes a coin-shaped piece that may be made of bronze, lead, ivory, bone or terracotta, and into which may be stamped or incised a great variety of distinctive markings. Out of the many *symbola* (hereinafter called tokens) that survive from antiquity, a not inconsiderable number can be identified as Athenian and from the fourth century B.C.; further, these Athenian tokens sometimes identify by their markings the institution or magistracy that used them. The lead tokens marked ΒΟΛΗ (O. Benndorf, *Zeit. Öster. Gym.*, XXVI, 1875, p. 600) and those marked ΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΑ (*ibid.*) were used in connection with the Athenian Boule, and that marked ΘΕΟΦΟΡΟΥ[MENH] MENANΔ[POY] had to do with the theater (Benndorf, *op. cit.*, p. 609, no. 23 on plate facing p. 730). The bronze tokens marked ΘΕΣΜΟΘΕΤΩΝ served some function of the thesmothetes.² From

* NOTE: Several points in this paper were first developed in "Aristotle and the Dikasteria" (Harvard Diss., 1958, unpublished) and served subsequently as the basis of a paper read at the General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in 1957 (*AJ.A.*, LXII, 1958, p. 222). The paper has since had the benefit of suggestions from Professors S. Dow and H. A. Thompson.

¹ I use the text of the *Ath. Pol.* presented in the Teubner edition of (Blass-Thalheim-) H. Oppermann, Leipzig, 1928 throughout this paper and cite the following works by the author's name only: J. E. Sandys, *Aristotle's Constitution of Athens*, second, revised edition, London, 1912; H. Hommel, *Heliaia in Philologus*, Supplementband 19, Heft 2, Leipzig, 1927. The translation "official token" means only that the token is handed out in behalf of the state.

² Photographs in I. N. Svoronos, *Les Monnaies d'Athènes*, Munich, 1923-26, pl. 100, nos. 42-46. H. Hommel, pp. 116-117 points out correctly where earlier attempts to define the precise function of these interesting tokens fail. His own explanation of their use, however, is vitiated by his belief that the *kleroteria* were "Losurnen." The fragments from which S. Dow subsequently

literary and epigraphical evidence one learns further that tokens were used at meetings of the *ekklesia*, at conjurers' shows, and in the market,³ as well as in the law courts, but the precise use is not always clear.

The lead tokens of a series stamped on one side with a single letter and on the other with the stamp of the reverse of the Athenian *triobolon* have been proposed as those which were handed out to *dikasts* when they entered the court building.⁴ The *triobolon* design naturally prompts the explanation that this sort of token was used in the disbursement of three-obol emoluments, but, while these lead tokens may well have been used at some time in the *ekklesia* or in the *dikasteria* as pay vouchers, they cannot represent the token that Aristotle describes as being handed out to the *dikast* after voting and as being exchanged for three obols at the end of the day. That token in Aristotle's account is of bronze, and is marked with the number three.⁵ If then the lead token is not that which was exchanged for the three-obol pay, why is there on one side a stamp like the reverse of the *triobolon*? The assumption has been made that the "official token" handed out at the door has some obscure introductory part in the payment of the *dikasts*, a part which the bronze token marked with the number three later takes up and completes. Consequently, the reasoning goes, the lead token marked with the *triobolon* stamp can properly be identified as the "official token" of *Ath. Pol.*, 65,2 (see e.g. H. Hommel, pp. 68-70). To introduce a second token, however, into what ought to be the simple business of paying the *dikasts* is to impose upon Athenian *dikastic* procedure a redundancy that is at best suspicious. According to this interpretation the *dikast* receives one token, votes, turns in his token in exchange for another,⁶ and finally turns in the second token for his pay. Athenian *dikastic*

established the form and method of operation of the *kleroteria* appear to come from "descendants, rather than copies of those used" [at the time Aristotle describes] (*Prytaneis, Hesperia*, Supplement I, Athens, 1937, p. 214), and so were perhaps even further removed from those of the time around 390, the era Hommel had in mind. Still, small balls were used in the *kleroteria* of the second century, and dice (*κύβοι*) in those of the *Ath. Pol.*, never tokens.

³ *Ekklesia*—Aristophanes, *Eccl.* 289 ff., *I.G.*, II², 1749, lines 75-79; conjurers' shows—Theophrastos, *Char.* VI, 4 (Diels); market—Hermippos, fr. 61 (Kock).

⁴ O. Benndorf, *op. cit.*, p. 601; pictured in Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* *Dikastai*, col. 193, figs. 2413-2414 and in Sandys, frontispiece, figs. 4-5. Cf. Sandys' commentary at 65,2.

⁵ Editors and commentators on the *Ath. Pol.* have noted at 68,2 (*σύμβολο*ν [χ]αλκοῦν [μετὰ] τοῦ γ) a token marked with the letter *gamma*. See e. g. F. Blass, *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*, 4th ed., Leipzig, 1903, *ad loc.*; Sandys, *ad loc.*; J. L. Lipsius, *Das attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren*, Leipzig, 1915, p. 922; G. Colin, *Rev. Et. Gr.*, XXX, 1917, p. 39; H. Hommel, p. 97. K. von Fritz and E. Kapp, however, translate the *gamma* as "three" (*Aristotle's Constitution of Athens*, New York, 1950, p. 146). Now that M. N. Tod has shown that the alphabetic numbering system was not used officially in fourth century Athens (*B.S.A.*, XLV, 1950, pp. 126-139), the letter *gamma* in the text of the *Ath. Pol.* ought to be read as the number three rather than as the mark that actually appeared on the token.

⁶ The brackets in the text of the *Ath. Pol.* at 68,2 will warn the reader that he has to do with editorial reconstructions of *dikastic* procedure rather than with Aristotle's words. The scholia at Aristophanes, *Plut.*, 277 do not note the issuance of two tokens; similarly Suidas, *s.v.* *βακτηρία καὶ σύμβολον*.

procedure was not necessarily more free of wasteful duplications than the governmental procedures of other civilizations,⁷ but at the same time, the complex Athenian system of allotting courts, dikasts and magistrates does not elsewhere reveal such wasted motion, and so it is reasonable to suppose that the two different sorts of tokens were used for distinct and different purposes. In this paper the identity and use of the "official token" will be suggested.

THE MARK H

It will first be necessary to establish the nature of the peculiar mark H that is found on certain Athenian tokens, *psephoi*, and dikastic *pinakia* of the fourth century B.C. P. Girard, in discussing the occurrence of the marking H on several dikastic *pinakia* (*B.C.H.*, II, 1878, p. 531 note 2), correctly reasoned that it was neither a monogram made up of the letters *eta* and *upsilon* nor the error of an engraver who had tried to inscribe a simple *eta*. This judgment was accepted by U. Köhler, who described the marking as "*forma litterae H*" (*C.I.A.*, II, 911), and by S. Bruck, who remarked in addition the necessity for the form, but stopped just short of analyzing its composition (*Philologus*, LII, 1894, p. 420). E. Caillemer, however, in his article, "Dikastai," (*Daremberg-Saglio*, s.v., col. 189) asked: "Le signe H, que l'on voit sur deux tablettes, et que M. Rayet déclarait inexplicable, ne pourrait-il pas également indiquer, au moyen d'un E et d'un H réunis en monogramme, qu'un héliaste appartenait à la cinquième et à la septième section?" That the answer to this question is "no" will be clear once the composition of the monogram is recognized.

From the many Athenian tokens stamped with letters, two series⁸ of the fourth century B.C. are of especial interest here. The pieces of what we may call Series A (Pl. 87, a) show on the obverse a lion's head right, and on the reverse single letters of the Athenian alphabet. It was of course absolutely essential that the letters be distinguished from one another, and so those who designed the tokens created monograms which they hoped would preclude any chance of confusion. To the right of the *sigma* was placed a small *iota* indicating the first two letters of ΣΙΓΜΑ (Pl. 87, a, no. 39), and a short vertical stroke descending from the crossbar of the *eta* forms a monogram of the first two letters of ΗΤΑ (Pl. 87, a, no. 33). Without these additions, an *eta* (Η) or a *sigma* (Σ), occurring on a round piece where no other marks orient the letters, could not be distinguished from *zeta* (Ζ) or *mu* (Μ).

⁷ A. W. Gomme in his excellent review of H. Hommel's *Heliaia* suggested that the redundant use of two tokens "was not more unnecessary than our own procedure with passports, when, before embarking, we show them to one official and receive a card which ten seconds later we give up to another." *Cl. Rev.*, XLIV, 1930, p. 65 note 1).

⁸ The two series were published as series B'a' (here called Series A) and Γ'a' (here called Series B) by I. N. Svoronos in *Jour. Int. Arch. Num.*, I, 1898, pp. 37-120. See too his *Les Monnaies d'Athènes*, pls. 100-101, from which the photographs of tokens that accompany this article were taken.

Similar care was given to the letters of Series B (Pl. 87, b): obverse, helmeted head of Athena left; reverse, single letters of the Athenian alphabet. The *eta* is again distinguished by the addition of a *tau* (Pl. 87, b, no. 7), but apparently the monogram form of *sigma* had not been successful. Doubtless Athenians had mistaken the *iota* for an orienting mark and had read the letter as *mu*. (Σ^1 , when turned on its side, becomes \underline{M} .) Consequently it is now the *mu* that is distinguished from the *sigma*. This is done by the addition of a small *upsilon* under the *mu* (Pl. 87, b, no. 12.)⁹

We turn to the bronze *psephoi* with which the Athenian dikasts registered their decisions. These were marked on one side of the disk with the identifying label $\Upsilon\text{ΗΦΟΣ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΑ}$, and on the other with single letters of the Athenian alphabet from A to M. When the single letter *eta* is intended to be read, it is represented by the monogram form H (I.G., II², 1923a). Here again, where there are no other means of orienting the letter, *eta* must be distinguished from *zeta* (Z). The *mu* needed no distinctive mark since the letters on the *psephoi* run only from A to M, and there was therefore no question of confusing *mu* and *sigma*.

FUNCTION OF THE MONOGRAM

The utility of the monogram H is easily appreciated when it occurs within a circle, i.e. on a surface that has no top, bottom or side, but how does one account for its appearance on dikastic *pinakia*?¹⁰ Into these rectangular bronze strips there were punched and incised the following: (1) the letter that represents the citizen's dikastic section, (2) his name, (3) his demotic, sometimes (4) his patronymic, and (5) often one or more ("official," as they are called by scholars) stamps. All the words are written from left to right, and the orientation of each letter is clear at a glance. This may be seen in the *pinakion*, Plate 87, c (cf. the shape of the *psephoi* in the same picture). Still, the citizen's dikastic section, when it happens to be denominated by

⁹ Another way of orienting the *mu* may be seen on plate 102, no. 22 of Svoronos' *Les Monnaies d'Athènes* where a small owl distinguishes at once the letter and the token.

¹⁰ See S. Dow in *H.S.C.P.*, L, 1939, pp. 1-34 for the process in which the *pinakia* functioned. (E. Berneker in his note, *R.E.*, s.v., " $\Pi\iota\nu\alpha\acute{\xi}$ [2]," cols. 1408-1409 [1950] does not know this important article.) The largest number are published in I.G., II², 1835-1923, 1864a, 1871a, and the following additions are known to me: G.M.A. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, New York, 1915, p. 462, no. 1831; E. Vanderpool, *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, p. 293; T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 474, fig. 23; L. Robert, *Collection Fröhner*, I, Paris, 1936, pp. 7-11, pls. 6-7 (Robert's proposed addition of no. 4071 from A. de Ridder's *Bronzes Antiques du Louvre* II, 1915 appears as I.G., II², 1910); B. D. Theophanides, *Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1939/41, παρ. p. 17, no. 5 with G. Stamires, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 237, note 5; D. M. Robinson, *Olynthus*, X, *Metals etc.*, Baltimore, 1941, p. 500; F. Stähelin, *Arch. Anz.*, LVIII, 1943, cols. 16-19; G. Davidson and D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, pp. 12-14; A. Meletopoulos, *Πολέμων*, III, 1947/8, pp. 33-40 with *συμμεκτα κβ'* no. 15. H. A. Thompson, *Archaeology*, VII, 1954, p. 182 publishes a photograph of a new fragment.

the letter *eta*, is represented on the *pinakion* by the monogram Η.¹¹ It seems natural to suggest that either the *psephoi*, or the lettered tokens, or both, had been designed before the *pinakia*, and that Η had come to be thought of as the special form of the letter that designated not just a dikastic section, but one of any of the artificial divisions necessitated by Athenian dikastic procedure. Consequently the monogram appears where it is not actually needed. If this is so, then it can be inferred with some plausibility that on dikastic equipment generally, where artificial divisions were to be denominated, Η represented *eta*, and that the tokens of Series A and B were used in the Athenian law courts.¹² Hitherto the Athenian institution whose functions these tokens served has not been recognized. I. N. Svoronos (*Jour. Int. Arch. Num.*, I, 1898, p. 64) attempted to identify them (and others) as *εἰσηγήρια τοῦ Διονυσιακοῦ θεάτρου*, but O. Broneer's lucid explanation of how the letters on the inner curb of the gutter in the Theater of Dionysos were used removes the basis of Svoronos' argument.¹³ It is not inconceivable that some of the series of bronze tokens published by Svoronos served as entrance tickets to the theater, but at the same time it is equally possible that tokens of other series besides those of Series A and B were employed in the *dikasteria*.

The lion's head and the head of Athena that occur on the obverse of the tokens in Series A and B cannot be related specifically to the *dikasteria*. Perhaps they do no more than differentiate series of tokens. Since, however, the stampings ΒΟΛΗ, ΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΑ, and ΘΕΣΜΟΘΕΤΩΝ noted *supra* on page 393 restricted the use of those tokens to the use of a single institution or magistracy, it does not seem likely that other sorts of tokens would have been used promiscuously, i.e. in the service of more than one institution. All bronze tokens, then, stamped with a lion's head or a head of Athena on the obverse and with a letter of the alphabet on the reverse may well have been used in the *dikasteria*.

The marking Η should probably be regarded as a clue to the identity of the tokens rather than as a *sine qua non*. Other ways of distinguishing the Η from the Ι occur on bronze tokens (see Svoronos, *Les Monnaies d'Athènes*, pl. 100, nos. 26, 27), and it may be too that the bronze tokens marked ΔΗΜΟ [ΣΙΩΝ], which also bear the

¹¹ The dikastic section letter *eta* in *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, p. 12, no. 1, fig. 12 appears in the photograph to have the additional vertical stroke. The missing section letter of *I.G.*, II², 1900 (see L. Robert, *Coll. Fröhner*, p. 7, n. 1) should also be printed with the extra stroke. It shows clearly in the drawing published by E. Michon, *Bull. Soc. Antiq. Fr.*, 1908, p. 379.

¹² A. Postolacca catalogued a lead token marked with the monogram Η (*Annali d. Inst.*, XL, 1868, p. 272, no. 51, plate K), and I. N. Svoronos listed another (*Jour. Int. Arch. Num.*, III, 1900, p. 324, no. 50, pl. IZ', no. 30). These tokens were also used in the law courts. The substance from which the tokens are made is not relevant to the institution that used them. Compare the reference to boxwood *pinakia* in *ca.* 326 (*Ath. Pol.*, 63,4) and the earlier (*Demosthenes*, XXXIX, 10, 12) *pinakia* of bronze that have survived.


¹³ O. Broneer, "The ΟΧΕΤΟΣ in the Greek Theatre," *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps*, Princeton, 1936, pp. 29-41.

stamp of an urn (Svoronos, *op. cit.*, pl. 102, nos. 37-39), served in the law courts at a time when the procedure was not precisely that which Aristotle describes.

The conclusions reached above receive support from material evidence unearthed in the Athenian Agora. H. A. Thompson reported in 1954 the discovery of foundations under the northern part of the Stoa of Attalos that must certainly have supported a building in which law-suits were heard and judged in the fourth century B.C. The excavator describes the most important evidence as "a pair of water channels, rectangular in section, *ca.* 0.60 m. long, standing upright at a little distance from one another, with their concave sides turned inward. On the floor, within the hollow of one of the tiles, lay five bronze dikastic ballots of the familiar wheel shape . . . a sixth ballot . . . lay near by on the floor. Such a concentration of ballots, hitherto unparalleled, could scarcely occur outside of a law court. The evidence of the new discovery is strengthened by the finding, in earlier seasons, of three other ballots and one dikast's name plate at various points within the same general area" (*Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 58-59; cf. R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, III, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, Princeton, 1957, pp. 146-147). Miss M. Crosby, who is preparing the final publication of *pinakia* and tokens found in the Athenian Agora, has brought to my attention eight bronze, lettered tokens (Agora B 3165-3172) that were found in contexts that could have been associated with the law court building, one token in the ballot box itself.

Of the eight tokens, six are stamped on the obverse with the head of Athena or with a lion's head, and with single letters on the reverse. The remaining two are stamped on the obverse and reverse with a single letter. Token B 1171 has on the obverse the letter *phi*, on the reverse a smaller *phi*, as Svoronos, *Les Monnaies d'Athènes*, pl. 101, no. 37. Token B 1175 has been stamped on both sides with the letter *beta*, as Svoronos, *op. cit.*, pl. 101, no. 26 (I thank C. Edmonson for this information). The concentration of *psephoi* at once identifies the building and establishes a strong presumption that the tokens, found in the same general area, were used in the same building. In view of this presumption, the tokens stamped with the same letter on both sides ought to be regarded as dikastic along with the Athena-head and lion-head tokens discussed above. The different ways of stamping the bronze, lettered tokens may have been an attempt to discourage dikasts from bringing their own to the *dikasteria*. On a day when Athena-head tokens were being issued, a dikast who had brought along a lion-head token would simply have been unable to use it.

THE MARK

The figure  (Pl. 87, b, no. 24) is used to fill out the Athenian alphabet so that twenty-five tokens (instead of twenty-four) can be differentiated. It is not a monogram, but an imported letter. F. W. G. Foat published a thorough study of the letter

as it appears outside of Athens in "Tsade and Sampi," an article which is still cited.¹⁴ A year later Foat acknowledged among other contributions a letter from I. N. Svoronos who pointed out the existence of the figure on several series of Athenian bronze tokens. Of them Foat said "these are thus perhaps the oldest instances extant of the numeral Π " (*J.H.S.*, XXVI, 1906, p. 287). In view of the authority generally conceded to Foat's article, it may be useful to point out that Π does not in fact have any numerical value on these tokens, and cannot be considered a numeral. The presence of monograms clearly shows that the letters were used only to denominate sections. Any alphabetical series that acts as a sequential determinant can, to be sure, be regarded as effectively a series of numerals, but the alphabetic numbering system was not used officially in fourth century Athens (see note 5 *supra*). Furthermore, arithmetical computations were not contemplated in the use of denominative letters.¹⁵

THE FUNCTION OF THE "OFFICIAL TOKEN"

The *σύμβολον δημοσίου* of *Ath. Pol.*, 65,2 was not used in connection with any of the allotments noted by Aristotle as having a place in the dikastic procedure of his day. He describes or notes eight sorts of allotment in the course of his description, and they effect the following assignments: (1) dikasts to courts, (2) magistracies to courts, (3) men to regulate *klepsydra*, hand out *psephoi*, disburse pay, (4) letters to courts, (5) thesmothetes to the allotment of magistracies, (6) man to hand out tokens at door, (7) man to hand out tokens at voting, and (8) places to dikasts who are being paid. Aristotle details the procedure of the first three allotments noted above. There is no place in them for tokens. The allotment of letters to courts would most improbably demand a series of tokens lettered from A to Π , since the *dikasteria* were denominated only by the letters from *lambda* on (*Ath. Pol.*, 63,2). The allotment numbered (5) above involved the selection of two men from six, and the allotments numbered (6) and (7) above involve the selection of one man from an unknown number. None of these three allotments suggests the number twenty-five postulated by the lettered tokens.

¹⁴ *J.H.S.*, XXV, 1905, pp. 338 ff. Cited e.g. by W. Larfeld, *Griechische Epigraphik*, Munich, 1914, pp. 225 ff.; M. N. Tod, *B.S.A.*, XLV, 1950, p. 136, note 23, but not by V. Gardthausen in *R.E.*, s.v., *Kleinasiatische Alphabete*, col. 611 (drawn from his article in *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Buchwesen und Schrifttum*, I, 1918, pp. 57-60), or by E. Schwyzer in *Glotta*, XI, 1921, pp. 77-78; *Griechische Grammatik*, Munich, 1939, 1.149, 318-319.

¹⁵ M. N. Tod, *B.S.A.*, XLIX, 1954, pp. 1-8. Tod cites *I.G.*, II², 1443, lines 12 ff., where the Athenians acknowledge receipt of twenty-eight *ῥυμοί* of uncoined silver. The letters that label each *ῥυμός* stop at the letter *chi*, and then start over again from *alpha*, using double letters for the second series (AA, BB etc.). In the case of the tokens of Series B, the addition of an imported letter suggests that the full number of divisors was twenty-five, and that the number to be divided was divisible by twenty-five. A dikastic panel, made up as it was of even hundreds of men (leaving aside for the present the question of the one odd man) could be so divided.

The allotment of places to dikasts, number (8) above, who are being paid must be discussed at greater length. Aristotle says at *Ath. Pol.*, 69,2 that the dikasts receive their pay *ἐν τῷ μέρει οὗ ἔλαχον ἕκαστοι*, and the word *ἔλαχον* has not been satisfactorily explained. Sandys (*ad. loc.*) refers the reader to *Ath. Pol.*, 66,3, which is no explanation at all. A *πρόγραμμα* is not an allotment, nor does it necessarily involve an allotment. G. Colin (*Rev. Et. Gr.*, XXX, 1917, p. 80) says, "Le mot *ἔλαχον* ne s'expliquerait pas," and H. Hommel (p. 28) simply translates, "an dem Platze wo ein jeder hingehört." The allotment may, however, be correctly explained, and it will be seen that no tokens are involved.

Those who have been selected by lot as disbursers (actually, selected by being rejected in a sortition, *Ath. Pol.*, 66,3) establish the order in which the dikasts receive their pay. The allotted disbursers take the dikasts' *pinakia* one by one and at random out of the boxes into which they had been thrown by the magistrate who superintended the first allotment of the day for each tribe, and read off the names. Each dikast comes forward when he hears his name called and receives his pay (*Ath. Pol.*, 65,4 [δπ]ως ἐκ τούτων [κ]αλοῦντες ἀπο[δι]δῶσι τὸν μισθόν). While waiting to hear his name called the dikast waits in the area of the court building that has been assigned to his *phyle*. He has no way of knowing whether he will be the next man called, or whether he will be the last man. He can only wait until his *pinakion* is drawn from the box. It may be said then that the dikasts are paid, each in his allotted order. Aristotle regularly during his account of Athenian dikastic procedure uses a form of the word *λαγχάνειν* to describe a sortition that has been effected by the chance drawing of *pinakia* out of a box or *balanoi* out of a *hydria*: *Ath. Pol.*, 64,4 εἰς οἶον ἂν λάχῃ; 66,2 τοὺς πρώτους λα[χόντας κληροῖ]; 66,3 οἱ δὲ ἀπολαχόντ[ες]; 68,2 [οἱ] δὲ λαχόντες [ἐπὶ τὰς ψήφους].

Another possible use of the tokens may be considered. The Athenian dikasts sat during trials on wooden benches, and in the late fifth century those who arrived first had first choice of a seating place (Aristophanes, *Vesp.*, 89 ff.). At the time Aristotle describes, however, dikastic procedure had changed in many ways from that of the fifth century,¹⁶ and to surmise that by a time well before 326 the Athenians had found it useful to establish some rule of order for the seating of the large numbers of dikasts does not seem unreasonable. If the wooden benches were marked off into twenty-five general seating areas, each denominated by a letter of the alphabet, and if the dikasts were to receive upon entering the court a token marked with a letter that directed them each to one seating area, at least two advantages would result. First, the inevitable confusion involved in the seating of e.g. 1,000 men would be reduced, and second, the possibility of prejudiced or bribed dikasts sitting in a concen-

¹⁶ See H. Hommel, pp. 109-135; A. W. Gomme, *Cl. Rev.*, XLIV, 1930, pp. 65-66; R. Bonner and G. Smith, *The Administration of Justice from Homer to Aristotle*, Chicago, 1930, I, pp. 346-378.

trated group and forming a sort of clique¹⁷ would be diminished. The suggestion is made here then that the "official tokens" were handed out in a chance order at the door of the court building, and that each dikast sat in that area of the court to which the lettered token assigned him.

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¹⁷ The Athenian dikastic panels were articulate, and if a group of dikasts sat together and supported each other in loud criticisms or approvals during the pleadings, they could to some extent influence the proceedings and outcome of the trial. Aristophanes alludes to such groups in the *ekklesia* (Eccl. 289 ff.; see also Thucydides, VI, 13,1 and Plutarch, *Pericles*, XI, 2), and the seating of *bouleutai* according to the letter which they have been allotted may be interpreted as an attempt to prevent similar practises in the *boule* (cf. F. Jacoby, *Fr.Gr.Hist.*, 328, F 140, Commentary, pp. 510-511). Apparently, however, interested persons did continue to contrive to sit near each other (Theophrastos, *Char.* XXIX, 6, Diels).

LATE GEOMETRIC GRAVE GROUPS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 88-92)

SEVEN grave groups of the eighth century B.C. found in the Agora Excavations, hitherto wholly or partially unpublished, are presented here.¹

The graves may be located by their grid numbers on the plan in *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pl. 12. Five of them are marked on the plan of roads and graves of the Geometric period in *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 278. Of these, graves E 19: 1, E 19: 2, E 19: 3, and E 18: 1 form the little concentration east of the road which passes north and south over the west slope of the Areopagus. The fifth, grave N 21: 6, is marked south

¹ The photography was done by M. Alison Frantz. The skeletal material was identified by J. Lawrence Angel.

A plan which will indicate the relative positions of all graves and other deposits of the eleventh through the seventh centuries B.C. will be included in the final publication of the pottery of that period. The following Protogeometric and Geometric graves have been published since 1939, when the Late Geometric cemetery was published by R. S. Young in *Hesperia*, Suppl. II:

- I 18: 1 *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 158, pl. 41, 1 (Middle Geometric).
- D 16: 2 R. S. Young, "Sepulturae Intra Urbem," *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, Grave 1, p. 82, pl. 35, c, d 1949, pp. 275 ff., pls. 66-72.
- D 16: 3 *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 330, pl. 104, 1 (Late Geometric).
- B 21: 10 R. S. Young, "Sepulturae Intra Urbem," *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, Grave 1, p. 82, pl. 35, c, d (Late Geometric).
- B 21: 23 *Ibid.*, upper fill of Grave 18, pp. 83-85, pls. 35, c, 36 (Late Geometric).
- B 21: 2 *Ibid.*, Grave 2, pp. 85-86, pls. 37, a, b (Subgeometric).
Ibid., Grave A, p. 69, pl. 35, a, b.
- R 20: 1 *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 196-197, pl. XLI, 1, 2.
- J 7: 1 *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 200-201, pls. 72, b, 77, nos. 37-38.
- O 7: 11 *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 108, pl. 27, c (Protogeometric).
- D 16: 4 C. W. Blegen, "Two Athenian Grave Groups of about 900 B.C.," *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 279 ff., pls. 73-78 ff.
- Q 8: 6 *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 58, pl. 16, c (Protogeometric).

The following short titles are used in this paper:

Hesperia, Suppl. II: R. S. Young, "Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh Century Well in the Agora," *Hesperia*, Supplement II, Athens, 1939.

Kerameikos, V, 1: K. Kübler, *Kerameikos: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen Die Nekropole des 10 bis 8 Jahrhunderts*, V, 1, Berlin, 1954.

Matz: F. Matz, *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst, Die geometrische und die früharchaische Form*, text and plates, Frankfurt, 1950.

of the upper branch of the road which ran at right angles to the former across the north slope of the Areopagus; it lay over the dromos of the big Mycenaean chamber tomb at N 21-22. All five graves were of the third quarter of the eighth century B.C.

A sixth grave, Q 17: 6, lay by the east-west road lower down on the Areopagus slope and roughly in the course of the road which runs at latitude 16 on the grid plan. This grave belonged to the very late eighth century.

Grave N 11: 1, of the last quarter of the eighth century, was near the very center of the later Agora. It is the last pre-classical burial found in the actual square and evidently gives a *terminus post quem* for the final exclusion of burials from this busy residential area,² just as one last well (*Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 39; to be published in a later article as Well F) marks the upper limit for the conversion of the same area into the public market place.

The dating of the offerings in each grave and their significance is discussed in the Catalogue. A chronology of compromise between Kübler's early dating in *Kerameikos* V,1 and Young's low dating in *Hesperia*, Suppl. II is corroborated by such evidence as the graves offer on this problem. Concisely stated, it seems that the end of Ripe Geometric and much of Late Geometric must fall within the third, rather than the second or last quarter of the eighth century B.C.

Grave E 19: 3. Inhumation. Fig. 1, Pl. 88.

L. 1.70 m.; W. 0.55 m.; diam. 0.38 m.

Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 271, noted.

Cut into bedrock and oriented north and south. Skeleton of a man, about twenty-four years old, stretched out with head at south end. Southern top edge of shaft projects to form a niche over the head. For position of offerings see Figure 1. The dagger (7) lay by the right forearm, the scarab (8) at the right foot.

Compared with other graves of the area this one is fairly richly furnished. One wonders whether the young man who kept his knife by his side in the grave brought home the scarab from his own travels.

What is striking about the offerings is that oinochoe 1, of Ripe Geometric style, occurs in the company of the ordinary, cursorily made Late Geometric ware. Possibly the relatives simply bought old stock cheap for the grave, but in view of the evidence of Grave E 19: 1, the more likely explanation seems to be that both styles were current in the third quarter of the eighth century B.C.

² See *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 39 for the many household wells found here.

1. Trefoil oinochoe. Pl. 89.

P 15122. H. 0.215 m.; diam. 0.155 m.

Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 271, fig. 7, bottom center.

Broad plain base, with the slightest ridge outside. Single-strand rolled handle. Glazed all over except for inner handle; reserved band on shoulders, in it three glaze lines. On neck, a picture panel framed by diagonals in columns at the sides, zigzag at bottom. In panel, grazing doe to right; dot rosettes, dotted oval and star in field.

Reddish brown glaze, metallic in places.

A small work by the "classical" Dipylon workshop, the products of which have been collected by P. Kahane, "Die Entwicklungsphasen der attischen Keramik," *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 477 and G. Nottbohm, "Der Meister der grossen Dipylon-Amphora in Athen," *Jahrb.*, LVIII, 1942, p. 2. (Different hands have since been distinguished by E. Kunze. Two early krater doublets, "Disiecta membra attischer Grabkratere," *'Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1953-1955, I, pp. 162 ff.; a hand later than the great amphora itself; "Bruchstücke attischer Grabkratere," *Festschrift Bernhard Schweitzer*, Stuttgart, 1954, pp. 48 ff.). First on Nottbohm's list is the Agora fragment *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, C 134, p. 180, fig. 130; by the same hand as an unpublished fragmentary Dipylon amphora (Agora P 10664).

The grazing doe on the neck panel with its concavely bent neck is very like those of a procession on the neck of an amphora as well as that on a banded oinochoe with an almost identical neck panel, both in Munich and assigned to the Dipylon workshop (*C.V.A.*, Munich 3, Inv. 6080, pl. 107, p. 11; Inv. 6400, pls. 110, 112, p. 13).

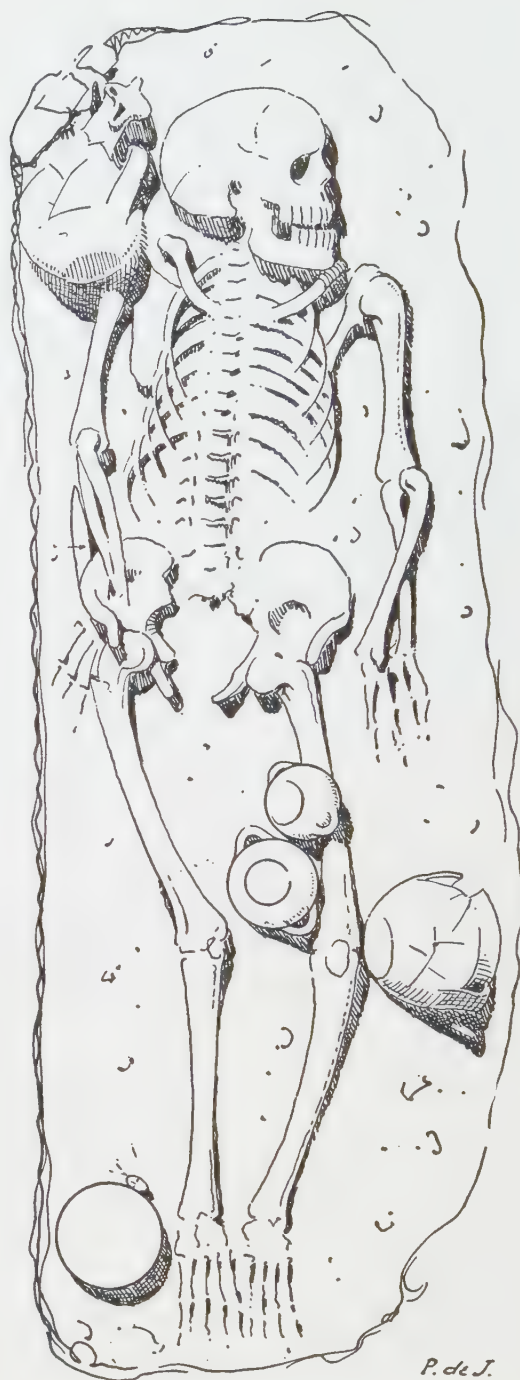
Somewhat after 750 B.C.

2. Oinochoe. Pl. 89.

P 15127. Rest. H. 0.216 m.; diam. 0.147 m.

Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 271, fig. 7, top center.

Neck and handle restored. Like 1, but



Τέν cms.

FIG. 1. Grave E 19:3.

shoulder unglazed, with one band in blank panel. Reserved band at base of neck and at bottom.

An almost exact counterpart with a solid glazed neck comes from a Late Geometric Well (L 18:2) in the Agora; this well also contained a Phaleron cup like those in *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, Grave IX. Cf. the shape of the oinochoe from that grave (*ibid.*, IX 12) and its Kerameikos counterpart (*Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 78, Grave 90) with that of 2.

Fine widely spaced lines on the shoulder occur on a somewhat earlier oinochoe with a banded body (*ibid.*, pl. 76, Grave 76). Later example: *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, C 113, p. 174, fig. 125. This Late Geometric scheme of light shoulder and dark body on oinochoai harks back to Early Protogeometric (V. Desborough, *Proto-geometric Pottery*, Oxford, 1952, p. 48).

Third quarter of the eighth century.

3. Skyphos with tongues. Pl. 89.

P 15125. H. 0.06 m.; diam. 0.092 m.

Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 271, fig. 7, upper right.

Low disk foot. Inside glazed, reserved line at rim, dot on bottom. Outside, rim banded, hatched tongues in panels; below, banding and solid glaze to foot. Dots over handles and one dot above each attachment.

Skyphoi with false gadrooning are perhaps even more common than bird skyphoi (see 4). See *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 99, from graves 71, 28; several from the Agora, e. g. P 17181 from a Late Geometric Well, M 11:1.

This example is a little more careful than most; usually the tongues are squeezed together at the bottom, thus obscuring the gadroon effect.

4. Skyphos with birds. Pl. 89.

P 15126. H. 0.069 m.; diam. 0.112 m.

Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 271, fig. 7, upper left.

Plain base, pointed lower body. Straight rim. Glazed inside with two reserved lines at rim. Outside, on rim dots. On shoulder, two panels

with birds with hatched bodies, facing center, between them a column of cross hatching. Near handles, dotted circle with dot tail; bands over handles. Below, bands and solid glaze to foot. Inside glazed red, outside discolored reddish brown.

These bird skyphoi are ubiquitous in Late Geometric; see *C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl. 122, 4; *C.V.A.*, Copenhagen, Musée National III h, pl. 70, 9; E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, Munich, 1932, pl. 4, 31; *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 97; Agora P 17183 from a Late Geometric well M 11:1. A scaraboid seal-stone was found in such a skyphos (*Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, p. 310, pl. 40,7; see below under 8).

These skyphoi precede the group of "bird and birdseed" cups (*B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, p. 144, fig. 5) and appear to be the products of one shop working in the third quarter of the eighth century B.C.

5. Kantharos. Pl. 89.

P 15123. H. to rim 0.121 m.; diam. 0.15 m.

Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 271, fig. 7, lower left.

Low standing base, pointed body. High straight rim not offset from shoulder. Pushed in to form an oval where handles are attached. High swung, broad band handles. Glazed inside with reserved dot at center of bottom, and reserved line at rim. Outside, on rim, elongated dots connected by lines; below, cross hatched tongues in panels. On each handle cross bars and a long panel with a cross on outer side of handle. Bottom glazed solid.

Black glaze.

A very fine kantharos with real gadrooning is in Boston, A. Fairbanks, *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Cambridge, Mass., 1928, pl. XXII, 271. For a kantharos with false gadrooning from the Agora see *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, XV, 2, p. 74, fig. 48. A contemporary bird kantharos from the Kerameikos, *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 86, Grave 24. Such pots, twice re-

moved from their metal originals (*Hesperia*, Suppl. II, p. 223) were mass produced at this time. For the history of the kantharos see *ibid.*, p. 204.

Third quarter of the eighth century B.C.

6. Kantharos. Pl. 89.

P 15124. H. to rim 0.132 m.; diam. 0.155 m.

Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 271, fig. 7, lower right.

Like 5, but double reserved line at rim inside, additional cross panel on side of handle facing pot. Dots on rim; stacked chevrons between tongues; more bands above base.

Black glaze.

See under 5. A little earlier: *C.V.A.*, Mannheim 1, pl. I, Inv. 127.

7. Iron knife. Pl. 89.

IL 744. L. 0.122 m.; W. 0.02 m.

Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 271, fig. 7, top row.

Long straight (?) blade with pointed tang for insertion into handle. Much encrusted.

Knives from Late Geometric graves are usually slightly curved with a convex cutting edge, but this one is so encrusted that it is impossible to tell whether it is an odd straight one, or perhaps even a dagger. See *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, p. 104, fig. 73 (Late Geometric); *Hesperia*, XXI, 1925, p. 287, pl. 74, c (Early Geometric).

8. Scarab. Pl. 89.

G 198. L. 0.013 m.; H. 0.007 m.

Sky-blue frit, pierced lengthwise. In intaglio, an ibex (?) to right. Groove around border.

Scarabs of this sort are universally agreed to yield no date. For a listing of scarabs found in Greece see J. D. S. Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca*, Cambridge, 1930 (Attic ones rare), supplemented by H. Payne, *Perachora*, Oxford, 1940, pp. 76-77. See also Young, *Hesperia*, Suppl. II,

Appendix II, The Isis Grave, pp. 234-236; *Kerameikos*, V, 1, p. 159, note 121, and the summary by T. J. Dunbabin, *The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbours*, London, 1957, pp. 39-40, 49.

Deer and ibex on Egyptian scarabs: F. Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs*, London, 1925, p. 24.

A scarab found in Corinth in an eighth century context, of the same beetle type as ours and with similar carving on the underside, is the closest parallel (G. Davidson, *Corinth*, XII, *The Minor Objects*, p. 223, no. 1763, pl. 100). It was tentatively pronounced to be of Phoenician make, and a similar origin is possible for the Agora scarab. Another Phoenician import, a glass amulet, was found in an Agora well of the first half of the century (R. S. Young, "An Early Amulet found in Athens," *Hesperia*,



FIG. 2. Spindle Whorl MC 206.

Suppl. VIII, 1949, pp. 426 ff., pl. 64). From the same well comes a spindle whorl with an impression evidently from a similar scarab (Agora MC 206, Fig. 2, Pls. 89, 90). A Phoenician "false scarab" was found in a grave near Athens in a Geometric skyphos made in the workshop of our 4 (*Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, p. 310, no. 7, pl. 40). These Phoenician knick-knacks must have been much more common than a count of the finds would show (no scarabs from Athens have apparently ever been illustrated). Two other scarabs have been found in the Agora, but not in relevant contexts (G 124; MC 147). See several from Chios, *B.S.A.*, XXXV, 1934-1935, pl. 32. Note the similarity of the Corinth and Agora intaglios with Geometric animals (cf. the ibex on the oinochoe, Matz, pl. 7, and the cow, E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Munich, 1923, Vol. III, pl. 4, no. 14).



1/2 cm.

P. de J. del.

FIG. 3. Grave E 19:1.

Grave E 19: 1. Inhumation. Fig. 3, Pl. 88.

L. 2 m.; W. 0.58 m.

Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 271, noted.

Grave cut in bedrock and oriented east and west. Skeleton of a male, about forty years old, laid out with arms at sides and knees slightly bent. The head, which had however been disturbed, was at the east. The offerings were at the west end. In the fill there was a little mixed pottery, including Geometric and Protogeometric scraps.

The association of an Attic copy of the round walled Protocorinthian kotyle **2** with the bird skyphos **1** is interesting since such kotylai are usually found with rather advanced Late Geometric (cf. the very slightly later kotyle *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 132 and its pottery context, *ibid.*, pl. 134 from the same workshop as vases of an Agora pyre, *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, Grave XII, pp. 55 ff.; also the Manchester kotyle in *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, p. 144, fig. 4 b and Cook's remarks on the kotyle series, p. 153). The thought that Late Geometric moves quickly again suggests itself.

Date of grave: third quarter of the eighth century B.C.

1. Skyphos with birds. Pl. 90.

P 15030. H. 0.08 m.; diam. 0.12 m.

Shape just like E 19: 3, 4 but shoulder goes straight into rim. Inside glazed with reserved dot in center, reserved band half way up, two reserved lines at rim. Outside, on rim, broad band with lines on either side. On shoulder, in panels separated by columns of hatching, birds facing center; dot rosettes. Lower body and handles glazed.

Black glaze.

For the run of the Late Geometric bird skyphoi see E 19: 3, 4. This one, with its long-necked silhouette birds and column hatching, gives the impression of being patterned after Dipylon work; see under E 19: 3, **1**. Similar: J. P. J. Brants, *Beschrijving van de Klassieke Verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, The Hague, 1930, pl. 6, nos. 29, 30; cf. also the lower part of an amphora from the Dipylon workshop, *C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl. 106,2; very close is the jug handle, *Algemeene Gids*, Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam, 1956, pl. XLVI, no. 1210.

After 750 B.C.

2. Kotyle. Fig. 4, Pl. 90.

P 15029. H. 0.062 m.; diam. 0.115 m.

Plain base, plain rim, drawn in. All glazed except for dot on bottom inside, a line inside and outside at rim, narrow zone at the base.

Reddish brown glaze, peeled.



FIG. 4. Kotyle 2 from Grave 19: 1.

This is an Attic copy of a Corinthian kotyle of the third quarter of the eighth century B.C., plain painted like an Attic skyphos which differs only in having an offset rim, e.g. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 100.

The Corinthian kotylai which, besides being imported to Athens, are found in Cumae and Syracuse (and hence have absolute dates) are with their Attic copies among the pieces which give the dates of Attic Geometric and have a

large literature, e.g. Kahane, *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 478 ff., pl. 28; Cook, *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, p. 153, fig. 4; Kübler, *Altattische Malerei*, Tübingen, 1950, p. 6, figs. 1-3; *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 132 and *passim*; *A.J.A.*, LX, 1956, pp. 73-74.

An exact parallel to ours is found in W. Kraiker, *Aigina, Die Vasen des 10. bis 7. Jahr-*

hunderts, Berlin, 1951, pl. 2, no. 30, from a Late Geometric deposit. The wideness of both kotylai indicate that they are early in the series. The Attic copies do not seem to lag much behind their prototypes (e.g. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 132, a Corinthian and an Attic example from Grave 99).

Ca. 730 B.C.

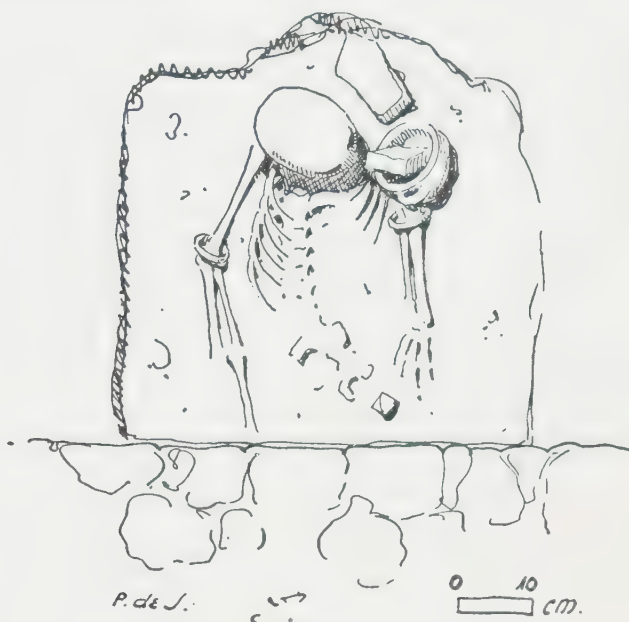


FIG. 5. Grave E 19:2.

Grave E 19:2. Inhumation. Fig. 5, Pl. 88.

P. L. 0.50 m.; W. 0.57 m.

Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 271, noted.

Cut in bedrock with head at east. Bottom half of grave and skeleton cut away in later times. The skull, that of a child of six years, was found standing upright. The piece of iron binding (3) lay by the head. It may have belonged to a chest against which the body was propped in sitting position. Near the backbone lay a glass bead (4) which had probably hung around the child's neck. On each forearm was a bronze bracelet (2).

Date of grave: third quarter of the eighth century B.C.

1. Skyphos. Pl. 90.

P 15115. H. 0.065 m.; diam. 0.107 m.

Low disk foot; rim slightly drawn out, flat on top. Glazed inside, with reserved dot on bottom, reserved band decorated with groups of vertical lines on rim. Outside, band at rim-shoulder joint; body below handles and handles glazed.

Reddish brown glaze.

Except for the dot rosettes and more successful glaze, it is like three cups in *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, Grave XX 1,2,3, pp. 95-96, fig. 67; also *Kerameikos*, V,1, Grave 21, Inv. 366, pl. 100.

2. Bronze armlets. Pl. 90.

B 689. Approx. diam. 0.045 m.; Th. of wire 0.004 m. and 0.003 m.

Two armlets, made of heavy bronze wire oval in section. The plain ends overlap for about 0.02 m. Green patina, sound condition.

A similar armlet was found in a child's grave at the *Kerameikos*, *Kerameikos*, V,1, Grave 87, p. 196; also in the *Agora*, *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, XII 26, p. 67, fig. 73.

3. Rivetted Iron Binding. Pl. 90.

IL 745. P. L. 0.057 m.; W. 0.028 m.; distance between bands 0.019 m.

Two bands held together by two long pins with heads rivetted into bands. Traces of wood between the bands.

Probably used to hold together the wooden slats of a chest or, less likely in a child's grave, a bier. Cf. *Kerameikos*, V,1, pl. 167, M 125-127.

4. Glass Bead. Pl. 90.

G 197. L. 0.022 m.; diam. 0.024 m.

Double cone with hole slightly off center. One end of hole has a slot cut into one side. Clear, light green glass; silvery greenish blue patination.

Shaped like a spindle whorl of the period.

No other glass beads in Geometric contexts

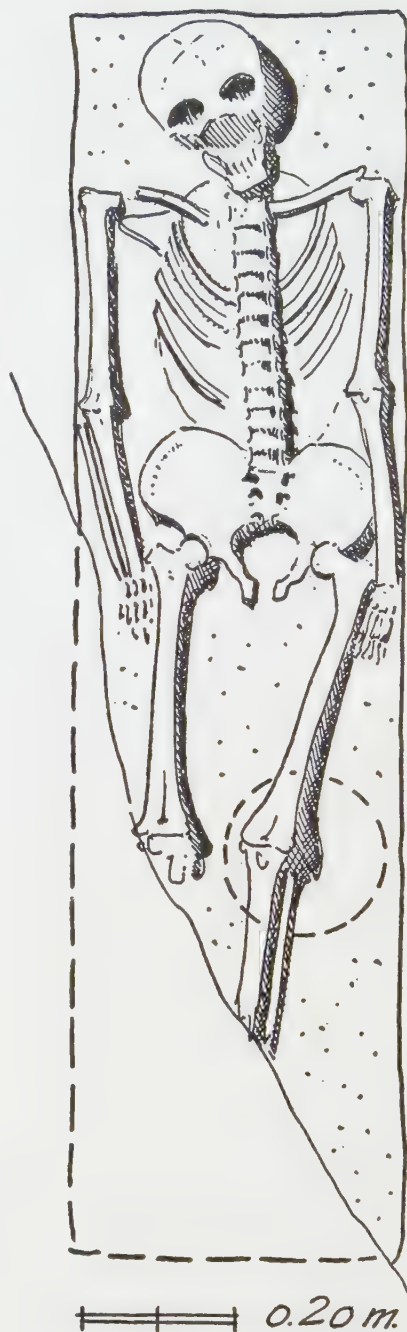


FIG. 6. Grave E 18:1.

at Athens appear to have been published, but the situation is analogous to that of the scarabs; there are plenty of the period in other sites,

especially in Laconia (R. M. Dawkins, *Artemis Orthia*, J.H.S., Supplement V, London, 1929, p. 386) and at Perachora (H. Payne, *Perachora*, Oxford, 1940, p. 76). It is possible that the biconical shape of the spindle whorls newly introduced in this period (e.g. MC 206, Pl. 90, see above, under E 19:3, 8) was suggested by glass beads like ours and found to be very functional, having a maximum hole length with a minimum chipping surface.

Beads of this shape occur in Mycenaean times, e.g. C. W. Blegen, *Prosymna*, I, Cambridge, 1937, p. 304, no. 7, "Bicones" fig. 284, 4.

This bead, as well as the scarab E 19:3, 8 will be discussed further by Th. E. Haevernick in her publication of beads from the Agora.

5. Terracotta horse. Pl. 10.

P 15106. Found in earlier exploration immediately by this grave and very probably belonging with it.

P. H. 0.073 m.; L. 0.073 m.

All but one leg broken off; that one is finished at the bottom but shows signs of an attachment a little above. On one side, head and neck reserved with lines on neck and dot-and-tangents around breast. On the other side only head reserved. Bands down back and tail.

The horse probably stood on a pyxis lid. Its one-sided decoration shows that it had mates; the plain side would be set against another horse of the group. A barrel-mouth and a blade-like mane are normal for Late Geometric horses, but the wide spread of the mane and the lightness of the decoration point to the white horses of the seventh century (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 617 ff., figs. 83-86). The Late Geometric caparison is matched by the decoration of the pots in *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, Grave XX, pp. 94-97, fig. 67.

Geometric horses: *Ibid.*, pp. 224-225, *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pls. 142-143 and *passim*; Matz, p. 75, pl. 26.

Grave E 18: 1. Inhumation. Fig. 6, Pl. 88.

P. L. 1.30 m.; W. 0.43 m.; diam. at head 0.80 m.

Hesperia, XVIII, 1949, p. 277, noted.

Cut in bedrock, shaft oriented north and south. Male skeleton, about fifty years old, with legs outstretched and arms at sides, lying with head at north, slightly raised. Fill shot through with cinders and wood ash. The lid was lying in the fill about half way down above the left knee. There were no other offerings, but a few sherds scattered through the fill were largely Late Geometric.

Probably a part of the grave complex E 19: 1,2,3, and to be dated with these in the third quarter of the eighth century B.C.

1. Lid. Fig. 7, Pl. 91.

P 17504. Diam. 0.195 m.; H. 0.06 m.

Intact. Round, concave coming to a point in the center, with a strap handle. Unglazed.

This shield-shaped lid would fit a large round-mouthed jug or an amphora, like *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, X 12, p. 46, fig. 32 and XIV 1, p. 72, fig. 46. Saucer-shaped lids (Agora P 4989b, P 5422b) which have a flat standing

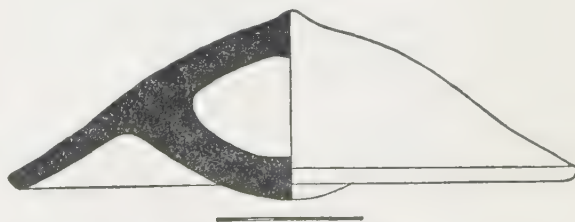


FIG. 7. Lid 1 from Grave E 18: 1.

surface on the convex underside are illustrated on Plate 92. Similar mastoid-shaped lids were

made in Crete, J. K. Brock, *Fortetsa*, Cambridge, 1957, pl. 108, bottom.

Grave N 21: 6. Inhumation. Pl. 88.

Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 292, fig. 34; marked on the plan fig. 15.

The burial lies over the dromos of the Mycenaean chamber tomb N 21-22: 1, *ibid.*, pp. 274 ff. The eastern part of the grave was on bedrock; the rest lay over the soft fill of the dromos. A large tree had sent down its roots among the offerings and the bits of bone which were left were very much disturbed. The head apparently lay at the northeast.

Third quarter of the eighth century B.C.

1. Pyxis with lid. Pls. 91, 92.

P 14816. H. to rim 0.105 m.; diam. of lid 0.217 m.

Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 291, fig. 34, left; *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 587, fig. 18.

Ring foot. Two pairs of holes in flange at rim matched by holes on edge of lid. Lid nearly flat with long stem and pyxis-shaped knob, broken at top. On lid, from outside in: triangles, dots, solid glaze. Bands and solid glaze on stem, chevrons on knob, solid glaze on top of knob. On bowl, from top: zigzags, hatched maeander, gear pattern, triangles, foot glazed. On underside, twelve foil star with irregular hatched leaves, naturally drawn.

Discolored brown glaze.

The underside is painted in the same ungeometric manner as that of the pyxis *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, p. 82, XVII 14. Similar leaf patterns in *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 62, especially Inv. 5709.

The most characteristic feature of these Geometric flat pyxides is the variety in their sameness; seldom are two exactly alike either in shape or decoration, even in the same group. Two stages represented by Agora grave groups, one of the first half of the eighth century (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. 41, p. 158, I 18: 1), the other of the third quarter (*Hesperia*, Suppl. II, Grave XVII, pl. 54) can be distinguished. This pyxis, **1**, as well as **2** and **3** belong to the

second stage, when the pyxides have grown larger and less monotonously neat in workmanship, and where the earlier running decoration is broken up into panels which contain new filling ornament such as birds, swastikas, leaves, maeander strips (see **2**).

Cf. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pls. 58, 59. For use and development see *ibid.*, pp. 27-28, 64; *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, pp. 200-201.

Third quarter of the eighth century B.C.

2. Pyxis. Pls. 91, 92.

P 14817. H. 0.083 m.; diam. 0.185 m.

Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 291, fig. 34, center.

Much of sides missing. Ring foot. Rim flange has one hole preserved. Outside: fine zigzags, hatched maeander panels alternating with swastika panels. At base, triangles. Underside: large hatched maeander with legs rounded to fit tondo, stars in fields. Inside on bottom: concentric circles with cross in center; corners filled with concentric triangles.

Blackish brown glaze.

Cf. *Kerameikos*, V, 1, pl. 61, Inv. 609 for the concentric angle motif. The adaptation of the maeander to the tondo parallels the drawing of the leaves on the underside of **1** in the loose handling of Geometric forms.

3. Lid with cup on stem. Pl. 91.

P 14818. H. 0.17 m.; diam. 0.336 m.

Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 292, fig. 34; *A.J.A.*, XLIII, p. 586, fig. 19.

Underedge rounded off by paring. On shallow dome, a ridged solid stem bearing a cup with rolled handles and high straight rim. Cup painted inside, rim banded inside and out. Connected concentric circles on shoulder, banding below. Bands over handle and its attachment. Stem glazed onto lid, then two bands, solid glaze band, and zones of decoration all set off by three bands: zigzags, stacked zigzag lines, standing triangles.

Brown to black glaze.

Cf. the lid-with-a-skyphos on a Late Geometric bowl *C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl. 105, 104,3, p. 10 (with comparative material); also *ibid.*, pl. 114, 104,4. The skyphos on 3 is comparable

to a rib-stemmed Agora krater (*Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pl. 29 a, b).

Lids with pot handles are common; often the handle pot follows the shape of the main pot, e. g. a bowl pyxis on a bowl pyxis (*Kerameikos*, V,1, pl. 31, Inv. 2135), a flat pyxis on a flat pyxis (*ibid.*, pl. 57 and 1 above), a jug on a jug (Munich, *op. cit.*; *Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, pp. 205 ff.). The geometric pyxides are always dummies (in classical times pyxides often have real miniatures on lids). They must have been made in the spirit in which we are intrigued by infinite mirror images and in which the pot stacks like *C.V.A.*, Athens 1, pl. 1,5, were made. Those lid pots which had actual capacity may have been used for an extra offering.

Third quarter of the eighth century B.C.

Grave N 11: 1. Cist Grave. Pl. 88.

W. 0.50 m.

Hesperia, XXII, 1953, p. 39, noted as grave to the east of the southeast corner of the great court of the Gymnasium.

A shallow grave superimposed on the well N 11: 5 (*ibid.*, p. 39). The grave was a simple cist and oriented north and south with the head of the skeleton, which was that of a child of ten years, at the north side. A number of small field stones along the east may have come from a lining; the pots were found among these. Two other skulls were found in the area of the grave but above it; one of these was of a man of about fifty years. Since there were other grave-like but empty cuttings in the vicinity it is likely that there was a small group of graves here, but whether they were contemporary with N 11: 1 cannot be determined.

The sequence of deposits here is very interesting. In the well was found the neck of a large Dipylon grave amphora (*ibid.*, pl. 18, a), a slipshod last product of the Dipylon tradition, surely no earlier than 730 B.C.; while among the latest well fill was a Late Geometric amphora neck with a horse (P 22439; M2 in an article on Late Geometric Wells to appear in *Hesperia*) which, though it shows an advance over the horses on the Dipylon neck in its outlined mouth and hooves and in the looseness of its stance, is not really far removed from it in its low technique and careless spirit. Both fragments have useful connections, the Dipylon neck with an amphora from Grave 85 in the *Kerameikos* (*Kerameikos* V,1, pls. 37, 141) which contains Phaleron cups, the Late Geometric neck with the Benaki Amphora (Cook in *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, p. 150, pl. 19) whose painter just preceded the Early Protoattic painters. One may

infer that at the very most two decades separate these pots, and that the grave which the Dipylon amphora marked was by no means undisturbed for the conventionally assumed "decent" generation. If the well is just pre-Protoattic, the grave offerings, though clearly made to order to suit a child's taste and perhaps a little old fashioned, have only Late Geometric parallels. Again, one may infer that the putting down of the grave over the well was a matter of a few years, if not months.

This find sequence, besides showing once again that one cannot reckon with rigid chronological spacings, seems to offer evidence in favor of a Late Geometric period (used in P. Kahane's sense, *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 478 ff., not in Young's who includes the Ripe style) beginning neither as early as 750 nor as late as 710 B.C.

Date of grave, *ca.* 710 B.C.

1. Squat trefoil oinochoe. Pl. 92.

P 22412. H. 0.09 m.; diam. at base 0.065 m.

Spreading bottom, cylindrical neck with trefoil lip. Band handle with vertical bands. On neck, bands and a zone of vertical wavy lines on shoulder, three zigzags, band and solid glaze below. Glaze very worn.

Many little squat oinochoai are found (see *C.V.A.*, Athens 1, pl. 3, nos. 8-10, 12-14), but this one is really just a jug like 2 with its lip pulled into a trefoil.

2. Jug. Pl. 92.

P 22413. H. 0.08 m.; diam. at base 0.051 m.

Cylindrical high rim walls with slight flare. Squat flat bottom. Band handle from bottom attached at rim. On rim wall, bands, below hatched leaves. On shoulder, dots connected by tangent lines, glazed below on handle. Verticals and a cross.

Black worn glaze.

Cf. a jug from the child's grave D 16:3, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pl. 104, b, top right, also *Kerameikos* V,1, pl. III, Inv. 831 and *C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl. 117, 5 and 6.

3. Three handled cup. Pls. 91, 92.

P 22414. H. 0.055 m.; diam. at rim 0.079 m.

High, flaring rim. On shoulder three rolled handles. Low disk base. Banded inside and out. In handle zone vertical zigzags, inside, at same level, a broad band. Vertical lines on handles.

This little pot-sport is based on two handled high rimmed skyphoi such as the one from the child's grave D 16:3, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pl. 104, b, bottom right; also *Kerameikos* V,1, pl. 98. This shape was sometimes a feeder (*C.V.A.*, Munich 3, pl. 119,6) so it is appropriate for a child's grave.

See *Jahrb.*, XL, 1925, pp. 221 f., figs. 25-27 for Geometric three-handled offering baskets used in the marriage ceremony. It is a bare possibility that something of this sort was intended here.

4. Three handled cup. Pl. 92.

P 22415. Much restored including one handle.

Exactly like 3.

Grave Q 17: 6. Urn burial. Fig. 8.

In the southeast corner of Q 17. A child about one month old had been placed in the burial urn (1) which was lying on its side. The upper part of it had been cut away in later times. The mouth was closed with the foot of a bowl (2). The four small pots were outside.

The contents of this grave are paralleled by those of graves 19 and 56 at Phaleron (*A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, pp. 27-28, figs. 4,5, there dated in the first quarter of the seventh century) and Graves 64, 98, 99 and 100, from the Kerameikos (*Kerameikos* V, 1, pls. 132, 139, 106 etc., there dated to *ca.* 730 B.C.). Grave 99 was cut by Grave 100, but there is no appreciable difference in their subgeometric offerings whose forms, even when based on a Protocorinthian prototype as is the jug-aryballos here, 4, are indistinct and capricious.

Grave 98, however, contained two standed bowls from the Early Protoattic Analatos workshop, *ibid.*, pl. 26, whose activity must begin *ca.* 710 B.C. (Cook *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, p. 153), so that our Early Protoattic cup cannot be very much later. By it Grave Q 17: 6 is dated to the late eighth century B.C.

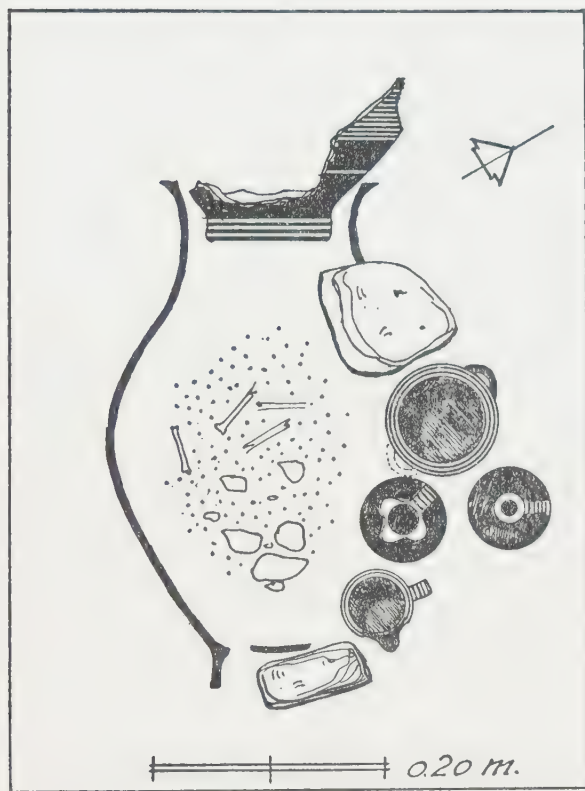


FIG. 8. Grave Q 17: 6.

1. Standed pithos: Micaceous Ware. Pl. 92.
P 25787. P. H. 0.45 m.; diam. at rim 0.20 m.

Several joining fragments, giving one side of pot. Flaring rim, broad and flat on top; stand broken away, except for top part of one panel, W. 0.095 m. Incised decoration: below rim,

double wavy lines, double horizontal strokes, double wavy lines. Below, similar patterns vertically, also straight double lines enclosing dots, and single lines enclosed by dots in Z pattern. Lower on shoulder, double zigzag and a raised wart. Below that, pattern as at rim.

Clay much pitted. The pot is broken along the line of the incised shoulder decoration and it may be that it was cut apart in antiquity to insert the body.

A similar standed pithos was found in Eretria, *B.S.A.*, XLVII, 1952, p. 11 and p. 14, fig. 16 f. High feet are typical of Eretrian pithoi and rare in Athens; perhaps the potter of the Agora pithos had seen un-Attic pieces.

Cf. a pithos with short fenestrated stand from the Kerameikos (*Kerameikos* V, 1, pl. 157, Grave 65).

The pithos is not made of the regular heavy pithos fabric but of the thin walled micaceous fabric used in cooking ware. In fact, except for its lack of handles it looks just like a cooking jug of the turn of the eighth century; *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 598, no. 225, fig. 64.

This is a time of experimentation in this fabric; for instance, hydriai are first made of this ware now, *Kerameikos* V, 1, pl. 155, Grave 98.

2. Base of bowl: Protoattic. Pl. 92.

P 25788. P. H. 0.14 m.; diam. of foot 0.11 m.
High ring foot, banded. Lower body glazed

with one reserved line. Banding above. Glazed inside.

Brownish black glaze.

From an Early Protoattic bowl like *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, Grave 29 no. 2, p. 31, fig. 11; also from Agora well O 12:1, *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 39, to be published in a later article as F 19.

Late eighth century B.C.

3. Neckless trefoil oinochoe. Pl. 92.

P 25790. H. 0.095 m.; diam. 0.073 m.

Band handle, plain base. A roughly round piece of the bottom had broken away and fallen into the pot. Glazed to just above base except for reserved space with four lines at base of handle. Vertical bands on handle.

Brownish black glaze.

The very ordinary subgeometric type, cf. *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, Grave 47, no. 5, Grave 19, no. 3, pp. 225-227, figs. 1,4; *Kerameikos* V,1, pl. 81, Grave 100.

4. Jug aryballos. Pl. 92.

P 25791. P. H. 0.085 m.; diam. 0.073 m.

Mouth restored. Band handle and flat base glazed except for reserved zone with four lines at base of handle. Wavy line on handle.

Brown to black glaze.

Cf. the examples from Phaleron graves, *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, Grave 83, no. 2, Grave 19, no. 2, pp. 25-27, figs. 3,4; from the *Kerameikos*, *Kerameikos*, V,1, Graves 64 and 99, pl. 139. For the Protocorinthian prototype, see *A.J.A.*, *op. cit.*, fig. 1, left.

5. Skyphos. Pl. 92.

P 25792. H. 0.06 m.; diam. 0.10 m.

One handle restored. Plain flaring rim, not set off from body. Short rolled handles, plain base. Glazed inside, lines on rim. Glazed all over outside except under handles.

Black glaze, worn.

Subgeometric, cf. from Phaleron, *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, Grave 10, no. 3, p. 30, fig. 9; also *Kerameikos* V,1, pl. 100, Grave 63.

6. One handled cup: Protoattic. Pls. 91, 92.

P 25789. H. 0.045 m.; diam. 0.062 m.

Intact. Flaring plain rim; lip drawn out to form spout at one side. Band handle. Slight disk base. Lower body beveled. Inside glazed, rim banded with short strokes at outside. Outside, rim glazed, lozenges to base of handle, fine banding below, broader band just above foot. Line on foot, on standing base then circle near edge, broader one near center. On handle, ladder, panel framed by three vertical lines.

Red to brown glaze.

A daintily made feeding cup based on the one handled cup type represented by *Kerameikos*, V,1, pl. 106, especially the one from Grave 100; also Phaleron Grave 56, no. 1, *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, p. 28, fig. 5. The decoration is Early Protoattic, cf. Matz, pl. 193. Cf. also real invalid cups, *Br. Mus. Quart.*, 1949-1955, pp. 65 ff., pl. XXVI; and a similar cup *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 563, no. 74.

Protoattic painters delight in miniatures; the prettiest example is the kantharos in *Hesperia*, *Suppl.* II, C 65, p. 160, fig. 113. For trefoiled feeding cups, see *ibid.*, under C 60, p. 158.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Vol. XI, 1942, p. 295, no. 58: A re-study of photograph and squeeze by Rolf Hubbe has led to improvement in the readings of several lines:

- τοῦ δήμου τὰ εἰσα]γώγεια καλῶς [ἔπραττεν ὅσα ἐτά]
- [χ]θη μετασχόντ[ω]ν καὶ Εὐμολπιδῶν [μετὰ πάσης παρα?]
- 15 [σκ]ευῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ψήφισμά τε [εἰσήνεγκεν ἔ]
- [να] ἀναγρα[φῇ] ἡ εἰσαγωγή ἐν στήλ[ῃ] λιθίνῃ ἐν]
- [τῷ Ἐ]λευσ[ιν]ίῳ, ἐκλελειμμένων [δὲ πολλῶν θυσιῶν]
- [δι' ἐτ]ῶν [π]λειόνων διὰ τοὺς καιρ[οὺς ἐν ἐκάστῳ]
- [τῷ ἐνια]υτῷ ἔθυσεν τε αὐτὸς [καὶ νῦν πρόσοδον]
- 20 [ποιησ]άμενος πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν [γνώμην ἐνεφάνισεν]
- [περὶ] αὐτῶν καὶ ψήφισμα ἐπεκέρ[υξεν ἵνα προσόδων]
- [πολ]λῶν γινομένων εἰς [τὰ ἱερὰ αἱ θυσίαι συντελῶνται]
- [τοῖ]ς θεοῖς κατὰ τὰ [πάτρια — — — — — — — — — —]

In *R.E.G.*, LVII, 1947, p. 191, J. and L. Robert commented on the restorations and suggested a text for lines 21-23. For reasons of space and syllabification it is impossible, however, to allow [προσό]δων, or any part of it, to begin line 22. Nor do they explain how the words παρ' ἑαυτοῦ are to be fitted into line 19, if the restored νῦν is to be omitted, as they suggest. The restoration [πολ]λῶν has been supplied in line 22 by Meritt, as suitable to the available space.

Vol. XVI, 1947, p. 163, no. 61: A re-examination of the squeeze by Rolf Hubbe has led to improvement in the text of lines 6-10:

εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ [οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν Μυστηρίων οἱ ἐπὶ Ἀλέ]

ξιδος ἄρχοντος [ἔθυσαν τὰς θυσίας τῶν Μεγάλων Μυστη]

ρίων καὶ τῶν πρὸ[ς] Ἀγραν μυστηρίων ἐν τοῖς καθήκουσιν]

χρονοῖς μεθ' ὧν πάτρ[ιον ἦν — — — — — — — — — — κα]

λῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως· ἔθυσαν δὲ καὶ τεῖ τε Δήμητρι καὶ τεῖ Κό]

See also Vol. XXVI, 1957, 39.

Vol. XXVIII, 1959, p. 322: Marcus Tod has kindly communicated to the editors his solution of the text — — — ε πενταφεθλέον νίκα. The verb νίκα is imperative, addressed to an athlete whose name, in the vocative, ends in — — — ε. The form πενταφεθλέον is a present active participle, from πενταφεθλέω, a variant of the well attested πενταθλέω (cf. Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*, s.v.).

On p. 12, above, No. 15, line 4, for ὅπως οὖν ἄν read ὅπως ἂν οὖν.

On p. 19, above, No. 24, line 7, for δ]ιὰ read [δ]ιὰ.

On p. 21, above, No. 27, in the third line of commentary for βένδιν read βενδῖν. The accent in the *Corpus* is incorrect.

The following note on No. 37 above (p. 30), line 9, has been contributed by N. C. Conomis of the University of Cape Town, South Africa:

“ It seems to me that Julius Polydeukes is the sophist from Naukratis, author of the well-known *Onomasticon*. It is known that he ingratiated himself with Commodus and that through his support he secured the chair (no doubt of Rhetoric) at Athens (Philostratos, *Soph. Vitae*, II, 12 [p. 593]: — — ἦ καὶ βασιλέα Κόμμοδον θέλξας τὸν Ἀθήνησι θρόνον παρ’ αὐτοῦ εὔρετο). He composed the *Onomasticon* for Commodus’ enlightenment (Pollux, I, 1-2) while he was carrying on his duties as professor at Athens (*ibid.*, viii praef.). And he began his professorship probably after 178 A. D. (see Erich Bethe in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. Iulius Pollux [Vol. X, pp. 773-779, no. 398] and also the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*).

“ Who his heirs were we do not know, but his wife and son were perhaps among them. The presence of his name on this document would alone suggest that he was a person of some means. The approximate date of the inscription should perhaps be taken as soon after 180 A. D., for Pollux died at the age of 58, probably not many years after his call to the chair.”

On p. 33, above, the inventory number of No. 40 should be read as 3775, rather than 3375.

On p. 83, above, the inventory number of No. 158 should be read as 5210b, rather than 5201b.

On p. 123, above, in Nos. 1 and 2, the readings should be Τροχινίδαο and Τροχεινίδαο, respectively.

On p. 200, above, the word καὶ in the restoration of line 26 should be deleted. D. M. Lewis, of Christ Church, has noted the undue length of the restoration in this line, and will discuss the text elsewhere.

On p. 202, above, in the second paragraph of note 6 read Quintilian’s for Quintinian’s and *suasisse* for *suassisse*. On p. 203, in note 10, read *plerisque* for *pleris*.

On p. 217, above, in the note on lines 31-32, the reference to the *Persae* should be 380-381 rather than 381-382.

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(VOL. XXIX)

EMPERORS AND THEIR FAMILIES

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- Θεαγεν[ίδης] Ἐπαμεί[ονος] Κυ[δαθηναίους], *saec.* IV *a. p. prior.*, 83 (159)
- Θεμιστο[κλῆς], archon *a.* 347/6 *a.*, 33 (39 5); Θεμ[ιστοκλῆς], 51 (65)
- Θεμισ[τοκλῆς] Νεοκλέους Φρεάρριος, orator of a decree of 480 B.C., in a late fourth century text from Troizen, 199, line 3
- Θεογν[ης] Φώκου [Κη]φι[σ]ι[εύς], *saec.* II *a.*, 54 (74)
- Θεόδωρο[ς ἐγ Μυρρινούττης], *ca. a.* 163 *a.*, father of Κλεοπάτρα, 43 (51 I); [Θεό]δωρος ἐγ Μυρρινο[ύττης], 43 (51 II); Θ. ἐγ Μ., 43 (51 III); [Θ.], 43 (51 I); Θ[εόδωρος ἐγ Μ.], father of Θεοφραστίδης, 43 (51 II)
- [Θ]εόπομπος [— — ^{ca. 9} — —] Λαμπτ(ρεύς), *ca. med. saec.* IV *a.*, 32 (38 13)
- Θεόφ[ι]λος (Ἀλαιοῦς), *ca. a.* 403/2 *a.*, father of [Διόδωρος], 25 (33 7-8)
- Θεοφραστή[δ]ης Ἀπολλων[ί — — — —]σιος, *ca. a.* 150 *a.*, uncle and husband of [Κ]λεοπάτρα Θεοδώρου ἐγ Μυρρινούττης, 43 (51 III)
- Θεοφραστίδης Θ[εοδώρου ἐγ Μυρρινούττης], *ca. a.* 130 *a.*, brother of [Κλεοπάτρα], 43 (51 II)
- Θέρσων, honored *saec.* III/II *a.*, 12 (15 11)
- Θηβ[— — —], *post med. saec.* IV *a.*, 52 (67 4). This is perhaps an ethnic
- Θρασυμήδης ἐμ Μ [οἶκ], a metic, *init. saec.* IV *a.*, 55 (76 4)
- Θρασυμή[δης] (Ξυπεταιίων), *ante med. saec.* IV *a.*, father of [— — ^{ca. 7} — —]ος, 39 (48 8)
- [Θρα]σωνίδης, *ca. a.* 450 *a.*, 65 (113 5)
- Ἱερ[— — —], councillor of Oineis *fin. saec.* III *a.*, 11 (14 23)
- Ἱερακίδας Ε[— — —], non-Athenian, *ca. med. saec.* IV *a.*, 68 (117 14)
- [Ἱε]ρὼ Τεττίου Ε[— — — — θνγάτηρ] Γλαυκίου Π[εργαμηνοῦ ? γυν]ή, *saec.* I/II *p.*, 73-74 (143)
- Ἱερώνυμος, father of [— — —]φων, *q.v.*
- Ἰθ<υ>κλῆς [Ἀρι]στολάου [Ξου]νι<ε>ύς, *saec.* II/I *a.*, 72 (138)
- Ἰλα[ρον] Φρυ[γία], *saec.* II/I *a.*, 73 (139)
- Ἱμεραῖος Σκα[μβωνίδης], in a poletai record, *init. saec.* IV *a.*, 25 (32 8-9)
- Ἰούλιος Ζηνόβιος, *paullo post a.* 180 *p.*, 30 (37 6). Cf. *Addenda*, p. 418
- Ἰούλιος [ιερ]οφάντης Ἰουλίου Σεκούνδου, *paullo post a.* 180 *p.*, 30 (37 9). Cf. *Addenda*, p. 418
- Ἰούλιος Κάνδιτος, *paullo post a.* 180 *p.*, 30 (37 12). Cf. *Addenda*, p. 418
- Ἰούλιος Πολυδεύκης, *ca. a.* 180 *p.*, the philosopher from Naukratis, 30 (37 11). Cf. *Addenda*, p. 418
- Ἰούλιος Σεκούνδος, *ca. a.* 147 *p.*, father of Ἰούλιος [ιερ]οφάντης, 30 (37 9)
- Ἰουψανία: see Οὐψανία
- [Ἰπ]ποκράτης Ἀν[— — —], councillor *ante fin. saec.* II *p.*, 35 (42A 10)
- Ἰππομ[ή]δ[ης — — —], non-Athenian, *saec.* IV/III *a.*, 34 (40 17)
- Ἰππων (Ξυπεταιίων), *ante med. saec.* IV *a.*, father of [— — ^{ca. 6} — —]λεως, 39 (48 10)
- Ἰσθμός, *saec.* II *p.*, 62 (103 6)
- Ἰσίδο[τος] Σαραπί[ωνος] Φ[λυεύς], *aet. Rom.*, 75 (149)
- Κ[...⁹...]⁹ς ἐξ Οἴου, owner of property on Lemnos, 26 (33 10-11)
- Καλλέν[ικος], *ca. med. saec.* IV *a.*, 2 (2 7)
- Καλλι[— — —], in a record of sales *a.* 370/69 *a.*, 26 (33 14)
- [Καλλικράτης] (Θορίκιος), *ca. a.* 201/0 *a.*, father of [Καλλι]κράτ[ης], 17 (22 2-3)
- [Καλλι]κράτ[ης Καλλικράτου Θορίκιος], flutist *ca. a.* 173-164 *a.*, 17 (22 2-3)
- [Καλ]λίστρα[τος Γλαύκωνος Κρωπίδης], orator *ca. a.* 267/6 *a.*, 10 (13 1-2)
- Κάνδιτος: Ἰούλιος Κάνδιτος, *paullo post a.* 180 *p.*, 30 (37 12). Cf. *Addenda*, p. 418
- [Κηφι]σογέ[νης], *saec.* V *a.*, 67 (116 5)
- [Κ]ηφισόδωρος (Ἐρχιεῦς), councillor *init. saec.* II *a.*, 14 (18 13)
- Κίττ[ος], *saec.* IV/III *a.*, 68 (118 3)
- Κλαυδι[— — — Ἀ]θηνοδ[— — —], *aet. Rom.*, 61 (99)
- Κλαύδιος: Τιβ. Κλ. Δημ[όστρατος Μελιτε]ύς, archon *ca. a.* 146-165 *p.*, 62 (105)

- Κλαύδιος: Τλ. Κλ. Φλαβιαγ[ός], *saec.* I/II *p.*, 46 (55)
- Κλαύδιος: Κλ. Χρύσιππος, *paullo post a.* 180 *p.*, 30 (37 4). Cf. *Addenda*, p. 418
- [Κλ]αύδιος [...]στρατος [Ἀτ]ηνεύς, *aet. Rom.*, 74 (145)
- Κλεόβουλος, *saec.* II/III *p.*, on a gravestone at Tarrha, 108 (79)
- Κ[λεο]γένη[ς Α]ιξωνεύς, *ante med. saec.* IV *a.*, husband of Ἀ[ρ]χίππη and father of [Ἀ]ρχίππη, 38 (46 1)
- Κλεόνικος / [— — —], non-Athenian, *ca. med. saec.* IV *a.*, 68 (117 12)
- Κλεοπάτρα Θεοδώρο[υ ἐγ Μυρρινούττης θυγάτηρ], *ca. a.* 130 *a.*, 43 (51 I); [Κ. Θεο]δώρου ἐγ Μυρρινο[ύττης θυγάτηρ], sister of Θεοφραστίδης, 43 (51 II); [Κ]λεοπάτρα Θ. ἐγ Μ. θυγάτηρ, niece and wife of Θεοφραστί[δ]ης Ἀπολλων[ί — — — —]σιος, 43 (51 III)
- [Κ]λεόστρατ[ος — — —], non-Athenian, *ca. med. saec.* IV *a.*, 67 (117 5)
- Κλεὼ Ἀριστίωνος, dedicant to Eileithuia at Hermione, 87; cf. XXVIII 110 (3)
- [Κ]όμων Θηβα[ίος], *saec.* I *a.*, father of [ΙΙ]αραμ[όνα], 73 (141)
- [Κ]ουφαγόρας Αἰξωνεύς, *init. saec.* IV *a.*, father of Ἀ[ρ]χίππη, 38 (46 4)
- Κρατῖνος (Λαμπτρέύς), *ca. a.* 172/1 *a.*, father of [— — —]δης, 77 (154 8)
- [Κρ]ίτων, *saec.* V *a.*, 67 (116 1)
- Κτησιάδης, *ca. init. saec.* IV *a.*, father of [...]ππος, 32 (38 5)
- Κτησι[ί]ας Βησαιεύς, thesmothetes *a.* 370/69 *a.*, 25 (33 6)
- Κτ[ησικλῆς], archon *a.* 334/3 *a.*, 39 (49)
- [Κ]τησωνί[δης], *saec.* II *a.*, 58 (89)
- Κωμίας, *ca. a.* 450 *a.*, 65 (113 11)
- Λ[— — —], councillor of Aigeis *init. saec.* II *a.*, 14 (18 22)
- Λέπτων [— — —], a metic, *init. saec.* IV *a.*, 55 (76 3)
- Λεύκιος, *ca. a.* 200 *p.*, 64 (109)
- Λεύκιος Εὐ[— — —], ephebos *saec.* III *p.*, 64 (111 3)
- Λεύκιος (Δειραδιώτης), *saec.* II/III *p.*, father of [— — —]ς, 63 (106 4)
- Λεωνίδης, *init. saec.* II *a.*, 56 (80 1)
- Λεων[ίδης] Λεωσ[— — —], *saec.* IV *a.*, 69 (121)
- Λεωνίδης Τ[— — —], ephebos *saec.* III *p.*, 64 (111 4)
- Λεωσ[— — —], *saec.* IV *a.*, father of Λεων[ίδης], 69 (121)
- Λεωσ[— — —], *init. saec.* IV *a.*, father of [— — —]ων, 2 (2 2)
- [Λ]ίβυς (Ἐρχιεύς), councillor *init. saec.* II *a.*, 14 (18 15)
- Λυκίνο[ς — — —], *saec.* IV *a.*, father of [— — —]νη, 85 (162)
- Λυκίνο[ς] Κο[— — —], in a poletai record, *saec.* III *a.*, 29 (35 7)
- Λ[ύ]κις, *ca. a.* 450 *a.*, 65 (113 12)
- Λυσ[— — —] (Ἀφιδναῖος?), *saec.* III *a.*, father of [...⁶...]ος, 53 (71 7)
- [...] Λυσιάδ[ης — — —], councillor *ante fin. saec.* II *p.*, 35 (42 A 2)
- [Λ]υσικ[— — —], *ca. init. saec.* IV *a.*, father of [— — ^{ca. 8} — — —], 33 (38 21)
- Λυσιμαχίδα[ς — — —], non-Athenian, *ca. med. saec.* IV *a.*, 68 (117 13)
- Λυσι[μα]χί[δης], *ca. init. saec.* IV *a.*, father of [Λυσίμ]αχος, 33 (38 18)
- [Λυσίμ]αχος Λυσι[μα]χί[δου — — —], *ca. med. saec.* IV *a.*, 33 (38 18)
- Λυσίστρατος Λαμ[ψακηνός], *saec.* IV/III *a.*, 34 (40 13)
- Μ[— — —], councillor of Oineis *fin. saec.* III *a.*, 11 (14 40)
- Μάνη[ς], a shearer, *saec.* IV/III *a.*, 71 (131)
- Με[— — —], *ca. med. saec.* II *p.*, father of [Φί]λιππος, 35 (42 A 6)
- Μέδων Θορίκι[ος], *a.* 370/69 *a.*, 25 (33 6)
- Μελάνιππος, non-Athenian, *med. saec.* V *a.*, 65 (114 9)
- Μέλιττα Σίμω[νος], *saec.* IV *a.*, 57 (85)
- Μέμ[μος] Νεικόστρατος, *paullo post a.* 180 *p.*, 30 (37 3). Cf. *Addenda*, p. 418
- Μεν[— — —] Ἀχαρ[νεύς], *init. saec.* IV *a.*, father of [Ἀ]ριστ[— — —], 38 (47)

- [Μέν]ανδρος, *ca. med. saec.* II *p.*, father of [Μέν]ανδρος, 35 (42 A 8)
 Μένανδρ[ος — —], polemarch *a.* 370/69 *a.*, 25 (33 3)
 [Μέν]ανδρος), councillor *ante fin. saec.* II *p.*, 35 (42 A 8)
 Μενεσ[— —], *saec.* IV/III *a.*, 68 (118 4)
 Μενίσκος Δημητρίου ἐκ Κεραμέων, *saec.* III *a.*, 71 (133 A)
 Μενόιτης, non-Athenian, *med. saec.* V *a.*, 65 (114 10)
 [Μ]ένω[ν], *saec.* IV/III *a.*, 68 (118 16)
 Μηνόφιλος (Ἀχαρνεύς), councillor *fin. saec.* III *a.*, 11 (14 29)
 Μιλτι[άδης] (Λαμπρεύς), *aet. Rom.* 75 (148)
 [Μ]νησίδημος Μνησιστράτου Λαμ[πτρεύς], *ca. med. saec.* IV *a.*, 32 (38 11)
 Μνησίστρατος (Λαμπρεύς), *ca. init. saec.* IV *a.*, father of [Μ]νησίδημος, 32 (38 11)
 Μόθων: Νούμμιος Μόθων, *paullo post a.* 180 *p.*, 30 (37 14). Cf. *Addenda*, p. 418
 [Μ]ολόσσιος [— —], councillor *ante fin. saec.* II *p.*, 35 (42 A 7)
 [Μο]σχίων (Ἐρχιεύς), councillor *init. saec.* II *a.*, 14 (18 16)
 Μοσχίω[ν — —] Φιλάδη[s], *saec.* I/II *p.*, 60 (94)
 Μόσχος, *saec.* IV *a.*, father of Ἀθηναῖς Χαλκιδική, 84 (161)
 Μουνάτιος Οὐοπεί(σ)κος, *paullo post a.* 180 *p.*, 30 (37 13). Cf. *Addenda*, p. 418
 Ν[. .]μ[— —], *saec.* IV/III *a.*, 68 (118 1)
 Ναυσ[— —] (Ἀφιδναῖος ?), *saec.* III *a.*, father of [..⁵...]μος, 53 (71 6)
 Νεικόστρατος: Μεμ. Νεικόστρατος, *paullo post a.* 180 *p.*, 30 (37 3). Cf. *Addenda*, p. 418.
 [Νεοκλῆς Βερε]νικίδης, flutist *init. saec.* II *a.*, 14 (18 7-8)
 Νεοκλῆς (Π — —), *ca. init. saec.* IV *a.*, father of [...δ]ημος, 32 (38 6); Ν. (Π — —), father of [...μ]ῆδης, 32 (38 7)
 Νεοκλῆς (Φρεάρριος), *fin. saec.* VI *a.*, father of Θεμισ[τοκλ]ῆς, in a late fourth century text from Troizen, 199, line 3
 Νέστωρ, *saec.* VIII *a.*, on the cup from Pitecusa, 195
 Νι[— —], councillor of Aigeis *init. saec.* II *a.*, 14 (18 20)
 Νικάνωρ Νικοκ[λέους], *a.* 139/8 *a.*, 77 (154 7)
 Νικησὼ τοῦ [— — —] ἐξ Ἑλευσινίων, *aet. Rom.*, 75 (147)
 Νικογένης Νί[κω]νος Φιλ[αίδης], hipparch *ca. a.* 160 *a.*, 78 (155 1); [Ν.], 78 (155 3)
 Νικόδ[— —], *saec.* IV *a.*, father of Νικόδημος, 69 (124)
 Νικόδημος Νικοδ[— — —], *saec.* IV *a.*, 69 (124); Νικόδημος, *ibid.*
 Νικόδημ[ος] (Κεκροπίδος), *ante med. saec.* IV *a.*, father of [— —^{ca. 8} — —]s, 39 (48 16)
 Νικόδωρ[ος — —] (Οἰνηίδος), *saec.* III *a.*, father of [— —]ος, 9 (11 6)
 Νικοκ[λῆς], *ca. a.* 172/1 *a.*, father of Νικάνωρ, 77 (154 7)
 Νικοκλῆς (Πρασιεύς), *ca. init. saec.* IV *a.*, father of [Νικ]όστρατος, 32 (38 8)
 Νικομάχη Ἑγεσί[λε]ω ἐκ Θρ[ιασίων], *saec.* IV *a.*, 69 (120)
 Νικόστρατος: see Νεικόστρατος
 [Νικ]όστρατος Νικοκλέου Πρ[ασ]ιε(ύς), *ca. med. saec.* IV *a.*, 32 (38 8)
 [Νι]κοφών, *saec.* V *a.*, 67 (116 2)
 Νί[κω]ν (Φιλαίδης), *ca. a.* 193 *a.*, father of Νικογένης, 78 (155 1)
 Νοθι[— —], non-Athenian, *med. saec.* V *a.*, 65 (114 6)
 Νούμμιος Μόθων, *paullo post a.* 180 *p.*, 30 (37 14). Cf. *Addenda*, p. 418
 Νοῦ[s], ἰσοτελής, *saec.* IV/III *a.*, 85 (163)
 Νυ[μ]φ[όδο]το[s], non-Athenian, *med. saec.* V *a.*, 65 (114 4)
 [Ξ]εῖνις (Ξφήττιος), *ca. a.* 361 *a.*, father of [Ξενοκλῆς], 2 (3 3-4)
 [Ξενοκλῆς Ξ]εῖνιδος Ξ[φήττιος], administrator [ἐ]πὶ τῇ διοικήσει τῆς π[ό]λεως *ca. a.* 334-326 *a.*, 2 (3 3-4)
 Ό[— — —] (— — — θεν), *saec.* I *a.* (?), father of [— — —]ίας, 59 (90)
 [Οἰ]νιάδης Προνόμου, flutist *a.* 384/3 *a.*, 85 (165)

- Ἵολ[— — —], *ca. a. 273/2 a.*, father of Εὔστροφο[s], 58 (88 4)
- Ἵονήσιμος, *aet. Rom.*, 76 (152)
- Ἵολβιος, archon *a.*, 275/4 *a.*, 53 (70 3)
- [Ἵονή]σιμος (Ἀθμονεύς), *aet. Rom.*, 74 (144)
- Ἵορθοκλῆς Ἀλαιεύς, priest of the Eponymos *fin. saec. III a.*, 11 (14 56-57)
- Οὐψανία: Ἵουψανία Ἀθήνιον, *paullo post a. 180 p.*, 30 (37 5). Cf. *Addenda*, p. 418
- Οὐοπέσκος: Μουνάτιος Οὐοπέϊ<σ>κος, *paullo post a. 180 p.*, 30 (37 13). Cf. *Addenda*, p. 418
- Π[— — —], councillor of Oineis *fin. saec. III a.*, 11 (14 39)
- Π[— — —], στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα *ca. a. 227/8-230/1 p.*, 49 (59 5)
- Π[αμ]μένη[ς] (Μιλήσιος), *saec. I a.*, father of Ἐπίκτητο[s], 73 (140)
- [Πανα]ίσχης Ἀγαθ[— — —] (Ἀφιδναῖος ?), councillor *saec. III a.*, 53 (71 3)
- Πανθοίδης, non-Athenian, *med. saec. V a.*, 65 (114 7)
- [Παν]τάρχης, in a poletai record, *init. saec. IV a.*, 24 (32 5)
- Παραμόνα, *paullo post a. 180 p.*, 30 (37 15); Παραμόν[α], 30 (37 16). Cf. *Addenda*, p. 418
- [Π]αραμ[όνα Κ]όμων[ος] Ἐθβα[ίου θ]υγ[άτηρ], *saec. I a.*, 73 (141)
- Πάραμονος (Παιανεύς), *saec. III p.*, father of Δρ<ο>μ<ο>κλῆς, 71 (133 B)
- Παρθένιος, non-Athenian, *med. saec. V a.*, 65 (114 2)
- [Π]αρμενίσκος, *saec. II a.* (?), 72 (137)
- [Π]ασικ[λῆς] Ἐπικράτ[ους Π]αιαν[ιεύς], *saec. IV a.*, 70 (125); [Πα]σι[κλῆς] (Παιανεύς), father of [Ἐ]πικ[ράτης], *ibid.*
- Πανσίδη[ς] (Ξυπεταιών), *ante med. saec. IV a.*, father of [— — ^{ca.} — —]τος, 39 (48 9)
- Πειθέας (Φυλάσιος), councillor *fin. saec. III a.*, 11 (14 12)
- Πείθης, *saec. IV a.*, 84 (160)
- Π[— — —] (Ἀφιδναῖος ?), *saec. III a.*, father of [...⁷...]ος, 53 (71 8)
- Πίστος, *saec. IV/III a.*, 68 (118 5)
- Πίστος, *saec. IV/III a.*, 68 (118 14)
- Πλάτω[ν], *saec. IV/III a.*, 68 (118 8)
- Πολυάρατος, *saec. IV a.*, father of Προκλείδης, 70 (128)
- Πολυδεύκης: Ἰούλιος Πολυδεύκης, *ca. a. 180 p.*, the philosopher from Naukratis, 30 (37 11). Cf. *Addenda*, p. 418.
- Πο[μωνία Ζωσίμου] Γναῖον Πομ[ωνίου Ἀπολλοδόρου γυνή], *saec. I a./p.*, 45 (52)
- Πομπώνιος: Γναῖος Πομ[πώνιος Ἀπολλόδωρος], *saec. I a./p.*, husband of Πο[μωνία], 45 (52)
- Πομπώνιος: Γναῖος Πομπ[ώνιος Γναῖον υἱὸς — — —] Παμβωτάδ[ης], *saec. I a./p.*, 45 (52)
- Πραξιτέλης, sculptor *post med. saec. IV a.*, 38 (46 6)
- Προκλείδης Πολυάρατον [— — —], *saec. IV a.*, 70 (128)
- Πρόνομος, *ca. a. 417/6 a.*, father of [Οἰ]νιάδης, 85 (165)
- Προσδό[κιμος Γλαν]κίου Μειλήσ[ιος], *saec. I a./p.*, 74 (143)
- Πυρρα[— —] (Ἡρακλειώτης), *saec. IV a.*, father of [...⁵...]s, 70 (129)
- Ῥανθύλος Θαρσήτου, *saec. II p.*, on a gravestone from Tarrha, 107 (75)
- Σα[— — —]: Φλ. Σα[— — —], councillor of Ptolemais *saec. II p.*, 61 (102 2)
- Σαραπιακός: [— — —]λο[s] Σαρα[π]ια[κὸς — — —], panegyriarch *ca. a. 227/8-230/1 p.*, 49 (59 3-4)
- Σαραπί[ων] (Φλυεύς), *aet. Rom.*, father of Ἰσίδο[τος], 75 (149)
- Σάτριος: Π. Σάτριος Ἀττικό[ς], *saec. I/II p.*, 59 (93)
- Σεκουνδίλλη, *paullo post a. 180 p.*, 30 (37 2). Cf. *Addenda*, p. 418
- Σεκοῦνδος: Ἰούλιος Σεκοῦνδος, *ca. a. 147 p.*, father of Ἰούλιος [ἱερ]οφάντης, 30 (37 9)
- [Σεκο]ῦνδος Ἀκτίον I [— — —], ephebos of Attalis *aet. Rom.*, 36 (43 11)
- [Σ]ιβ[ύ]ρτιο[ς] (*Οαθεν), *ca. a. 450 a.*, 65 (113 16)
- [Σ]ίμαλος [ἐκ Μ]υρρινούτ[ης], undersecretary of the Council and Demos *init. saec. II a.*, 13 (17)

- Σίμων[ν], *saec.* IV *a.*, father of Μέλιττα, 57 (85)
 Σκίρος, *saec.* I *a./p.*, 85 (164)
 Σμίκυθος, in a poletai record *saec.* III *a.*, 28 (34 7)
 Σπρόμ[βιχος], *saec.* IV/III *a.*, 68 (118 9)
 [Σ]ύνφορος Ζωσί[μου], *aet. Rom.*, 75 (151)
 Σωγένης ('Ερχιεύς), treasurer of Aigeis *init. saec.* II *a.*, 14 (18 12); [Σ. — — — 'Ερ]χιεύς, 14 (18 3-4)
 Σωσιγέν[ης — — —], *ca. init. saec.* IV *a.*, father of [...⁶...]δρος, 32 (38 3)
 [Σ]ωσικ[— — —], councillor *ante fin. saec.* II *p.*, 35 (42 A 14)
 Σώσος 'Αλαιεύς, secretary of the Council and Demos *fin. saec.* III *a.*, 11 (14 59-60)
 Σωτᾶς, *aet. Rom.*, 61 (98)
 Σωτήρ[ιος] Μαιώτ[ης], *saec.* IV/III *a.*, 71 (132)
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- [...]δ]ημος Νεοκλέου Π[— — —], *ca. med. saec. IV a.*, 32 (38 6)
- [...]ίνης, *saec. V a.*, 67 (116 4)
- [...]ιπ[ος Κτησιάδου] [— — —], *ca. med. saec. IV a.*, 32 (38 5)
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- [.⁵...]Ι[— —], *ca. a. 440 a.*, 67 (115 9)
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- [.⁵...]ν, *ca. a. 450 a.*, 65 (113 3)
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- [.⁵...]ς Πυρρα[— — —] Ἡρακ[λειώτης], *saec. IV a.*, 70 (129)
- [.⁶...]as Ἀντικράτου [— — —], *ca. med. saec. IV a.*, 32 (38 4)

- [...⁶...]δρος Σωσιγέν[ου -- --], *ca. med. saec.* IV a., 32 (38 3)
- [...⁶...]ιος Ἀπο[-- --], *ca. med. saec.* IV a., 32 (38 2)
- [...⁶...]κος Ἐπικ[-- --] (Ἀφιδναῖος ?), councillor *saec.* III a., 53 (71 5)
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- [...⁶...]ος Λυσ[-- --] (Ἀφιδναῖος ?), councillor *saec.* III a., 53 (71 7)
- [...⁶...]φάνης Φιλ[-- --] (Ἀφιδναῖος ?), councillor *saec.* III a., 53 (71 2)
- [--^{ca. 6}--]ης Φιλιστίδ[ου] (Ξυπεταιών), councillor *post med. saec.* IV a., 39 (48 12)
- [--^{ca. 6}--]ιος Ἀνδροκλ[-- --] (Ξυπεταιών), councillor *post med. saec.* IV a., 39 (48 11)
- [--^{ca. 6}--]λεως Ἰππων[ος] (Ξυπεταιών), councillor *post med. saec.* IV a., 39 (48 10)
- [--^{ca. 6}--]ς Φιλ[-- -- ο]υ [-- --], *ca. med. saec.* IV a., 33 (38 19)
- [--^{ca. 6}--]τος Πανσίδο[υ] (Ξυπεταιών), councillor *post med. saec.* IV a., 39 (48 9)
- [...⁷...]εν[.]ς Διο[μ]έδοντ[ος -- --] *ca. med. saec.* IV a., 32 (38 15)
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- [...⁷...]ίδης Εἰρεσίδης, thesmothetes a. 370/69 a., 25 (33 4-5)
- [...⁷...]ος Π[-- --] (Ἀφιδναῖος ?), councillor *saec.* III a., 53 (71 8)
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- [--^{ca. 7}--]ος Θρασυμή[δους] (Ξυπεταιών), councillor *post med. saec.* IV a., 39 (48 8)
- [...⁸...]δης Δημ[α]νέ[του -- --], *ca. med. saec.* IV a., 33 (38 17)
- [--^{ca. 8}--]ης Ἀρισταί[ου] (or Ἀριστάρ[χου]) (Ξυπεταιών), councillor *post med. saec.* IV a., 39 (48 13)
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- [--^{ca. 10}--]ωνος (Κεκροπίδος), councillor *post med. saec.* IV a., 39 (48 21)
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- [--^{ca. 14}--]ύμου Χολαργεύ[ς], proedros a. 139/8 a., 77 (154 5)
- [--^{ca. 14}--]ας, *ca. a.* 440 a., 67 (115 25)
- [--^{ca. 14}--]άτης ἐ[ξ] Οἴου, ephebos *aet. Rom.*, 36 (43 2)
- [--^{ca. 14}--]άτους Κεφαλῇ[θεν], *ca. med. saec.* IV a., 55 (78 5)
- [--^{ca. 14}--]γ[-- --], *ca. a.* 440 a., 67 (115 5)
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- [--^{ca. 14}--]δης Ὑβάδης, in a poletai record, *init. saec.* IV a., 24 (32 6)
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- [--^{ca. 14}--]εικος, *saec.* II p., 62 (103 9)
- [--^{ca. 14}--]εκλέους [Σκαμβω]γίδης, undersecretary of the Council and Demos *paullo ante a.* 200 a., 55 (79)
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- [--^{ca. 14}--]ης Φ[-- --], ephebos of Attalis *aet. Rom.*, 36 (43 12)
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- [- - - - -] ν, *ca. a.* 440 *a.*, 67 (115 24)
- [- - - - -] νη Λυκίνο[υ - - -], *fin. saec.* IV *a.*,
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- [- - - - -] ὀδοτος Λαμπρεύς, thesmothetes *a.*
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- [- - - - -] οκλῆς πρ(εσ), councillor of Kekropis
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 [- - - - -] os, 35 (42 B 12)
- [- - - - -] os), councillor of Kekropis *ante*
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- [- - - - -] ρου Φηγοῦσ[ιος], *ca. med. saec.* IV
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- [- - - - -] ς Ζηνοθέμιδ[ος Μιλήσιος], honored
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- [- - -] σ[- - - -], *saec.* IV/III *a.*, 68 (118 17)
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- [- - -] φον[- - -], *ca. a.* 440 *a.*, 67 (115 3)
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INSCRIPTIONS STUDIED OR EMENDED

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a. Agora Excavations from Northwest, September 8, 1959. Eleusinion lies behind Church of the Holy Apostles.



b. Panathenaic Way, from North. West Edge of Road marked by Stone Water Channel.



a. Panathenaic Way. Paving at Southeast Corner of Agora, from North.



b. Temple in Eleusinion, from Northeast.



a. Southeast Temple, from West. A. Core of Pedestal for Cult Statues, B. Foundations of Mint, C. Nymphaeum, D. Panathenaic Way, E. Late Roman Fortification.



b. Tower in Late Roman Fortification, from West. A. Stairway between Library of Pantainos (left) and Southeast Building (right), B. Doric Column Drums, C. Ionic Column Drums.

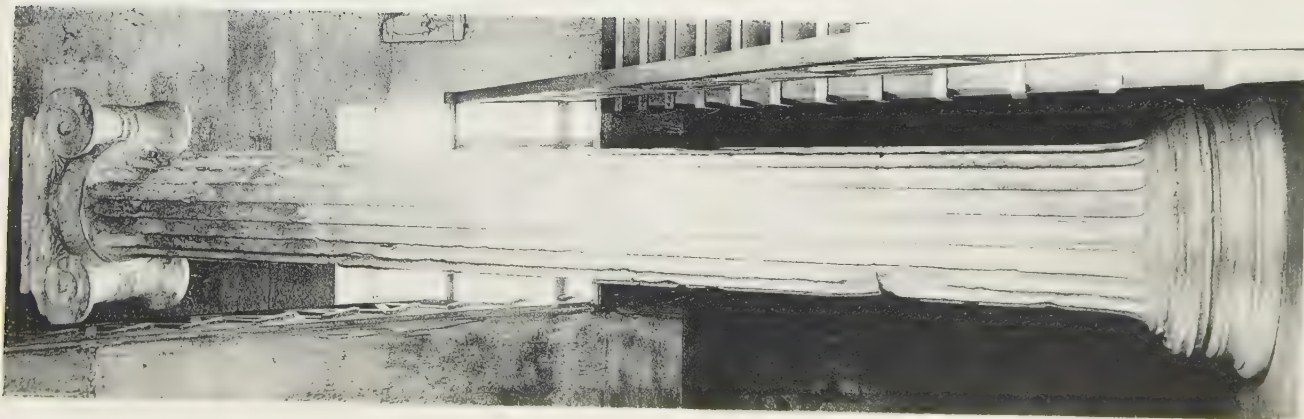


a. Late Roman Fortification containing members of Southeast Building.

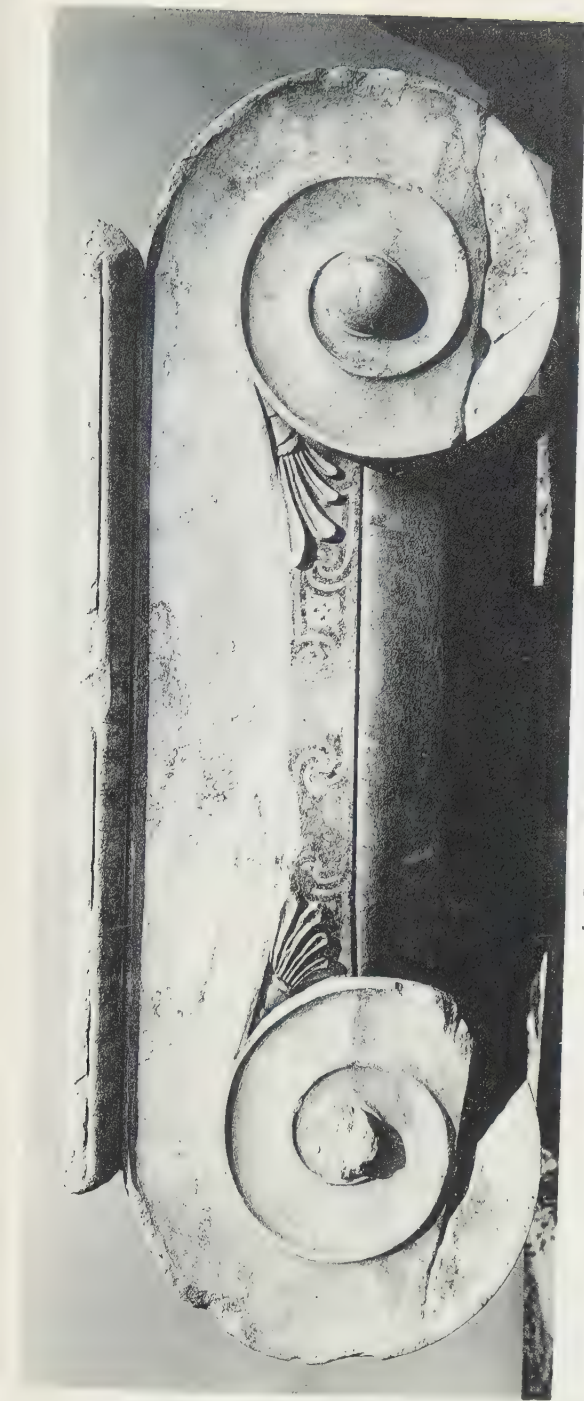


b. Ionic Columns from Late Roman Fortification.

HOMER A. THOMPSON: ACTIVITIES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA, 1959



a. Ionic Column re-erected in Stoa of Attalos.



b. Ionic Capital (A 2972). Actual State.



c. Ionic Capital (A 2972). Water Color by Piet de Jong.

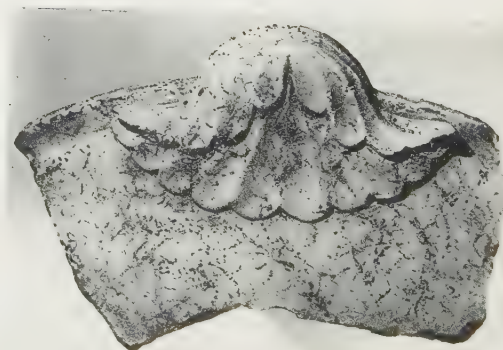
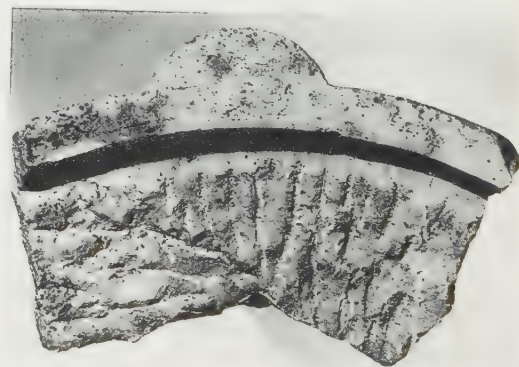
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a. South Side of Agora, from Northeast. A. South Stoa I, B. South Stoa II, C. East Stoa, D. Late Roman Gymnasium.



b. Fragments from Façade of South Stoa II found in Front of Stoa. Scale about 1:6.

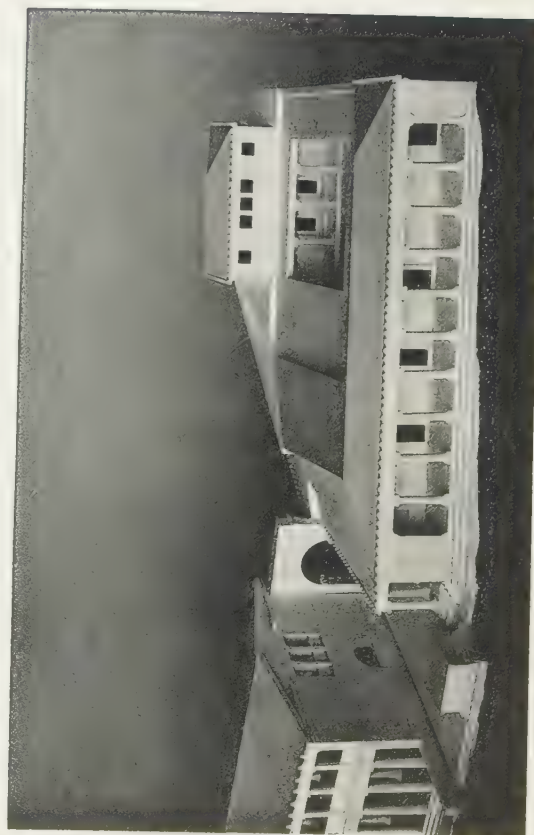


c. Unfinished Marble Basin from South Stoa II (ST 695). Top and Bottom. Scale about 1:3.

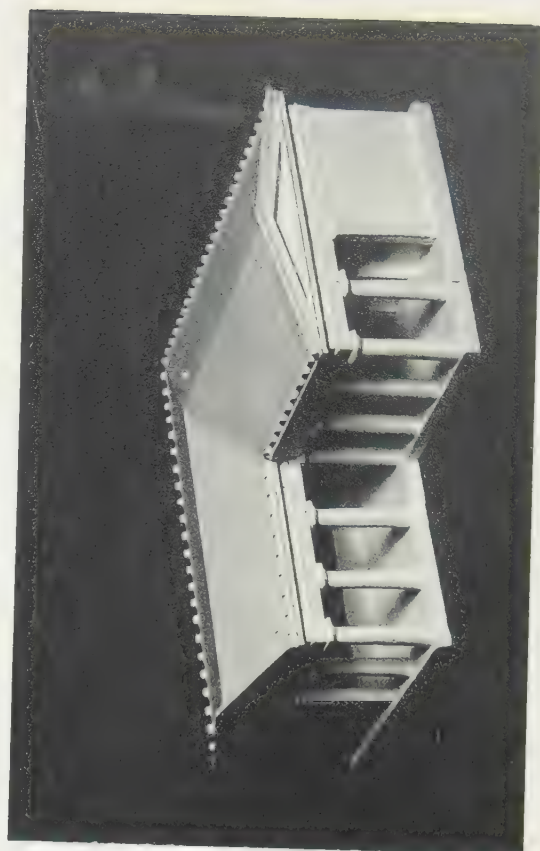


a. Stoa of Attalos, Rear from North. Late Roman Fortification to left.

b. Ancient Marbles from Stoa of Attalos. Stoa to left.

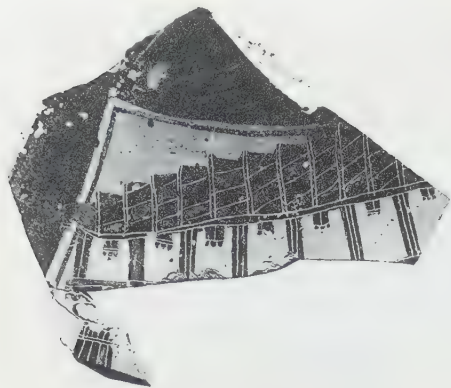


c. Model of the Library of Pantainos, from West.

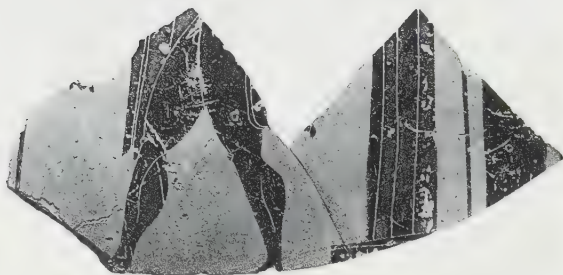


d. Model of Southwest Fountain House, from Northwest.

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b. Fragment from The Attic Stelai (I 236). Scale 1:5.



c. Terracotta Actor (T 3635). Scale about 1:2.

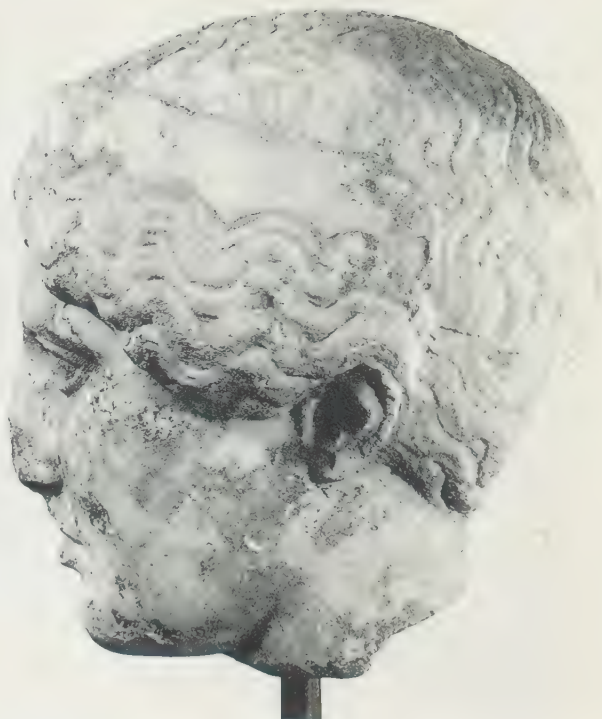
a. Black-Figure Amphora from Eleusinion (P 26651, P 26632 a).



d. Panathenaic Amphora (P 26600). Scale 1:4.



e. Terracotta Medallion with Hekate (T 3637). Scale about 1:2.

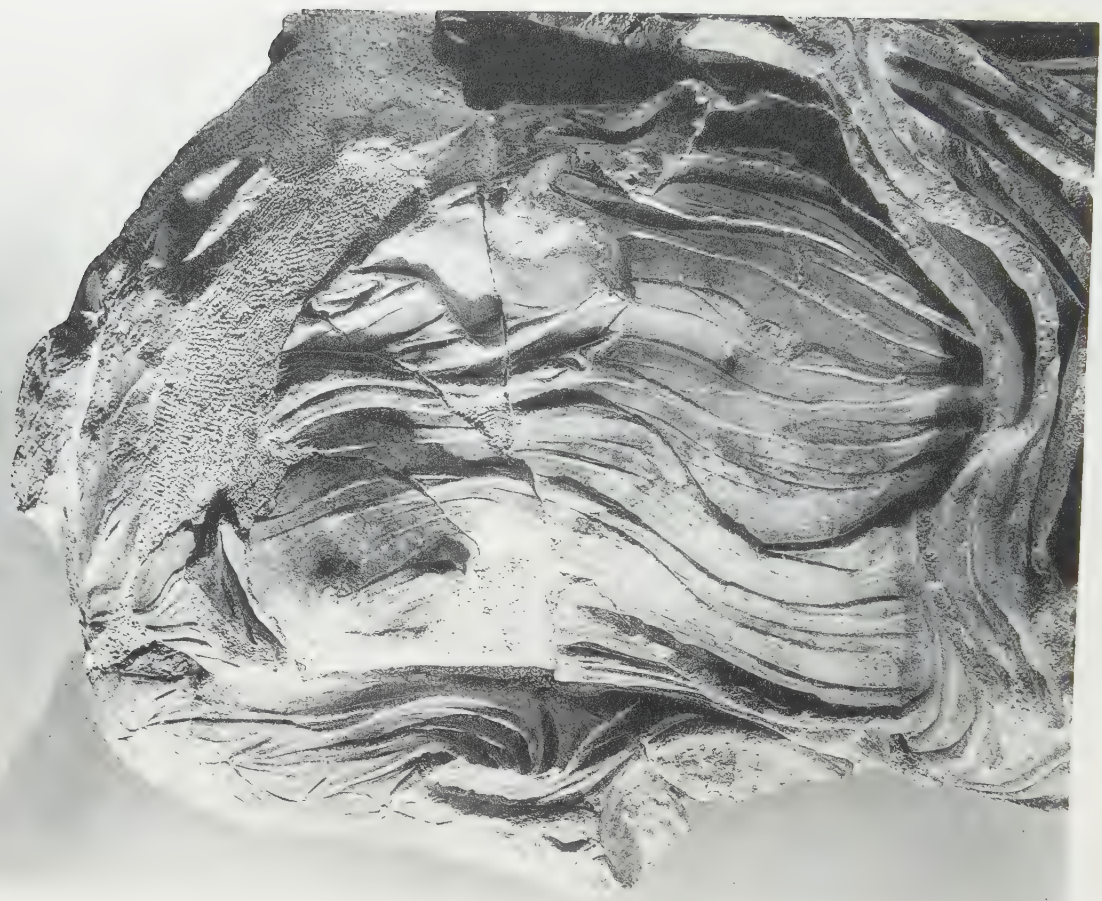


a. and b. Head of a Goddess.



c. Fragments of Colossal Marble Statue in Southeast Temple.

EVELYN B. HARRISON: NEW SCULPTURE FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA, 1959



a. and b. Statue of Aphrodite.



b. Head of a Youth.

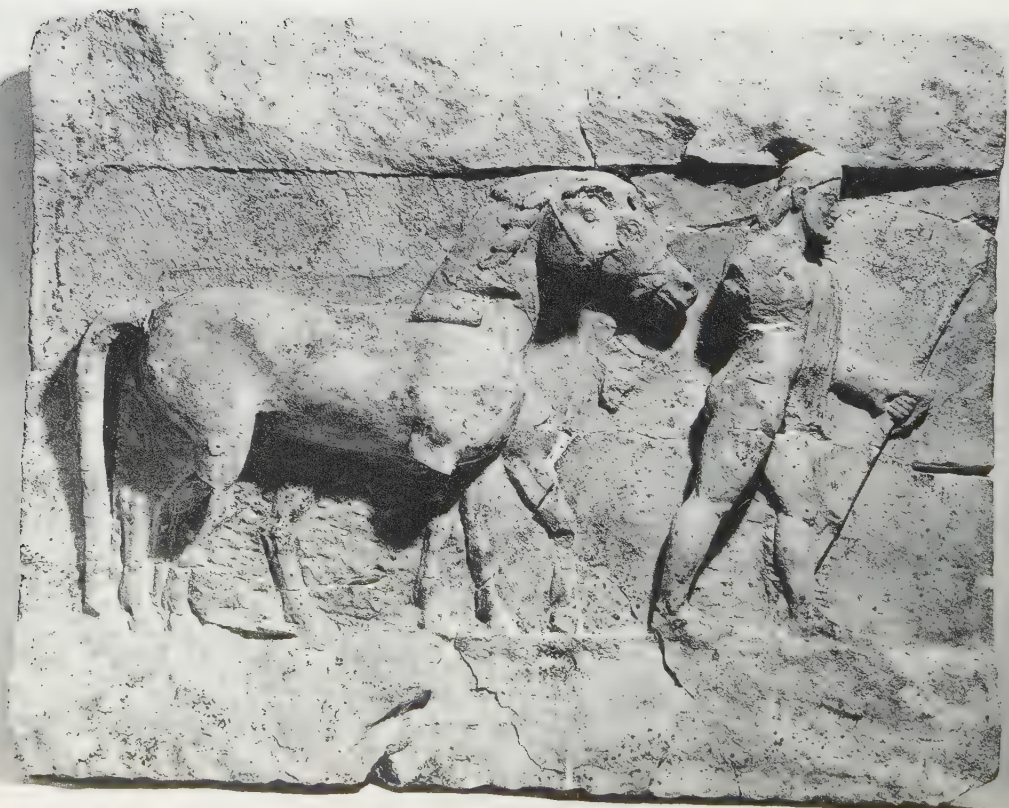


a. Nike N from Nike Parapet with New Fragment Attached.

EVELYN B. HARRISON: NEW SCULPTURE FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA, 1959



a. and b. Archaistic Kouros.



c. Unfinished Copy of an Archaic Relief.



a. Head of Meleager found in 1959.



b. Head of Meleager found in 1917.



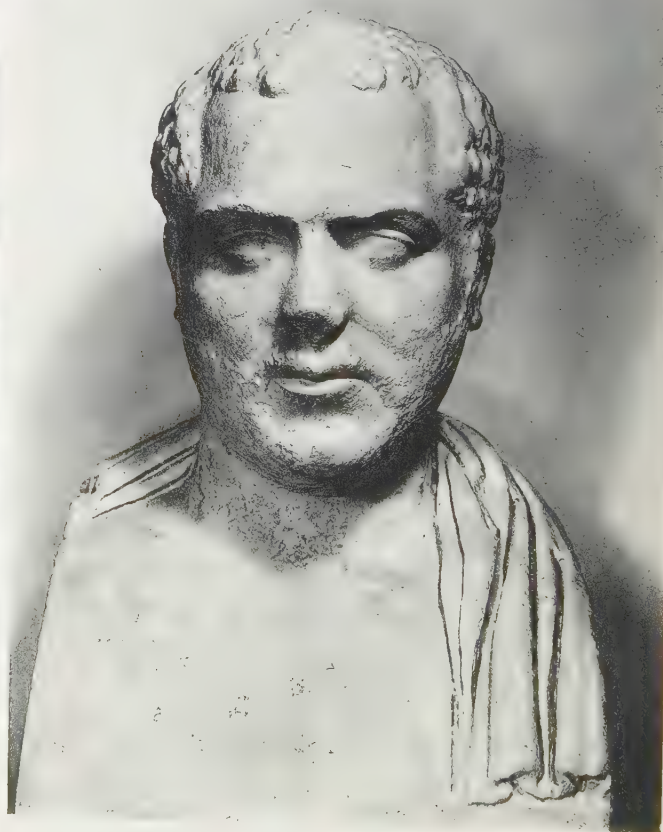
c. and d. Unfinished Bust of "Eubouleus" Type.



a. and b. Portrait Bust of a Young Syrian.



c. Bust of a Woman.



d. and e. Unfinished Portrait Herm.



a. Athenian Tokens, Series A.



b. Athenian Tokens, Series B.



c. Athenian Dikast's Psephoi and Pinakion.



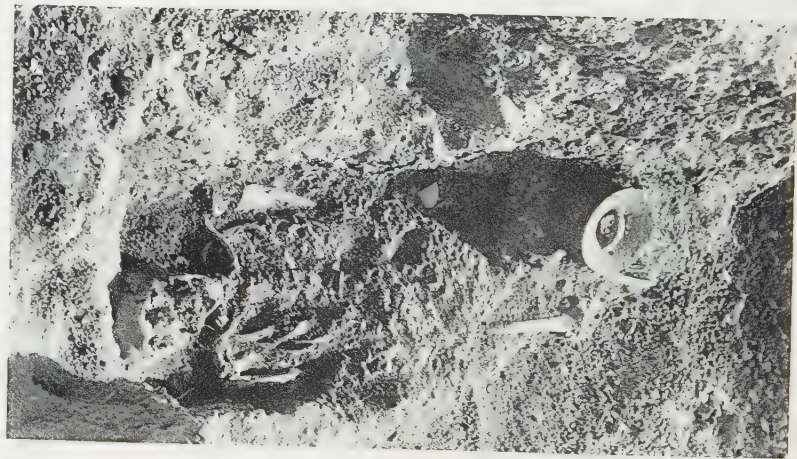
Grave E 19:3



Grave E 19:1



Grave E 19:2



Grave E 18:1



Grave N 21:6



Grave N 11:1



1.



2.



5.



6.



1. Detail



3.



4.



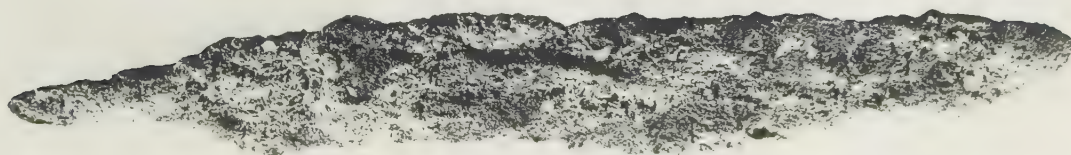
8.



Spindle Whorl MC 206



8.



7.

Grave E 19:3

EVA BRANN: LATE GEOMETRIC GRAVE GROUPS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA



1.

2.

1.

Grave E 19:1

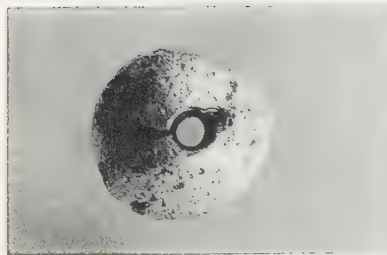
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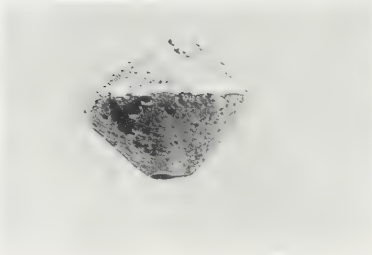
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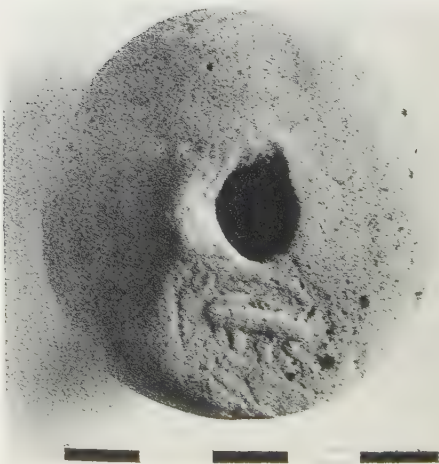


Spindle Whorl MC 206



5.

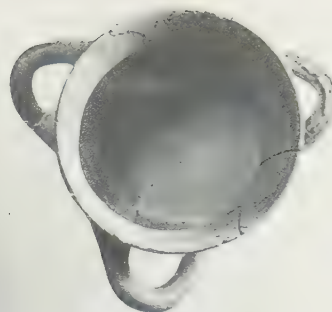
Grave E 19:2



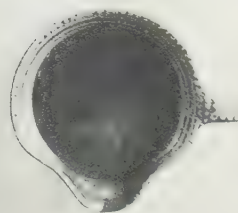
Spindle Whorl MC 206



Grave E 18:1, 1.



Grave N 11:1, 3



Grave Q 17:6, 6



1.



2.

Grave N 21:6



3.

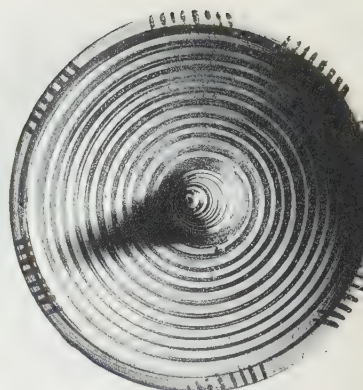
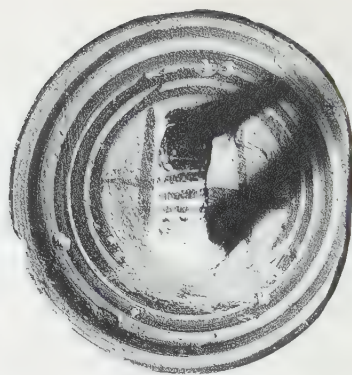


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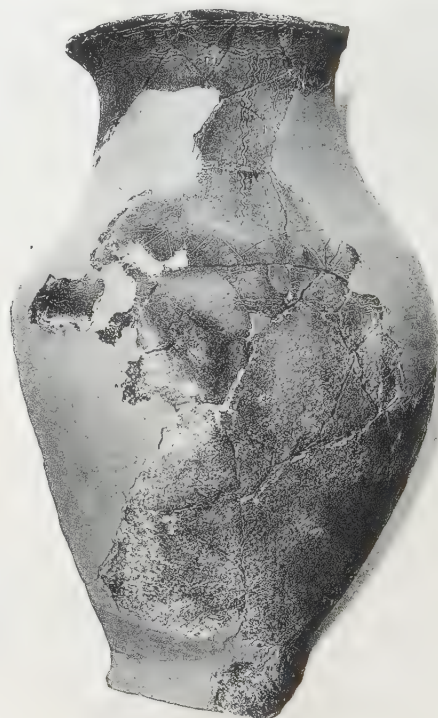
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P 4989 b (See Grave E 18:1) P 5222 b



Grave N 21:6, 2, 1



Grave Q 17:6, 1

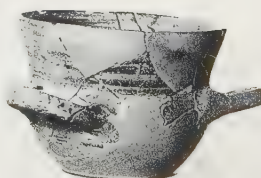


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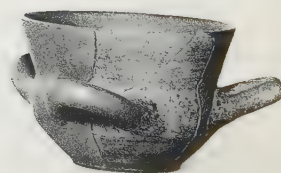


2.

Grave N 11:1



3.



4.



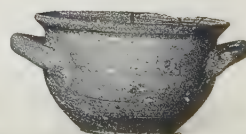
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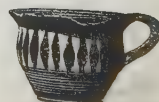
3.



4.



5.



6.

Grave Q 17:6

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HESPERIA

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME XXIX: NUMBER 4
OCTOBER — DECEMBER
1960



AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

1960

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American School of Classical Studies at Athens

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE: Lloyd W. Daly, J. Walter Graham, Benjamin D. Meritt, Charles H. Morgan, James H. Oliver, Homer A. Thompson, Lucy T. Shoe (*Chairman*), Alfred R. Bellinger (*ex officio*).

EDITOR OF PUBLICATIONS: Lucy T. Shoe.

HESPERIA. Beginning with Volume XXI the annual subscription price is \$7.50 net in the United States and Canada, \$8.50 net in other countries, payable in advance in dollars. Published quarterly. Current single numbers \$2.00 in the United States and Canada, \$2.25 in other countries; prices for back numbers will be quoted on request. Supplements are issued at irregular intervals, in the same format as *Hesperia*. Available now are:

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Publication office: 109 Market Place, Baltimore 2, Md. Executive and editorial offices: The Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey. All communications for the Editor should be sent to THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS, C/O THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY, Princeton, New Jersey, U. S. A.

Entered as second-class matter March 22, 1939, at the post office at
Baltimore, Maryland, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

NEW PUBLICATIONS
OF
THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

THE ATHENIAN AGORA
RESULTS OF EXCAVATIONS CONDUCTED BY
THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME V

POTTERY OF THE ROMAN PERIOD—CHRONOLOGY

By HENRY S. ROBINSON

This first of two volumes dealing with the pottery of the Roman period found in the Athenian Agora presents the evidence for chronology yielded by eight closed deposits comprising some 850 pieces. These major groups have been selected from the mass of pottery of Roman times recovered both from habitation levels and deposits such as wells, cisterns, graves. It has been possible from these deposits, several of them stratified, to establish both a relative and an absolute chronology of the wares in use in Athens from the 1st century before Christ through the 7th century after Christ. For each group a general description of the location, character and chronology of the deposit is followed by a catalogue of the contents which includes, beside the pottery, objects other than pottery, chiefly lamps, but also terracotta figurines and other small finds. The pottery in each group is classified broadly under the headings Pergamene Ware, Samian Ware, Western Sigillata Wares, Other Fine Early Roman Fabrics, Miscellaneous Glazed and Non-glazed Wares, Coarse Household Wares, Cooking Wares, Large Storage Vessels, and then by shape under each heading. The brief general introduction contains a detailed glossary which does much to characterize the wares that follow.

Even before the second half of this study in which the local and imported wares will be analysed and a typological catalogue of coarse household and storage vessels given, the current volume will prove invaluable for the study of Roman pottery throughout the eastern Mediterranean, for it offers the most extensive chronological evidence yet available, thoroughly and carefully presented.

Published March, 1959. xiv + 149 pp., 76 pls. Quarto. Cloth. \$12.50.

VOLUME IV

GREEK LAMPS AND THEIR SURVIVALS

By RICHARD HUBBARD HOWLAND

In this publication of the terracotta lamps found in the Athenian Agora dating from the 7th century to 86 B.C. a new series of types is established. Early Roman lamps which are survivals of Hellenistic forms are included in the fifty-eight types and sub-divisions. These types are based on a study of many hundreds of lamps found in the excavations, only a selection of which are here catalogued. After an Introduction summarizing conclusions on lamp-makers, lamp types and inscriptions, the material is arranged by type. For each type the characteristics are described in detail and notable foreign connections are indicated; a brief catalogue of examples follows. Signed bases are given special attention. An Index of the dated deposits from which the lamps came and which yielded so much evidence for the chronology, a concordance listing the types of many lamps not catalogued, and a concordance of Broneer and Agora types are added. The plates include photographs of most of the catalogued items and full-sized profiles of many, plus drawings of all graffiti and signatures.

The unusually precise evidence for chronology offered by the Agora lamps makes this volume of outstanding value to the field archaeologist. The new detailed typology will be of great service to all to whom lamps of Athenian manufacture are of concern whether directly or indirectly. Epigraphers will appreciate the prosopography in the numerous signatures. In the broad historical picture, moreover, these lamps veritably shed welcome light on trade relations between Athens and other Mediterranean centers, on the financial situation in Athens in certain periods, as well as on the artistic interests and tastes of the populace.

Published June, 1958. ix + 252 pp., 56 pls., chart. Quarto. Cloth. \$12.50.

ORDERS SHOULD BE PLACED WITH THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS c/o THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY, PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

CORINTH

RESULTS OF EXCAVATIONS CONDUCTED BY
THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME I PART V

THE SOUTHEAST BUILDING, THE TWIN BASILICAS, THE MOSAIC HOUSE

By SAUL S. WEINBERG

This one of the volumes dealing with the monuments in and around the Agora at Corinth treats of the buildings which close the east end of the Agora, the Julian Basilica and the Southeast Building, and with them the twin of the Basilica, the South Basilica immediately behind the South Stoa, and the Mosaic House adjoining it. The Southeast Building is described in detail in its present state from which are reconstructed its two periods, soon after 44 B.C. and second quarter of the 1st century after Christ. It is identified as probably the Tabularium and Library of Corinth. Its second period is the rebuilding necessitated by the erection of the adjoining Julian Basilica which, with the South Basilica, was built about A.D. 40; the interior colonnades of both were rebuilt in marble in the Hadrianic period. These basilicas have a cryptoporticus on the ground floor and on the main floor an interior colonnade supporting a clerestory and three exedras on the side away from the Agora. Detailed descriptions of each building are followed by a reconstruction of the pair and by a discussion of this type of basilica among other basilica plans and of its probable uses. Analysis of the mosaics in the House date it about A.D. 200.

It is not only for the architecture and topography of Corinth that this volume is valuable; its contributions to the study of that particularly significant Roman building, the basilica, will be eagerly welcomed.

Published May, 1960. xviii + 128 pp., 29 figs. in the text, 57 pls., 10 plans. Quarto. Cloth. \$12.50.

EXCAVATIONS OF THE ATHENIAN AGORA—PICTURE BOOKS

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